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VOL. III.

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For JOHN WALTHOE, over-againſt the *Royal-Exchange* in *Cornhill*; THOMAS WOTTON, at the *Queen's-Head* and *Three-Daggers* over-againſt *St. Dunſtan's-Church*, in *Fleet-Street*; SAMUEL BIRT, in *Ave-Mary-Lane*, *Ludgate-Street*; DANIEL BROWNE, at the *Black-Swan*, without *Temple-Bar*; THOMAS OSBORN, in *Gray's-Inn*; JOHN SHUCKBURGH, at the *Sun*, next the *Inner-Temple-Gate*, in *Fleet-Street*; and HENRY LINTOT, at the *Croſs-Keys*, againſt *St. Dunſtan's-Church*, in *Fleet-Street*. M.DCC.XXXII.

An Hiſtorical

RELATION

OF THE

Kingdom of CHILE.

BY

ALONSO DE OVALLE,

OF

The Company of *JESUS,*

A Native of *St. Jago* of *Chile*, and Procurator at *Rome* for that Place.

Printed at *Rome* by FRANCISCO CAVALLO, 1649. with Licence of his Superiors.

Tranſlated out of *Spaniſh* into *Engliſh.*

THE

Tranſlator's PREFACE.

WHEN the tranſlation of the hiſtory of *Chile* was firſt undertaken, it was more out of conſideration of making that part of the world, ſo remote from ours, better known, as to the geographical part, the natural hiſtory, and the firſt ſettlements of the *Spaniards*, than to enter into a diſtinct narrative of the events of that invaſion, which contain little inſtruction, being between a people of great arts and abilities on one ſide, and another of great natural courage, and no culture of the mind or body, on the other. The caſe was ſo extravagantly unequal between them, when the odds of guns, armour, horſes, and diſcipline, are weighed againſt nakedneſs, anarchy, panick terrors, and ſimplicity, that it ſeems a kind of prodigy that the love of liberty and a ſtock of natural unpoliſhed bravery, ſhould hold a conteſt with armed avarice, ſpirited by ſuperſtitious zeal, for almoſt a whole century.

The natural hiſtory of *Chile* is ſo admirably performed, that it may be a model for moſt relations of that kind; for there are exact deſcriptions of all the beaſts, birds, fiſhes, plants, minerals, coaſts, rivers, bays, and inhabitants of the country, that can be wiſhed for. There is, beſides, an excellent account of the climate, the ſeaſons, the winds, the manner of living both of the *Indians* and the *Spaniards*. The deſcription of the great *Cordillera*, or chain of mountains, which runs for almoſt a thouſand leagues in a parallel line with the *South Sea*, and divides *Chile* from the *ultra* mountain provinces, is ſo accurate, that nothing of that kind can be more ſo: the narrative of the manner of travelling through thoſe vaſt plains of *Cuyo* and *Tucuman*, as far as *Buenos Ayres*, and the river of *Plata*; the topographical deſcription of the ſtreights of *Magellan*, with all its bays, ports, and its whole navigation, are of great inſtruction, as well as very entertaining.

In all this the jeſuit, who was the author of this hiſtory, muſt be confeſſed to have deſerved the character of a candid inquiſitive philoſopher; and in what he has performed beſides, about the ſettlements of the *Spaniards*, he is very particular, eſpecially in his deſcription of the city of *St. Jago de Chile*; where any one may ſee the progreſs of prieſt-craft in that new world, by the vaſt riches of the convents, monaſteries, and nunneries: but above all the inſtructive chapters of this treatiſe, there is one about the methods of driving a trade between *Europe* and *Chile* to and from the *Philippines* and

and *Eaſt Indies*, which contains ſecrets of commerce and navigation, which I wonder how they were publiſhed, and 'tis poſſible may, e're it be long, be practiſed by the *Spaniards* and other nations, if the navigation of the *Mexican* gulph becomes ſo troubleſome, as it is like to be made by the naval powers of *Europe*, who ſeem to have choſe thoſe ſeas for the ſcene of all their maritime power to exert itſelf in.

There is a digreſſion about the firſt diſcovery of the iſlands and continent of *America* by *Columbus*, and a progreſſive narration of all the other diſcoveries, as they were made, and by whom, which is very curious; but as it is borrowed from other writers, the author can challenge no other merit than that of a judicious compiler.

All that needs to be added to this preface, is, to let the world know that the tranſlation was firſt encouraged by the *Royal Society*, of which the tranſlator has the honour to be a member; and that it was two ſummers work, that it might be the leſs ſubject to errors; and to prevent them, that worthy encourager of all natural knowledge, as well as of his own profeſſion, in which he excels, Dr. *Hans Sloane*, has contributed very obligingly ſome of his care and attention.

THE

THE

Author's PREFACE.

BEing come from the kingdom of Chile *into* Europe, *I obſerved that there was ſo little known of the parts I came from, that in many places the very name of* Chile *had not been heard of. This made me think my ſelf obliged to ſatisfy, in ſome meaſure, the deſire of many curious perſons, who preſſed me to communicate to the world a thing ſo worthy of its knowledge. But I found myſelf in great difficulty how to comply with their preſſing inſtances, being deſtitute of all the materials requiſite for ſuch a work, and at ſuch a diſtance from the place that could furniſh them, that I deſpaired of giving a juſt ſatisfaction: however, in obedience to thoſe whoſe commands I cannot but reſpect, I reſolved to write this account, more to comply with my duty, and give ſome information of thoſe remote regions, than to pretend to a perfect and exact hiſtory, which this relation, in all its parts, (I confeſs,) comes very ſhort of. The reader then being thus prepared, will, I hope, have a regard to the little help I could have in this work, at ſuch a diſtance as* Rome *and* Chile *are from one another; and by his prudence and goodneſs, excuſe any thing that may ſeem leſs finiſhed in this work; particularly ſince there is hopes of a general hiſtory of* Chile, *which cannot be long before it is finiſhed.*

It has not yet appeared in the world.

In the mean time, the firſt and ſecond books of this relation will ſhew the natural ſtate of the kingdom of Chile, *both as to its climate and product; The third, will deſcribe the qualities of its firſt inhabitants; The fourth and fifth, will deſcribe the firſt entrance of the* Spaniards *into it, and the conqueſt of it by them; The ſixth, will contain the various events of the war, cauſed by the noble reſiſtance made by the* Araucano's; *The ſeventh, will ſhew the firſt means of peace attempted by father* Lewis de Valdivia, *of the company of* Jeſus, *in order to facilitate the preaching of the holy goſpel, and the glorious death of his holy companions; The laſt book, which is alſo the largeſt of all, will contain the firſt means of planting the chriſtian faith, and its propagation among the* Indians, *which was particularly compaſſed, and is ſtill carried on by the miſſions and miniſtry of our company; all which endeavours of theirs I explain and diſtinguiſh under ſix heads, ſhewing the neceſſity of the ſpiritual help that thoſe new chriſtians lie under, both as to preaching, and informing them in matters of the chriſtian faith.*

I muſt give here five advertiſements: The firſt, That in what I have ſeen my ſelf, I have not departed from the truth in any thing I have writ: as to what I relate by hearſay, or by authority from other wri-

ters, I report it with the ſame candor as I heard and read it, without adding or diminiſhing any thing of the truth; and though all thoſe I cite in this work are worthy to be believed, yet the leaſt to be ſuſpected of partiality, are ſuch foreign writers who extol and commend this kingdom of Chile *with ſuch repeated encomiums. My ſecond advertiſement is, That conſidering the Kingdom of* Chile *was the laſt part of* South America *that was diſcovered, and the neareſt to the* Antartick Pole, *I could not treat of its diſcovery with good grounds, without touching a little upon the neighbouring kingdoms of* Peru *and* Mexico, *which were as a paſſage to it; and if I have enlarged now and then on the praiſes and deſcription of thoſe parts, it was, becauſe I thought it might not be diſagreeable to the reader; in which, if I am miſtaken, he has only to skip ſome chapters of the fourth book, and go directly to thoſe which treat of the firſt entrance of* Don Diego de Almagro *into* Chile; *Thirdly, I muſt take notice, that though I do ſometimes, in ſpeaking of the land of* Chile, *report ſome particularities which ſeem trifles, and not ſo proper for hiſtory, I do not relate them as ſingular and proper to that country alone, but rather to ſhew the uniformity both of nature and cuſtoms, as to life and religion, in all thoſe parts; and ſome things are mentioned to encourage thoſe new countries to drive on the advancement of religion, politeneſs, learning, and good morals.*

Fourthly, I muſt take notice, That ſince I do not here make a general hiſtory of Chile, *I have not had occaſion to mention all the illuſtrious men, and noble commanders and ſoldiers, who have flouriſhed in thoſe parts from the beginning of the conqueſt: I only, therefore, take notice of ſuch as I find named in the authors whom I cite; and they too not making it their buſineſs to write a diſtinct hiſtory of* Chile, *but only to relate ſome particular event, and ſo mention only ſome part of the government of ſome governors, or their wars, cannot be exact in the account of all thoſe who have in different times and occaſions acted in thoſe wars; and by this ſalvo I cover the honour of all our gallant commanders and ſoldiers of* Chile, *whoſe actions I omit, though they are worthy to be graven in marble, or* Bronze, *only for this reaſon. And though I own, that I am not ignorant of many who have flouriſhed in my time, and before it, yet I have not ſo diſtinct an information as would be neceſſary to give them their due commendations, and ſet their actions in that light which their valour deſerves; therefore the general hiſtory of* Chile *will perform that part. Perhaps, even before that, this work of mine may excite ſome body to employ their talent in making a particular book of their elogiums and praiſes, which cannot fail of being well received in the world, ſince ſo many noble and illuſtrious families of* Europe *will be concerned in it.*

Laſtly, I advertiſe, That though the principal motive of my writing this relation, was to publiſh the ſpiritual miniſtery of our company in the converſion of ſouls in this kingdom of Chile, *yet I could not but treat*

firſt of the land and inhabitants, as being the object and ſubject of their endeavours; and I have been forced to be more diffuſe in it, than I would have been about a place already known to the world by any hiſtory or relations made of it. For this reaſon, I have employ'd ſix books in the deſcription of the land, and the valorous fierce diſpoſition of its inhabitants, that the force and efficacy of the divine grace might ſhine out the more in the beginnings of the converſions of that untractable nation, mentioned in my two laſt books, which are almoſt as comprehenſive as my ſix firſt, which were divided into ſo many, only to anſwer the diverſity of matter which they contain.

Thus I have informed my reader of this work, in which he will find variety of entertainment. Some things will anſwer the curioſity of thoſe who delight in knowing natural cauſes; others will be moved and incited to valiant actions by the examples of thoſe performed here. Thoſe likewiſe, who love hiſtorical relations, will be pleaſed, ſince here is an epitome of the diſcovery of the beſt part of the Indies, *according to the order of times, and perſons concerned in the conqueſts and diſcoveries of ſo many kingdoms; and, laſtly, the pious diſpoſition of devout minds will be elevated to praiſe God for the ſignal favours, which the queen of heaven has beſtowed on the kingdom of* Chile *in particular; and adore the Lord of all things, for having in little more than one century made his name known, and his worſhip introduced among ſo many heathen nations, even to bring the untamed and powerful* Araucano's *upon their knees to him, after ſo many years ſtubborn reſiſting the entrance of the Goſpel. I cannot deſire my Reader to expreſs any acknowledgements for this work of mine, becauſe I do not judge it deſerves ſo great a reward; but I hope he may, with indulgence, excuſe its faults, and make me ſome allowance for the little helps I have had in writing. I have endeavoured to pleaſe all; but, particularly, to ſhew how the kingdom of Chriſt may be advanced in that new world, if the apoſtolical zeal of the evangelical workmen will employ itſelf in this great harveſt of ſo extended a gentiliſm and new chriſtianity.*

To the READER.

THE firſt ſix books being the only ones that contain the hiſtorical and natural accounts, they alone are tranſlated; and ſome chapters even out of them omitted, for their tedious ſuperſtitious narratives.

THE

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BOOK I.

Of the Nature and Properties of the Kingdom of CHILE.

CHAP. I.

Of the Situation, Climate, and Diviſion of the Kingdom of CHILE.

Situation.

THE kingdom of *Chile*, which is the uttermoſt bounds of *South America*, and has the kingdom of *Peru* to the north, begins at the 25th degree of ſouth latitude, towards the *Antartick Pole*, and is extended in length five hundred leagues, as far as the ſtreights of *Magellan*, and its oppoſite land, called *La Tierra del Fuego*, which reaches to the 59th degree. The breadth of *Chile* is various; for it may be ſaid to extend itſelf one hundred and fifty leagues eaſt and weſt, becauſe though that which is properly call'd *Chile*, is not in many places above twenty or thirty leagues broad, which is generally its extent from the ſea to the famous *Cordillera Nevada*, or chain of mountains cover'd with ſnow, (of which we ſhall ſpeak in its proper place,) yet in the diviſion of the bounds of the ſeveral governments of *America*, the king added to *Chile* thoſe vaſt plains of *Cuyo*, which runs in length as far as *Chile* does, and are above twice as broad.

The oppoſite part of the world to this kingdom, is the meridian that paſſes between the iſland *Taprobana* of the Antients, which is *Zeilon*, and cape *Comorin*, beginning at twenty ſix degrees north of the equinoctial line. The inhabitants are properly antipodes to thoſe of *Chile*; and thoſe who inhabit the countries that reach from thirty ſeven degrees to forty four of the moſt weſterly parts of *New Guinea*, would be alſo diametrically antipodes to the inhabitants of *Caſtille*; but 'tis yet uncertain, whether that part of the world is land or water; but this is certain, that it falls out in the diviſion of *Caſtille*, and is oppoſite to it, and is weſt from *Chile* one thouſand ſeven hundred leagues.

Climate.

This kingdom is comprehended in the third, fourth, and fifth climate: In that part of it which is in the third climate, the longeſt day is thirteen hours; and in the fifth climate, the day at longeſt is about fourteen hours, and ſomething more, quite contrary to *Europe*, as being oppoſite to it, but not diametrically; for the longeſt day in *Chile* is St. *Lucias*, and the ſhorteſt St. *Barnaby's*; the ſun is always there towards the north, and the ſhadows to the ſouth. OVALLE, 1646.

This is the ſituation of the kingdom of *Chile*, which borders upon the north with the province of *Aracama*, and the rich mines of ſilver of *Potoſi*, where the kingdom of *Peru* begins; and on the ſouth it has the great ſea to the pole, and the iſlands diſcover'd in it. *Abraham Ortelius* was of opinion, that there was on this ſouth ſide of the kingdom of *Chile*, a land which was contiguous with *New Guinea*; and this opinion laſted till we were undeceiv'd by thoſe, who having paſs'd by the ſtreight of St. *Vincent*, otherwiſe call'd the ſtreight of *Le Maire*, went round that ſouth land call'd the *Tierra del Fuego*, and return'd to the north ſea by the ſtreights of *Magellan*; proving evidently the ſaid land to be an iſland entirely ſeparated from any other land; as I ſhall ſhew further in its proper place.

Chile has on the eaſt *Tucuman* and *Buenos Ayres*, and to the north eaſt *Paraguay* and *Braſil*; to the weſt it has the *South-Sea*, which, according to the opinion of *Antonio de Herrera*, is all that is comprehended between *Chile* and *China*, and begins at the *Golden Cherſoneſus*, or the iſland of *Sumatra*; and that ſea is in breadth, eaſt and weſt, two thouſand ſeven hundred leagues.

Diviſion.

According to what has been ſaid, we may divide this kingdom into three parts: The firſt and principal is that which is comprehended between the *Cordillera Nevada* and the *South-Sea*, which is properly call'd *Chile*. The ſecond contains the iſlands which are ſow'd up and down upon its coaſt as far as the ſtreights of *Magellan*. The third contains the province of *Cuyo*, which is on the other ſide of the ſnowy mountains, call'd the *Cordillera Nevada*, and run in length all along as far as the ſtreights, and

Ovalle. 1646. in breadth extends to the confines of *Tucuman*.

To begin then with that part which is moſt properly call'd *Chile*: I confeſs I had rather the deſcription of it had fallen to the lot of ſome ſtranger who had ſeen it; for then the danger of paſſing for too partial for one's own country (to which are expos'd all thoſe who write of it) would have been more eaſily avoided, and ſuch a one might with leſs apprehenſion enlarge upon the excellent properties which God has been pleas'd to endow it with. The common opinion of all thoſe who have come from *Europe* to it, is, that its ſoil and its climate exceed all others they have ſeen; though, perhaps, in that they only make a return for the kind welcome they all meet with in thoſe parts. As for my part, all I can ſay, is, that though it be like *Europe* in every thing, except in the oppoſition of the ſeaſons, which are tranſpos'd, it being ſpring and ſummer in the one, when it is autumn and winter in the other, yet it has ſome properties which do really ſingularize it, and deſerve the praiſes given it by travellers; for, firſt, neither the heat nor the cold are ſo exceſſive as in *Europe*, particularly as far as the 45th degree of latitude, for from thence to the pole the rigorous and exceſſive cold begins.

Temperature of the air. The ſituation accidental of the land of *Chile*, muſt be the cauſe of this temperature of the air; for being cover'd on the eaſt by the high mountains of the *Cordillera*, which are all ſo prodigiouſly elevated, it receives the freſh and cooling breezes from the ſea; and the tides which penetrate as far as the foot of the mountains, joining with the coolneſs of the ſnow, with which they are cover'd, refreſh the Air ſo, that about four a-clock in the afternoon the heat is no ways troubleſome. Nay, if one is in the ſhade, one may ſay, that in no hour of the day the ſun is inſupportable, eſpecially from thirty ſix degrees or thereabouts, neither day nor night the heat can be complained of; which is the cauſe, that at the town of the *Conception*, which is in that ſituation, the covering for beds is the ſame winter and ſummer, neither of thoſe ſeaſons being any ways troubleſome.

Chile free from lightening, Another good quality of this country is, to be free from lightening; for though ſometimes thunder is heard, 'tis at a great diſtance up in the mountain. Neither does there fall any hail in the ſpring or ſummer; or are thoſe ſtorms of thunder and lightening ſeen here, which in other parts make the bells be rung out, and the clouds to be exorcized; neither are there ſo many cloudy days in winter as in other parts; but moſt commonly after the rain has laſted two or three days, the heavens clear up, and look as if the ſky had been waſh'd, without the leaſt cloud, in a very ſhort time after the rain; for as ſoon as ever the north wind, which brings the cloudy weather, ceaſes, the ſouth ſucceeds, and in a few hours drives away the rain; or if it be in the night-time, the dew falls, and the ſun riſes brighter than ever.

And all poiſonous creatures. This country is yet to be valued upon another propriety of it, which is, that it is free from poiſonous creatures, ſuch as vipers and ſnakes, ſcorpions or toads; ſo that one may venture to ſit under a tree, or lie down and rowl on the ground, without fear of being bit by them. Neither are there tygers, panthers, or any other miſchievous animals; except ſome lions of a ſmall kind, which ſometimes do harm to the flocks of ſheep or goats, but never to men, whom they fly from; and this is not only in the cultivated land, where men are frequent, but in the woods and ſolitude, and in the thickeſt groves, of which there are ſome ſo cloſe with trees, that one can hardly break through them afoot. I heard a friar of ours, who was an excellent Builder, ſay, that having gone for three months together in woods, where there was no ſign of any one's having paſs'd before, to find out trees proper for the timber of the church of *St. Jago*, he had never met with the leaſt poiſonous creature, that could either cauſe a nauſeous idea, or a dangerous effect.

No bugs will live there. There is another moſt wonderful ſingularity of this ſame country, which is, that not only it does not breed, but will not ſuffer any *punaizes* or bugs to live in it; which is the more to be admir'd, that on the other ſide the mountains they ſwarm. I never ſaw one in it alive, for ſometimes there are ſome in the goods and furniture of people who come from the province of *Cuyo*; but as ſoon as they feel the air of *Chile* they die. The experience that was made of this, by one that was either curious or malicious enough, was wonderful; for coming from *Cuyo* to *Chile*, he brought ſome of thoſe creatures with him, well put up in a Box, and ſuch food provided for them as to keep them alive; but no ſooner were they come to the valley of *Aconcagua*, which is the firſt valley coming down from the mountains, but they all died, not ſo much as one remaining alive.

I do not ſay any thing here of the mines of gold, nor of thoſe excellent waters which, running from them, are cordial and healthy; nor of the abundance of proviſions for life, nor of the phyſical plants, nor of many other rare qualities in which this country exceeds others, as well to avoid confuſion, as becauſe thoſe things will be better ſhew'd when we come to treat of each of them in particular in their proper place.

In

The climate and soil of Chile *very like those of* Europe.

In all other things the land of *Chile* is so like *Europe*, both in climate and soil, that there is very small or no difference; and it is very remarkable, that in such variety of discoveries made in *America*, none is so conformable in every thing with the *European* constitution, as this tract of *Chile*: for in most of the places between the tropicks, as *Brasil*, *Cartagena*, *Panama*, *Portobello*, and those coasts in that situation, the heats are violent, and continual all the year; and in some other places, such as *Potosi*, and the mountains of *Peru*, the cold is as excessive; in some they have a winter without rain, and have their rain in summer, when their heat is highest; others there are, where they have neither wine, oil, nor wheat of their own product; and though in some they may have these productions, yet the other fruits of *Europe* do not take with them; but *Chile* has, just as *Europe*, its four seasons, of spring, summer, autumn, and winter; it does not rain in summer, but in winter; and all the product of *Europe* agrees with their soil.

Several lands in the same latitude with Chile, *yet much differing in climate from that and* Europe.

One thing is much to be admir'd, and that is, that the land of *Cuyo*, that of *Tucuman*, and *Buenos Ayres*, being all in the same latitude with *Chile*, are nevertheless so different in climate from it and from *Europe*; for though in those parts it freezes exceedingly, so as to freeze water within doors, and that their cattle, if left abroad, die with cold, yet there does not fall a drop of rain all the winter, and the sun shines out so bright and clear, that not a cloud is to be seen: But in the spring they have such abundance of rain, that it would drown the whole country, if the showers lasted as long as in *Europe* or in *Chile*; for when the rain lasts but an hour and a half, the streets are full of streams in the towns, and the carts are up to their axle-trees, though they are very high in those parts, and all the country is as it were a sea: There fall likewise at that time thunder-stones, and hail as big as a hen's egg, nay, as geese eggs, and sometimes as big as ostriches; as I myself have seen. OVALLE. 1646.

All these storms and varieties of weather form themselves in the high mountains, that are a kind of wall to the kingdom of *Chile*; and they never come so far down as to invade its territories, but stop at them like a *barricado*; for in *Chile* the weather is always steddy and constant, without sudden changes, all the spring, summer, and autumn; in winter, indeed, there are degrees of heat and cold, as there is a difference in the length and shortness of the days, according to the degrees of the latitude, and course of the sun, which causes the same variation as in *Europe*, though in opposite months.

A great resemblance between the animals and other productions of Chile *and those of* Europe.

From hence it follows, as authors do observe, and experience teaches, that there must be, and is, a great resemblance between the animals and other productions of *Chile* and those of *Europe*. As a proof of this, I have seen several gentlemen that came to *Chile* from other parts of *America*, either as commanders, or for other employments, which are in the king's disposal, incredibly overjoy'd at this conformity with *Europe*; for they think themselves, as it were, in their native country, the air and the provisions of both so like in their qualities: The meats are more nourishing than in hotter climates; and when those who have been either born or bred in those hot countries come to *Chile*, they are forced to abstain, and keep a watch upon their appetites, till their stomachs are used by little and little to the strength of the food of that country, and can digest it.

CHAP. II.

Of the four Seasons of the Year, and particularly of the Winter *and* Spring: *With a Description of some Flowers and Medicinal Plants.*

The four seasons.

THE four seasons of the year, which are in *Europe* the *spring*, the *summer*, the *autumn*, and the *winter*, are with the same duration of time enjoyed in *Chile*, though not exactly under the same names, at the same time; for the *spring* begins about the middle of the *European August*, and lasts to the middle of *November*; then begins the *summer*, which holds to the middle of *February*; which is followed by the *autumn*, which lasts to the middle of *May*; and then the *winter* enters, and makes all the trees bare of their leaves, and the earth cover'd with white frosts, (which nevertheless dissolve about two hours after sun-rise, except in some cloudy days, that the icicles last from one day to another;) the *winter* ends again about the middle of *August*. 'Tis very seldom that the snow falls in the valleys or low grounds, though so great a quantity is upon the mountains, that it fills up sometimes all the hollow places to the height of several pikes, and there remains, as it were, in wells and reservatories, to provide, as it does in due time, so many springs and rivers with water, so fertilizing the valleys and plains, that they produce infinite crops of all sorts in the *autumn*, and enrich the kingdom. But notwithstanding that it

Winter.

seldom

Ovalle. 1646. feldom ſnows in the valleys and plains, yet it is ſo cold in them, that few parts of *Europe* are colder; which proceeds not only from the degree of elevation this land is in, but alſo from its neighbourhood to thoſe vaſt mountains called the *Cordillera*, who ſend out ſuch ſharp and piercing winds, that ſometimes they are inſupportable; therefore the ſea coaſt is much more temperate and warm; but in return, much more expoſed to vehement tempeſts of winds, than the inland parts, where theſe ſtorms are in ſome meaſure ſpent before they reach them, and ſo cannot whip them and torment them as they do the ſea coaſts.

Thorn-buſhes in abundance, affording plenty of fewel. For ſome protection againſt theſe ſharp cold winds, God Almighty has placed ſeveral great cluſters of thorn-buſhes, which thrive ſo well, that it is the ordinary fewel of all the countries about the town of *St. Jago*, and the valleys near it. It is a plant not unlike an oak, though more durable; the heart of the wood is red, and incorruptible; of it they make coals for the furnace, and other ſhop uſes. In other parts the true oak ſerves for the ſame purpoſe; as in the territory of the city of *Conception*, where there are very large woods of them, which are ſo thick, that though they have already ſerved for the uſes of the natives ſo many years, yet when they are enter'd, they can hardly be paſſed in the middle; and this within half a league of the city; for further up in the country there are foreſts, where no man ever ſet his foot.

Ever-greens. Though theſe oaks, as alſo the fruit-trees, loſe their leaves in winter, yet there are wild trees which do not, though all covered with ice and ſnow; and the cold is ſo far from injuring them, that when the ſun melts the froſt, they look brighter and more beautiful. As ſoon as the firſt rains come, the fields begin to be cloathed in green, and the earth is covered in twenty or thirty days with graſs; amongſt which nature produces a ſort of yellow flower in ſuch abundance, that the plains and valleys look like carpets of green and yellow.

Spring. Theſe firſt rains ſeem to prepare the earth for its ornamental dreſs of flowers with the ſpring, which begins about the middle of *Auguſt*; and they laſt till *December*, that the heats come in, and that with ſuch variety and abundance of ſo many kinds, that the fields look as if they had been painted, producing a moſt delightful object. I remember once, as I was travelling, I ſaw ſo great a diverſity of theſe flowers, ſome ſcarlet, others blue, yellow, red, ſtraw-colour, purple, *&c.* that I was mov'd to tell them, and I told in a ſhort time two and forty ſorts, ſo admirable was their variety; and yet I do not reckon among theſe the cultivated ones in gardens, nor thoſe that were brought from *Europe*, ſuch as carnations, roſes, ſtock-gillyflowers, orange, lillies, poppies, lupins, *&c.* I only ſpeak of thoſe that grow wild, which are ſo odoriferous and ſweet-ſcented, that 'tis out of them that they diſtil a water call'd *aqua d'angeles*, or, angel's-water. The ſmell of theſe flowers is perceived ſweeteſt at the riſing and ſetting of the ſun; which mingled with the ſcent emitted by the herbs, which are very aromatick, produce a moſt admirable perfume, and for that reaſon they put the ſprouts and tops of them among the flowers which make the angel-water.

Deſcription of ſome flowers.

It is ſcarce poſſible to expreſs the force with which the earth puts forth theſe plants, which is ſo great, that in many places 'tis hard to diſtinguiſh the cultivated from the uncultivated lands. One would think at firſt that all had been plowed and ſowed alike; and with the continuance of the rains, the graſs runs up ſo ſtrong, and grows ſo intricate, that a horſe can hardly break through it, it coming in moſt places to the ſaddle-girts.

Plants, &c. Muſtard-ſeed, turnips, mint, fennel, trefoil, and other plants, which I ſee are ſowed and cultivated in *Europe*, for the juſt eſteem that is made of them, do all grow wild in *Chile*, without ſerving to the uſe of life at all, otherwiſe than by the cattle's feeding on them, which they may do for ſeveral leagues together. The muſtard plant thrives ſo mightily, that it is as big as one's arm, and ſo high and thick, that it looks like a tree. I have travelled many leagues through muſtard groves, which were taller than horſe and man; and the birds build their neſts in them, as the goſpel mentions in theſe words, *ita ut volucres cæli veniant & habitent in ramis ejus*; ſo that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof. Mat. xiii. 31.

Character of the Machis, or Indian doctors. There are many plants of great virtue in phyſick, and known only to the *Indians*, of the Macall'd *Machis*, who are a race of men that are their doctors. Theſe plants they conceal carefully, and particularly from the *Spaniards*, to whom if they communicate the knowledge of one or two, it is a great mark of their friendſhip; but the knowledge of the reſt they reſerve, and it paſſes from father to ſon. Theſe *Machis*, or doctors, are not only eſteem'd by the *Indians*, but by the *Spaniards* themſelves, who have recourſe to them in the greateſt extremities, when the diſeaſe preſſes moſt. They find wonderful effects from the application of theſe ſimples, which they uſe in a leſſer doſe with the *Spaniards* than with the *Indians*,

dians, who are of a more robuſt nature, and ſtronger conſtitution.

Two remarkable cures performed by the Machis.

I ſaw one of our order much troubled with the falling-ſickneſs and ſwooning fits, ſo as he was forced to have always ſome body in his company, or elſe he might have fallen down ſtairs, or otherwiſe killed himſelf: he had uſed all the remedies that the learning of phyſicians and the charity of religious men could ſuggeſt, but without any effect at all; nay, he was worſe and worſe every day. Our fathers learned at laſt, that about twelve leagues off from that place there lived an *Indian Machi:* they ſent for him; and being come, and having heard the relation of his diſtemper, he gave him as much of a certain herb in wine as the bigneſs of a nail; and it had ſo great an effect, that it took away the diſtemper, as if he had taken it away with his hand, the perſon being never troubled with it more, all the time I knew him.

I have ſeen many other cures performed by theſe *Machis*, particularly in caſes of poiſon; for in that ſort of diſtemper they are very eminent. I ſhall mention but one inſtance, of a gentleman who had been pining away for ſeveral years, and often at death's door: once, being in extream danger, he heard of a famous *Machi* who lived a great way off, but was a ſhe-doctor, (for there are women amongſt them eminent in the art:) he procured, by preſents, to have her ſent for; and having promiſed her a conſiderable reward, beſides what he gave her in hand, which he was well able to perform, being very rich and powerful, ſhe began to apply her remedies, which were herbs; and one day, when ſhe ſaw his body prepared to part with the poiſon, ſhe cauſed a great ſilver voider to be ſet in the middle of the room, and there, in the preſence of many people, the gentleman having firſt been very ſick in his ſtomach, he caſt up the poiſon which had been given him many years before, wrapp'd up in hair, which came up with it; and he was perfectly well after this, as he himſelf related to me.

Though, as I have ſaid, the *Indians* are ſo cloſe in keeping ſecret the herbs they uſe, yet many of them, perſuaded by reaſon, and induced by friendſhip, do communicate ſomething; and time and experience has diſcover'd ſo many more, that if I ſhould mention them all, I ſhould be forc'd to make a book on purpoſe of them; therefore I ſhall only mention three that I have more preſent in my memory, the effects of which are prodigious.

Deſcription of ſome medicinal herbs.

The firſt ſhall be the famous plant call'd *Quinchamali*, which riſes not a foot above the ground, and its branches ſpread like a noſegay, and end in little flowers at the points, which, both in colour and ſhape, are not unlike the ſaffron call'd *Romi*. They pull up the herb, and boil it entire with its root, leaves, and flowers, in fair water, which is given to the Patient to drink hot: amongſt other effects it produces, one is to diſſolve all coagulated blood in the body, and that very quickly; ſo that an *Indian* feeling himſelf wounded, takes it immediately, to hinder the blood that could not come out at the wound from congealing inwardly, and ſo prevents all impoſthumation, and the corruption of the reſt. OVALLE. 1646.

There happened in our college of *St. Jago* an accident, which gave proof of this admirable herb; which was, That an *Indian* belonging to us being gone to the great place to ſee the bull-feaſt, a bull, to his great misfortune, catch'd him up, and toſs'd him in the air, and left him almoſt dead on the ground; he was brought to our houſe, and the phyſician, being called, ſaid he was a dead man, and nothing could ſave him: but, however, he told the father that has care of the ſick, that it would coſt but little to give him the *Quinchamali*, wrap him up warm, and leave him alone ſome hours. It was done accordingly; and after ſome time, the father reſorting to the place where they had laid him, to ſee if he was dead, he was found not only alive, but out of danger, and the ſheet all full of blood, which the herb had cauſ'd him to void through the pores of his body, ſo as he remain'd perfectly well in a little time.

The ſecond herb is that which we *Spaniards* call *Albaaquilla*, and the *Indians*, *Culen*, becauſe its leaves are like the leaves of ſweet baſil: it grows in buſhes ſo high, that they ſeem to be trees; the leaves are very fragrant, and ſweet like honey: being bruiſed, it is applied to the wound outwardly, and ſome drops of its juice are to be poured alſo into the wound; after which moſt admirable effects of its efficacy are ſeen.

I was told by captain *Sebaſtian Garcia Carrero*, the founder of our novitiat-houſe of *Bucalemo*, that as he was travelling with a dog in his company, which he loved extremely, ſome wild monkeys that live in the mountains fell upon him, and ſo worried him among them by biting him, ſome on one ſide and ſome on the other, that they left him full of wounds, and particularly with one large one in his throat: his maſter came up at laſt, and found him without ſign of life: he was much troubled for the loſs of his dog, and lighted to ſee what he could do for him. This *Albaaquilla* is an herb that grows every where in the fields; and the gentleman, at a venture, gathering three or four handfuls of it, bruized them between

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The third herb, that I can remember, is like a knot of fine hair, and which is not commonly met with: this is an admirable herb in fevers and pleuriſies; it is boiled in water, and drank; it purifies and cleanſes the blood, expelling that which is bad, and ſo the ſick body remains perfectly cured; as I my ſelf have had the experience of it.

There are ſeveral other plants, ſome of which cure the pains of the liver; others diſſolve the ſtone in the bladder, and break it to pieces; ſome are excellent for the ſciatica and other infirmities; all which, if I were to relate in particular, I ſhould make a new *dioſcorides*, or herbal, which is not my intention. We will therefore leave the flowers and herbs of the ſpring, the harmony of the ſinging of birds, which ſo rejoices the mornings, and the ſerene and quiet days of this ſeaſon, to draw near the ſummer; which will afford us matter of diſcourſe.

CHAP. III.

Of the Summer *and* Autumn, *and their Product.*

Summer. THE *Summer* begins in the middle of *November*, and laſts to the middle of *February*, ſo that the greateſt heats are at *Chriſtmas*; and we are forc'd to have recourſe to our faith, to conſider the *Child* God trembling with cold in the manger; for when we riſe to ſing *matins*, particularly in *Cuyo* and *Tucuman*, where the heats are exceſſive, we are ready to melt with heat. In *Chile* the heats are not ſo exceſſive, becauſe the country is more temperate; but ſtill the weather is not ſo cold as it was in *Bethlem*. About this time the fruits begin to ripen, which are in great variety; and there are but few of thoſe of *Europe* that are wanting; for as ſoon as any of them are brought, either in ſtone, ſeed, or plant, they take, and 'tis wonderful to ſee how they thrive. I remember about thirty years ago there were no cherries; there coming by chance a little tree from *Spain*, from which all the curious began to multiply them in their gardens, (it being both a rarity, and a valuable fruit;) in a ſmall time they were ſo increaſed, that they were baniſh'd from the gardens to the fields, becauſe they produced ſo many young plants from their roots, that they took up all the ground about them.

Deſcription of fruits. Of the fruits of *Peru*, *Mexico*, and all the continent of *America*, not one will grow in *Chile*; and the reaſon is, the oppoſition of the climate of *Chile*; nay, though they bring either plant, ſeed, or ſetting, they never thrive; for thoſe countries are within the tropicks, and *Chile* is out of them: for which reaſon alſo the fruits of *Europe* take ſo well in *Chile*, ſuch as pears, abricots, figs, peaches, quinces, *&c.* which bear infinitely; and if there is not care taken to leſſen their number when little, it is impoſſible for the boughs to bear the weight of the fruit, ſo that they are fain to prop them up with forks when they grow near ripe.

The fruit that exceeds all the reſt for bearing, is the apple of all kinds, of which there are prodigious orchards; and of theſe, though they leſſen the number, yet the others increaſe ſo much in weight, that the trees are brought down to the ground; ſo that there are many windfalls, filling all the ground about them, and the very rivers on which they ſtand, and ſtopping the courſe of the water.

Grain. All the crops of oats, wheat, maiz, and all other garden product, begin to be cut in *December*, and ſo on to *March*; and they ſeldom produce leſs than twenty or thirty for one, nay, ſome a hundred for one, and the maiz four hundred for one; and 'tis very ſeldom that there is any ſcarcity of grain, but it is very cheap moſt commonly.

As for the fruit of the gardens, it is never or rarely ſold, but any body may, without hinderance, ſtep into a garden or orchard, and eat what they will; only the ſtrawberries, which they call *Frutilla*, are ſold; for though I have ſeen them grow wild for miles together, yet, being cultivated, they are ſold very dear: they are very different from thoſe I have ſeen here in *Rome*, as well in the taſte, as in the ſmell; and as for their ſize, they grow to be as big as pears, moſt commonly red, but in the territory of the *Conception* there are of them white and yellow.

About this time alſo the herbs that fatten the cattle grow ripe; and then they begin to kill them with great profit, it being the chiefeſt riches of the country, by reaſon of the tallow and hides which are ſent for *Peru*. They kill thouſands of cows, ſheep, goats; and the fleſh, being ſo cheap that it is not worth ſaving, they throw it away into the ſea

sea or rivers, that it may not infect the air; only they salt the tongues and loins of the cows, which they send for *Peru* as presents to their friends; and they who are able, and understand it, send likewise some dried salt-fish for the king's forces, or keep it to feed their own slaves or servants.

Autumn. *Autumn* begins about the middle of *February*; so lent proves the most delicious time of the year; for besides lobsters, oysters, crabs, and other sorts of shell-fish and sea-fish of all kinds, they fish in the ponds and rivers for trouts, *Vagres*, *Pejereges*, and other very choice river-fish of several kinds; and at the same time there is a great plenty of pulse, and garden-product, as gourds, all sorts of fruit, particularly quinces, which are as big as one's head, and another kind called *Lucumas*, of which they make so many dishes, that the mortification of fasting is hardly perceived.

Time of gathering olives and grapes. In the end of *Autumn* they begin to gather the olives and the grapes; and this lasts the months of *May* and *June*. The wines are most noble and generous, and fam'd by the authors who write of this country: there is such plenty of them, that the plenty is a grievance, there being no vent for such quantities: it kills the *Indians*, because when they drink, 'tis without measure, till they fall down; and it being very strong, it burns up their inward parts: the best kind is the *Muscatel*. I have seen some that look like water; but their operation is very different in the stomach, which they warm like brandy.

Noble and generous wines.

White wines. There are white wines also very much valued; as those of the grapes called *Uba Torrontes*, and *Albilla*: the red and deep-colour'd are made of the ordinary red grape, and the grape called *Mollar*. The bunches of grapes are so large, that they cause admiration; particularly I remember one, which, because of its monstrous bigness, was by its owner (a gentleman) offer'd to our lady's shrine: it was so big as to fill a basket, and to feed the whole convent of friers for that meal, and they are pretty numerous. The branches of the vines are by consequence very big, and the trunk or body of them is in some places as thick as a man's body, and no man can incompass with extended arms the heads of them, when they are in full bloom.

CHAP. IV.

Of the natural Riches of the Kingdom of Chile; *which are its Mines of Gold, and other Metals; as also of the industrious Management of its other Product.*

Two sorts of riches. THE riches of *Chile* are of two sorts: first, those which nature has bestowed on it, without the help of human industry; and, secondly, those which have been produced and invented by the inhabitants, to improve and enjoy its fertility. To the first kind belong its mines of gold, silver, copper, tin, quick-silver, and lead, with which heaven has inriched it. Of the copper of *Chile* are made all the great guns for *Peru* and the neighbouring kingdoms, in the garrisons of which there are always stores, particularly on the coasts: all the bells of the churches, and utensils for families, are of this metal; so that since the working of these mines, no copper has come from *Spain*; for the *Indies* are sufficiently supplied by them with all they can want.

Little lead, and less quick-silver. There is little lead work'd, because there is little use of it; quick-silver less, because the mines are but newly discovered; and as they were going to work them, the obstacle to those of *Guancabilica* in *Peru* was removed, and so there was no need of working those of *Chile*. Those of silver likewise lie unwrought, because the golden mines are of less charge, and so every body has turned their industry towards them: they are so many, and so rich, that from the confines of *Peru* to the extreamest parts of this kingdom, as far as the streights of *Magellan*, there is no part of the country but they discover them; which made father *Gregory* of *Leon*, in his map of *Chile*, say, That this country ought rather to have been called a plate of gold, than to go about to reckon up its golden mines, which are innumerable.

All the authors who have writ of this country, do mightily enlarge upon its riches; and the same is done by all those who have navigated the streights of *Magellan*: *Antonio de Herrera*, in his general history of the *Indies*, says, That in all the *West-Indies*, no gold is so fine as that of *Valdivia* in *Chile*, except the famous mine of *Carabaya*; and that when those mines were first work'd, (which was before those *Indians* who are now at peace with us were at war,) an *Indian* among them did use to get from them every day 20 or 30 *peso's* of gold, which comes to near 500 reals of plate, and was a wonderful gain.

Great plenty of gold. And the already-cited *John* and *Theodore de Brye* say, That when the *Nodales* passed the streights of *St. Vincent*, otherwise

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called ſtreights of *Le Maire*, there came ſome *Indians* from the country called *La Tierra del Fuego*, who exchanged with the *Spaniards* a piece of gold of a foot and a half long, and a broad, for ſciſſars, knives, needles, and other things of little value; for they do not value it as we do. Other authors ſay, that moſt of the gold that was laid up in the *Ineas* treaſure, was brought to him from *Chile*, though having never ſubjected the *Araucanos*, he could not have that quantity which this rich country would elſe have afforded.

But what need I weary myſelf in citations of people abroad, when thoſe who live in the country of *Chile*, and ſee it every day, are the beſt teſtimony of the great riches that the *Spaniards* have drawn from theſe mines; which was ſo great, that I have heard the old men ſay, That in their feaſts and entertainments they us'd to put gold-duſt in their ſalt-ſellers, inſtead of ſalt; and that when they ſwept the houſe, the ſervants would often find grains of gold in the ſweepings, which they would waſh out, for the *Indians* being the perſons that brought it to their lords, they would often let ſome fall.

Gold more plenty than ſilver.

I have ſaid before, that it was much more eaſy to get gold than ſilver out of the mines, becauſe this laſt coſts much pains; firſt, to dig it from the hard rock, then to beat it in the mills to powder, which mills are chargeable, as is alſo the quick-ſilver, neceſſary to be us'd to make the ſilver unite, and all the reſt of the operations requiſite to refine it; but the advantage of getting gold has no other trouble in it, than to carry the earth in which it is found to the water, and there waſh it in mills on purpoſe, with a ſtream which carries off the earth, and the gold, as being heavieſt, goes to the bottom.

'Tis true, that ſometimes they follow the gold vein through rocks and hard places, where it grows thinner and thinner, till at laſt the profit that ariſes is very ſmall; yet they perſiſt to follow it, in hopes it will grow larger, and end at laſt in that which they call *Boſſa*, which is, when coming to a ſofter and eaſier part of the rock, the vein enlarges ſo, that one of theſe hits is enough to enrich a family for all their lives. There is now leſs gold found than formerly, by reaſon of the war the *Spaniards* have had with the nation of *Araucanos*; but ſtill ſome is found, particularly in *Coquimbo*, where, in the winter, when it rains much, is the great harveſt of gold; for by the rain the mountains are waſh'd away, and the gold is eaſier to come at. There is likewiſe ſome gold in the territory of the *Conception*; in which I was told, by a captain who enter'd into our ſociety, That there was not above half a league from the town, a pond, or ſtanding-water, which is not deeper than half the heighth of a man; and that when the *Indians* have nothing to ſpend, they ſend their wives to this pond; and they going in, feel out with their toes the grains of gold; and as ſoon as they have found them, they ſtoop and take them up. They do this till they have got to the value of two or three *peſo's* of gold; and then they ſeek no longer, but go home, and do not return for any more as long as that laſts; for they are not a covetous people, but are content to enjoy, without laying up.

A peſo is about the value of eight ſhillings.

I brought with me to *Italy*, one of theſe grains thus found, of a pretty reaſonable bigneſs; and ſending it at *Seville* to be touch'd, without either putting it in the fire, or uſing other proofs, it was allowed to be of twenty three carats, which is a very remarkable thing. Now the peace is made, and the warlike *Indians* quiet, the *Spaniards* may return to ſearch for the gold of *Valdivia*, and other mines thereabouts, which will extreamly increaſe the riches of the country.

Great encouragement to merchants.

As for the product made by the induſtry of the inhabitants, it conſiſts particularly in the breed of their cattle of all kinds, as I have obſerv'd above; ſending the tallow, hides, and dried fleſh, for *Lima*; where having firſt retain'd the neceſſary proportion for themſelves, which is about twenty thouſand quintals of tallow every year for that city, and hides accordingly, they diſtribute the reſt all over *Peru*: the hides, particularly, are carried up to *Potoſi*, and all that inland tract of mines, where moſt of their cloathing comes from *Chile*; they are alſo carried to *Panama*, *Carthagena*, and the reſt of that continent; ſome of this trade extends itſelf likewiſe to *Tucuman* and *Buenos Aires*, and from thence to *Braſil*.

Breeding of cattle the chief product of Chile.

The ſecond product is the cordage and tackling, with which all the ſhips of the *South-Seas* are furniſh'd from *Chile*; as alſo the match for fire-arms, with which all the king's garriſons along the coaſt are provided from thoſe parts; for the hemp which makes the firſt material of all theſe proviſions, grows no where in the *Weſt-Indies* but in *Chile*: there is alſo packthread exported, and other ſmaller cordage.

Cordage, tackling for ſhips, and match for fire-arms.

The third product is mules, which are ſent to *Potoſi*, through the deſart of *Aracama*.

Mules

The fourth product is the cocoa-nuts, which are the fruit of the palm-trees; and do not, indeed, proceed from induſtry, but grow wild in the mountains, without any cultivation, ſo thick, that I have ſeen ſeveral

Cocoa-nuts.

Almonds. ſeveral leagues of this tree. Almonds likewiſe, and the product of gardens, which do not grow in *Peru*, are carried thither with great profit, ſo as to be able to ſet up a young beginner. When I came to *Lima*, I obſerved that the anniſeed which had been bought at *Chile* for two pieces of eight, was ſold there for twenty; and the cummin-ſeed, bought at twenty, was ſold for fourſcore; which makes merchants very willing to trade to thoſe parts, as hoping to grow rich in a ſmall Time; and this increaſes the riches of *Chile*, by drawing every day thither men with good ſtocks. The gains made this way are ſo conſiderable, that a man who has about forty thouſand crowns to employ in land, flocks, and ſlaves, to take care of them may every year have a revenue of ten or twelve thouſand crowns, which is a gain of twenty five *per cent.* very lawful, and without any trouble to one's conſcience, or ſubjection to the dangers of the ſeas: for thoſe who will run the hazards of that element gain much more; for the merchants, by many commodities, get a hundred, and two hundred, nay, three hundred *per cent.* in a navigation of about three weeks, which is the time uſually employed from *Chile* to *Lima*, without any fear of pirates, all thoſe ſeas being entirely the king of *Spain*'s, and ſo free from thoſe robbers. Beſides, 'tis very ſeldom that any ſtorms are felt in that voyage, or, at leaſt, not any that endanger the loſs of the ſhips. The greateſt danger proceeds from the covetouſneſs of the owners and merchants, who truſting to the peaceableneſs of thoſe ſeas, and that they ſail all the way from *Chile* to *Lima* before the wind, they load up to the mid-maſt. 'Tis not exaggeration; becauſe I have ſeen them go out of the port with proviſions for the voyage, and other neceſſaries, as high as the ropes that hold the maſts; and though the king's officers are preſent to hinder the ſhips from being overloaded, yet generally they are ſo deep in the water, that they are but juſt above it; and with all theſe, there are many goods left behind in the magazines of the port; for the land is ſo productive of every thing, that the only misfortune of it, is to want a vent for its product, which is enough to ſupply another *Lima*, or another *Potoſi*, if there were one. OVALLE. 1646.

Great encouragement to merchants.

'Tis upon this foundation, that 'tis affirmed generally, that no country in all *America* has a more ſolid eſtabliſhment than *Chile*; for in proportion to the increaſe of inhabitants in *Peru*, *Chile* muſt increaſe too in riches, ſince it is able to ſupply any great conſumption, and yet have enough of its own in all the kinds of corn, wine, fleſh, oil, ſalt, fruits, pulſe, wool, flax, hides, tallow, chamois, leather, ropes, wood, and timber, medicinal remedies, pitch, fiſh of all kinds, metals of all ſorts, and amber. There wants ſilk; and 'tis to be wiſhed that it may never get thither, but for ornament to the altars; for it is already the beggering of the country, by reaſon of the great expence in rich cloaths; particularly by the women, who are not outdone in this, even by the braveſt ladies of *Madrid*, or other parts; but yet the land is ſo proper for ſilk-worms, that if any one carries the ſeed of them there, I am perſuaded it will take with great abundance, the mulberry-trees being there already as full grown, and in as great beauty as in *Spain*.

The wax likewiſe comes from *Europe*, though there are bees who make both honey and wax. Pepper, and other *eaſt-india* ſpices, come from abroad, though there is a kind of ſpice which ſupplies the want of them very well; and the authors above cited ſay, That in the ſtreights of *Magellan*, there is good cinnamon; and that on thoſe coaſts there grow trees of a moſt fragrant ſmell in their bark, and which have a taſte like pepper, but of a more quick ſavour, as it ſhall be made out when we treat of that ſtreight.

Herbage, fiſhing, hunting, woods for fewel, and ſalt mines, all in common.

In the whole kingdom, the herbage and the fiſhing are in common; as alſo the hunting; and the woods for fewel and timber; and the ſame is practiſed as to the ſalt mines. There is no impoſition on trade through all the kingdom, every one being free to tranſport what goods he pleaſes, either within or without the kingdom.

CHAP. V.

Of the Famous Cordillera *of* Chile.

Deſcription of the Cordillera.

THE *Cordillera*, or high mountains of *Chile*, are a prodigy of nature, and without parallel in the world: 'Tis a chain of high mountains, which run from north to ſouth from the province of *Quito*, and the new kingdom of *Granada*, to *Chile*, above a thouſand *Caſtillan* leagues, according to *Antonio de Herrera*, in his third tome, *Decade* 5. to which adding the length of the kingdom of *Chile* to the ſtreights of *Magellan*, it will make in all little leſs than 1500 leagues. The remoteſt part of *Chile*

Ovalle. 1646. is not above twenty or thirty leagues from the ſea. Theſe mountains are forty leagues broad; with many precipices, and intermediate valleys, which are habitable till one comes to the tropicks; but not beyond them, becauſe of the perpetual ſnows with which they are always covered.

Antonio de Herrera, already cited, puts two chains of mountains; one nearer, covered with woods and hardly groves, becauſe the air is more temperate near it; the other much higher, which by reaſon of the intenſe cold, has not ſo much as a buſh on it, the mountains being ſo bare, that there is neither plant nor graſs on them: but he ſays, that on both theſe ſorts of mountains there are ſeveral animals, which becauſe of the ſingularity of their kinds, I ſhall here deſcribe ſome of them.

Deſcript on of ſeveral animals.

Hogs. One of the moſt remarkable, is a ſpecies of hogs, that have their navel in their back, upon the back-bone: they go in herds, and each herd has its leader, who is known from them all; becauſe when they march, none dares go before him, all the reſt follow in great order. No hunter dares fall on theſe herds till he has killed this captain, or leader; for as long as they ſee him, they will keep together, and ſhew ſo much courage in their own defence, that they appear invincible; but as ſoon as they ſee him killed, they are broke, and run for it, giving up the day, till they chuſe another captain.

Their way of eating is alſo admirable: they divide themſelves into two bodies; one half of them goes to certain trees which are in a country called *Los Quixos*, in the Province of *Quito*, and are like the cinnamon-trees: theſe they ſhake to bring down the flowers, which the other half feeds on; and when they have eat enough, they go and relieve the other half of the flock, and make the flowers fall for them; and ſo return the ſervice to their companions, that they have received from them.

Monkeys. There are many ſorts of monkeys, who differ mightily in their ſhapes, colour, and bigneſs, and other Properties: ſome are merry; ſome melancholy and ſad; theſe whiſtle, the others chatter; ſome are nimble, others lazy; ſome cowards, others ſtout and courageous; but yet when one threatens them, they get away as faſt as they can. Their food is fruit and birds-eggs, and any game they can catch in the mountains: they are very much afraid of water; and if they happen to wet or dirty themſelves, they grow dejected and ſad. There are alſo great variety of parrots.

Goats. The wild goats are numerous: they are called *Vicunnas*, and have ſo fine hair, that it ſeems as ſoft as ſilk to the touch: this is uſed to make the fine hats ſo much valued in *Europe*. There are likewiſe a ſort of ſheep of that country, they call *Quanacos*, which are like camels, but a good deal leſs, of whoſe wool they make waiſtcoats, which are woven in *Peru*, and are more valued than if they were of ſilk, for their ſoftneſs, and the fineneſs of their colours.

Two famous highways. The ſame author ſays, moreover, That through this chain of mountains there went two highways, in which the *Ingas* ſhewed their great power; one of them goes by the mountain all paved for nine hundred leagues, from *Poſto* to *Chile*: it was five and twenty foot broad, and at every four leagues were noble buildings; and to this day there are the places called *Tambos*, which anſwer our inns, where every thing neceſſary is to be found by travellers; and that which was moſt admirable, at each half-league there were couriers and poſts, who were deſigned for the conveniency of paſſengers, that they might ſend their letters and advices where they were requiſite. The other way, which was alſo of twenty-five foot broad, went by the plain at the foot of the mountains, with the ſame proportion and beauty of inns and palaces at every four leagues, which were encloſed with high walls; as alſo ſtreams and rivolets running through this way, brought thither by art, for the refreſhment and recreation of travellers.

This is what *Antonio de Herrera*, and other authors, who treat of the *Indies*, do tell us about this famous *Cordillera*: now I ſhall relate what I myſelf have ſeen, and do know about it.

Sudden change of air. And firſt, I muſt ſuppoſe, that though theſe two highways run ſeparate and diſtinct through all *Peru* and *Quito*, yet they muſt grow nearer each other as they riſe higher in the mountain; for when they come to *Chile*, they are no longer two, but one. This is clearly found, by experience, in thoſe who croſs the *Cordillera*, to go from *Chile* to *Cuyo*, as I have done ſeveral times, that I have paſſed this mountain, and never could ſee this diviſion, but always continual and perpetual mountains, which ſerve for walls and fortifications on each ſide to one which riſes in the middle infinitely higher than the reſt, and is that which moſt properly is called the *Cordillera*. I am alſo perſwaded, that the two ways above mentioned came but to the boundaries of *Chile*, and ended in thoſe of *Peru*. I have, indeed, in paſſing the *Cordillera*, met with great old walls of ſtone on the top of it, which they call the *Ingas*; which, they ſay, were encampments, (though not his, for he never came to *Chile*,) but of his generals and armies ſent to conquer the country; and 'tis not impoſſible but the ſaid two ways might be continued on to theſe buildings; but it was not practicable, that it could be with that

perfection, as in that part of the mountain contained within the tropicks; where becauſe the hills are more tractable, ſuch ways might be made as they deſcribe; but not in the mountains of *Chile*, which are one upon another ſo thick, that it is with great difficulty that a ſingle mule can go in the paths of it: and the *Cordillera* grows rougher and rougher; the more it draws nearer the pole, ſo that it appears to be above the compaſs of human power to open a way through it, ſo curious and finely contrived as it is repreſented. It was not neceſſary that the *Inga* ſhould uſe ſo much art and induſtry, to make admirable that which is already ſo much ſo, as this mountain is in its whole courſe through the kingdom of *Chile*, as it ſhall be ſhewed when we diſcourſe in particular of its ſeveral parts and properties. For, firſt, ſuppoſing what we have ſaid of its running fifteen hundred leagues in length, and forty in diameter, its wonderful heighth makes it aſtoniſhing: the aſcent is ſo prodigious, that we imploy three or four days in arriving to the top of it, and as many more in the deſcent, that is, ſpeaking properly, and only of the mountain, for otherwiſe it may be affirmed, that one begins to mount even from the ſea-ſide, becauſe all the way, which is about forty leagues, is nothing but an extended ſhelving coaſt; for which reaſon the rivers run with ſuch force, that their ſtreams are like mill-ſtreams, eſpecially near their heads.

Sudden change of air.

When we come to aſcend the higheſt point of the mountain, we feel an air ſo piercing and ſubtile, that 'tis with much difficulty we can breath, which obliges us to fetch our breath quick and ſtrong, and to open our mouths wider than ordinary, applying to them likewiſe our hankerchiefs to condenſe our breath, and break the extream coldneſs of the air, and ſo make it more proportionable to the temperament, which the heart requires, not to be ſuffocated: This I have experienced every time that I have paſſed this mighty mountain.

Don *Antonio de Herrera* ſays, That thoſe who paſs it in *Peru*, ſuffer great reachings and vomitings; becauſe no one thing produces ſo great an alteration at once, as a ſudden change of air; and that of the mountain being ſo unproportioned to common reſpiration, produces in thoſe who paſs over it thoſe admirable and painful effects. He ſays moreover, that thoſe who have endeavoured to dive into the cauſes of them, do find, That as that mountain is one of the higheſt in the world, the air of it is ſo extream ſubtile and fine, that it diſcompoſes the temperament of the animal, as has been ſaid. 'Tis true, that in that part of the *Cordillera* in *Peru*, which they call *Pariacaca*, there may be a concurrence of other cauſes and diſpoſition of the climate, to which may be attributed ſome of theſe effects; for if they were to be attributed only to the heighth of the mountain, we that paſs it in *Chile* ought to find thoſe inconveniencies as much, or more, becauſe the mountain is higheſt without compariſon; and yet I never endured thoſe reachings or vomitings, nor have ſeen any of thoſe motions in others, but only the difficulty of breathing, which I have mentioned. OVALLE. 1646.

Others experience other effects, which I have often heard them relate; for the exhalations, and other meteors, (which from the earth ſeem ſo high in the air, that ſometimes we take them for ſtars,) are there under the feet of the mules, frighting them, and buzzing about their Ears. We go through the mountains treading, as it were, upon clouds; ſometimes we ſee the earth without any oppoſition to our ſight, and when we look up, we cannot ſee the heavens for clouds; but when we are aſcended to the higheſt of the mountain, we can no longer ſee the earth for the clouds below, but the heavens are clear and bright, and the ſun bright and ſhining out, without any impediment to hinder us from ſeeing its light and beauty. *Exhalations and other meteors.*

The *Iris*, or *Rainbow*, which upon the earth we ſee croſſing the heavens, we ſee it from this heighth extended under our feet; whereas thoſe on the lower parts ſee it over their heads: nor is it a leſs wonder, that while we travel over thoſe hills which are dry and free from wet, we may ſee, as I have done often, the clouds diſcharge themſelves, and overflow the earth with great force; and at the ſame time that I was contemplating, at a diſtance, tempeſts and ſtorms falling in the valleys and deep places, as I lifted up my eyes to heaven, I could not but admire the ſerenity over my head, there being not ſo much as a cloud to be ſeen, to trouble or diſcompoſe that beautiful proſpect. *Rainbow.*

The ſecond thing which makes this mountain admirable, is the prodigious ſnow which falls upon it in winter, which is ſo great, that though theſe mountains are ſo high and broad, there is no part of them uncovered with ſnow, being in many places ſeveral pikes deep. I am not informed how it is in the higheſt part of all, which is moſt properly called the *Cordillera*, becauſe this being ſo very high, that it is thought to ſurpaſs the middle region of the air, its point alone may perhaps be uncovered; at leaſt, when I paſſed it, which has been ſometimes in the beginning of winter, I have not ſeen a crum of ſnow; when a little below, both at the coming up and going down, it was ſo thick, as our mules ſunk in without being able to go forward. *Snow.*

But

Ovalle. 1646. *The Cordillera white from top to bottom after a glut of rain.*

But that which I have obſerved, is, That after a glut of rain, which has laſted two or three days, and the mountain appears clear, (for all the time it rains 'tis covered with clouds,) it ſeems white from top to bottom, and is a moſt beautiful ſight; for the air is ſo ſerene in thoſe parts, that when a ſtorm is over, the heavens are ſo bright, even in the midſt of winter, that there is not a cloud to be ſeen in them for many days; then the ſun ſhining upon that prodigious quantity of ſnow, and thoſe coaſts and white ſhelvings all covered with extended woods, produces a proſpect which, even we that are born there, and ſee it every year, cannot forbear admiring, and draws from us praiſes to the great creator for the wonderful beauty of his works.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Vulcanos, *and the Mines of Gold and Silver of the* Cordillera.

Vulcanos.

THERE are in this *Cordillera*, or chain of mountains, ſixteen *Vulcanos* which at ſeveral times have broke out, and cauſed effects no leſs admirable than terrible and aſtoniſhing to all the country: amongſt the reſt, that which happened in the year 1640. is worthy to be remembered. It broke out in the enemy's country, in the territory of the *Cacique Aliante*, burning with ſo much force, that the mountain cleaving in two, ſent forth pieces of rock all on fire, with ſo horrible a noiſe, that it was heard many leagues off, juſt like the going off of cannon. In all that territory the women miſcarried for fear, as ſhall be related more particularly in its proper place, in the account I ſhall give of the ſubjection of all that country to our catholick king, being moved thereunto by this and other prodigies.

The firſt of theſe *Vulcanos* is called the *Vulcano* of *Copiapo*, and is in about twenty ſix degrees altitude of the pole, about the confines of *Chile* and *Peru*; in thirty degrees is that of *Coquimbo*; in thirty one and and a half that of *La Ligua*; in thirty five that of *Peteroa*; in thirty ſix and a half that of *Chilau*; in thirty ſeven and a quarter that of *Antoco*: this is followed by that of *Notuco* in thirty eight and a half; that of *Villarica* is in thirty nine and three quarters; near this is another, whoſe name I know not, in forty and a quarter; and in forty one is that of *Oſorno*; and near that, in leſs than a quarter of a degree, that of *Guanabuca*; and in a little more than forty two degrees that of *Quebucabi*: and laſt of all are two more; one without a name, in forty four; and that of *St. Clement*, which is in forty-five and a half.

Theſe are the known *Volcanos* of *Chile*: we have no knowledge of others, which may be as far as the *Tierra del Fuego*, becauſe till this time our diſcoveries have not gone ſo far; but there is no doubt but there are ſome, as they are to be found before one comes to *Chile*, in the kingdoms of *Peru* and *Quito*. *Diego Ordonnes de Salvos*, in the third book and eighteenth chapter of his *Voyage through the whole World*, mentions, among the reſt, one that is near the fall of the river, in the valley of *Colca*; and ſays, it is on a mountain in the form of a ſugar-loaf, like that of *La Plata* in *Potoſi*; and that in winter it throws out ſo much ſmoak and aſhes, that it burns up all the graſs within two leagues round about it.

He likewiſe mentions another in the entrance of the province of *Los Quixos*, near the town of *Maſpa*; and ſpeaks of another, which broke out near *Quito*, in a mountain called the *Pinta*: and he affirms, that the aſhes fly two leagues and a half from the mountain; and he has ſeen them lie on the houſes above four foot deep in the neareſt places to the mountain.

Laſtly, he tells of that of *Ariquipa*, which buried the vineyards, and had almoſt overwhelm'd the city. To this day there are ſeen the effects of that deſolation, which ruined many families, by deſtroying their houſes and poſſeſſions. At the ſame time he obſerves, that the earthquakes which before were frequent, ceaſed from that time; and this perhaps may be the reaſon why the earthquakes in *Chile* have always been conſiderably leſs than thoſe of *Peru*, becauſe *Chile* has more breathing holes for the vapours to exhale by.

There is no room for doubting of the immenſe riches which theſe mountains encloſe in their bowels; for 'tis a certain argument, and proof of it, to ſee only the mineral riches of *Chile*, which are, as it were, indixes of what may be contained in thoſe rocks, as the rivers which fertilize the country are a proof of the unexhauſted fountains contained in the rocks and precipices.

The concealing of treaſure from all foreign nations, is a maxim of ſtate among the Indians.

I think there may be two cauſes aſſigned, why theſe riches do not manifeſt themſelves nor appear more: the firſt is, that general ſtate reaſon, and inviolable maxim among the *Indians*, to conceal and not diſcover them to any other nation. This they obſerve ſo punctually, that it is among them a capital crime, puniſhable with death, to break ſilence in this matter, which they make ſacred and indiſpenſible; and if any one

one among them, either out of intereſt, negligence, or any other motive of conveniency, diſcovers any thing of this kind, his death is infallible, and no power on earth can ſave him.

A remarkable relation of a journey undertaken in ſearch of ſome rich mines.

I remember on this ſubject, that ſome gentlemen having, by preſents, inſinuations, and flatteries, come to the knowledge of ſome treaſure by the means of an *Indian*, and prevailed with him at laſt to guide them to ſome very rich mines in a remote mountain, he begg'd earneſtly of them to be ſecret, or otherwiſe he was a dead man, let them take never ſo much care of him. They promiſed him accordingly, and ſo they ſet out, and he brought them through horrid rocks and precipices, where it look'd as if never man had ſet his foot, nor ſcarce any living animal. Every day they met with certain marks, which the *Indian* had told them of beforehand: Firſt, after ſo many days they diſcovered a red mountain; and then at certain diſtance from that a black one on the left-hand; then a valley, which began from a monſtrous high mountain or rock; then at ſo many leagues a mountain of chalk. All which ſigns the guide went ſhewing them, verifying thereby the relation he had given them beforehand, and comforting them up to endure the hardſhip, by the hopes of fulfilling at laſt their expectation, and ſeeing their labour rewarded.

Their proviſions failed them, and they were forced to come back to provide more, to purſue their enterprize. The *Indian* was always in fear of being diſcovered, knowing that he run in that no leſs a hazard than that of his life. They returned then to a town; and to ſecure their *Indian* from his fright of being diſcovered, they locked him up in a room very ſafe; but the night before they were to ſet out again, without ever being able to diſcover how it was done, (for there was no ſigns by the door of any body's going in that way,) as they went to call the *Indian* in the morning, they found him ſtrangled; by which means, being deprived of their intent, and having loſt the hopes of ſatisfying their deſire, they returned to their own homes, though with a reſolution to try again, being encouraged by ſo much as they had already diſcovered.

The concealing of treaſure from all foreign nations, is a maxim of ſtate among the Indians.

The other reaſon to be aſſign'd for not ſeeking after theſe mines, is the great plenty of every thing neceſſary for life; ſo that hunger, which is the prompter of covetous deſires, being wanting, there are few that care to run a hazard, and loſe their conveniencies at home, to go through impracticable deſarts upon ſearch after hidden treaſure; particularly finding already ſo much in the valleys bottoms, rivers, and fountains; nay, even theſe mines in the low countries are not wrought, becauſe the profit of other products is eaſier. 'Tis probable that people will increaſe; for every day there is a new addition; and there then being more conſumers, the product of the land will be dearer; and proviſions not being ſo cheap as now, men will be more ingenious and induſtrious to ſeek for ſuſtenance under ground, by the mines and treaſures hid there by providence. OVALLE. 1646.

Theſe few years laſt paſt have given beginning to a diſcovery of ſome golden mines, and ſilver ones, on each ſide of the *Cordillera:* for as I paſſed over it once, I remember that the ſight diſcovers a black mountain at a diſtance, whoſe top ſhines as if it were covered with ſilver; and it is a common tradition that it contains it, and great treaſures beſides, in its bowels; but they are at preſent uſeleſs, for the reaſons alledged; and becauſe one half of the year the mountain is covered with ſnow, and ſo not only uninhabitable, but impenetrable.

Diſcovery of ſeveral very rich mines.

They write me word, that on the ſide of the province of *Cuyo*, they have begun to diſcover other very rich mines, which being below the roughest part of the mountain, may be wrought all the year round, and with great conveniency of the miners, and other neceſſary workmen, becauſe carts may come to the very ſituation of the mine, which is of conſideration for the price of the metal. They ſpeak of it with great expectation, by reaſon of the good proofs they have already had in the aſſaying of it in ſmall quantities.

Beſides the mines of gold, and ſilver, and braſs, and lead, which are work'd in *Coquimbo*, and thoſe of quick-ſilver, which have been diſcovered within theſe few years in *Lamache*, which is a valley in *Chile*, I do not know of any others of any other ſort in this *Cordillera*. I am verily perſuaded there are ſome of chryſtal; for, conſidering the nature of the place, I cannot think there is one any where more proper. Being in the valley of *Rancagua*, I heard one of our nation tell an *Indian*, that upwards in the mountain he had found a great deal of chryſtal: he hearing this, out of curioſity went up to ſee what it was; and I heard him tell, that after having gone over ſeveral rocks, he ſaw on the top of a precipice a great opening, and that drawing near to it, he ſaw a profound cave, and in the bottom of it a great plank or table of chryſtal, which appeared to him of the fineſt ſort; but wanting help and inſtruments to get it out, he returned with only this information, and ſome little pieces of a chryſtal ſtone which he found on the top.

Ovalle. 1646.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Fountains, Rivers, and Brooks of the Cordillera.

Vaſt number of fountains, ſprings, brooks, and rivers.

THAT which contributes not a little to the admiration we have for this great chain of mountains, is the vaſt number of fountains, ſprings, brooks, and rivers, which we meet with ever and anon, when we go over it: they are ſo numerous, that 'tis a thing rather to be ſeen than related, though the travellers reap but little benefit by the curious obſervation of them; for by them the ways are the moſt broken and troubleſome that 'tis poſſible to imagine: they laſt about eight days journey. One muſt ſuppoſe too, that the ſummer is pretty well enter'd; for in winter they are abſolutely impaſſable, and in the ſpring not without evident danger of one's life; becauſe one travels all the way on a path ſo narrow, that there is but juſt room for a mule's feet. On one ſide are prodigious precipices, which have at the bottom a furious and profound river; and on the other hand huge rocks, and ſome part of them ſtanding out ſo, that if the mule's loading, (as it often happens, and I have ſeen it,) touches part of them, it throws down the mule headlong, and ſends her rowling down till ſhe comes to the river at the bottom, which carries her away to the ſea without ſtopping, except it happen upon ſome turning of the river to get it on ſhoar; where, though the lading may be ſaved, yet not the mule's life, becauſe it is impoſſible almoſt to get her up again.

Many places ſcarcely paſſable.

In many places one is forced to lite; and even a man on foot is not very ſafe, becauſe ſome of the coaſts are ſo ſtreight and ſlippery, that it frights one to walk on them. The aſcents and deſcents of the hills are ſo ſteep, that when from below one looks at thoſe who are above, they look like figures; and for my part I thought it a temerity, if not an impoſſibility, to venture to get up to them.

Rapid rivers.

The brooks and rivers which croſs the ways every ſtep are ſo violent, that there is no head ſo ſtrong, but it turns to look on their current; which is ſo ſwift, that if it comes up to the mule's ſaddle, there is no paſſing without evident danger of one's life; for theſe ſtreams coming from on high, have the ſtrength of a mill-ſtream, carrying along with them looſe ſtones, which overturn a loaded mule as it were a chicken; ſo that 'tis neceſſary ſometimes to ſtay two or three days till the ſun does not ſhine; for then theſe brooks are lower, becauſe there is leſs ſnow melted: and for this reaſon 'tis always beſt to paſs early in the morning, they having had all the night to run lower.

The great variety of waters very diverting.

It was neceſſary for an allay of the dangers and irkſomeneſs of theſe ways, that God ſhould temper the rigour of the ſufferings, by the variety and diverſion which ſo many waters give in their riſe and courſe: ſome are to be ſeen breaking out from almoſt an imperceptible heighth, and meeting with no intermediate object, the whole maſs of water, which is uſually very great, diſſolves itſelf by the way into ſo many drops, which make a lovely proſpect, like ſo much pearl falling; and being mingled by the force of the air, which drives them acroſs one upon the other, it ſeems a chain hanging from its firſt iſſue to the earth; where, taking another ſhape, it becomes a running brook, and unites with the current of the chief river which runs in the middle.

I ſaw others, which, before they got to the earth, divided into two branches, forming like a thick ſhower in the midſt of the way, or atomes in the ſun-beams; but 'tis impoſſible to paint all the variety of objects produced by theſe ſeveral motions and compoſitions of ſtreams and fountains. I cannot leave them without mentioning one called the *Eyes of Water*, which is very remarkable; 'tis in the laſt *meſa* but one, at the foot of the mountain. I called it *meſa*, becauſe providence has, for the relief of travellers, diſpoſed, at ſome leagues diſtance, little valleys and agreeable plains, which eaſe the travellers in this moſt tedious and long aſcent.

Los ojos de aqua. or ſprings.

This valley is environed with a wall of moſt prodigious high rocks; it may be a mile or thereabouts in its diameter, and is all the year round full of greens, odoriferous plants and flowers, which make it a picture of paradiſe: in the midſt of it ſprings up this fountain, or fountains, becauſe the ſprings of water are many that riſe from the ground all about, leaping with great force into the air, which in a little ſpace all unite, and make two great bodies, each of them full of water, as clear as chryſtal. Theſe two heads begin a kind of combat a little below, and mingling in their courſe with one another, as if ſome ingenious artiſt had ordered it, make a great many turnings and windings, ſometimes far from one another, and ſometimes united through the whole valley, till at the end of it, joining together, they fall into one canal, which empties itſelf into the principal river, compoſed by many of theſe rivulets.

One

The waters extream cold. One property of all theſe chryſtal ſtreams, is extream coolneſs, which they never loſe, no, not when the ſun ſhines out moſt in the heat of the day; it is ſuch, that no body can drink half a cup full of it without reſting, or taking breath; and though all theſe ſprings have this quality, yet none in ſo intenſe a degree as this fountain of *Los ojos de aqua*; of which, though the weather be never ſo hot, 'tis not poſſible to drink above two or three ſups; and one can hardly endure to hold the water in one's hand above a minute.

Behind one of thoſe high mountains which is to the eaſt of this fountain, there is a great lake or pond, ſo deep and clear, that it appears as if it were of azure; and there is a tradition, that the laſt of the *Ingas*, kings of *Peru*, cauſed vaſt quantities of treaſure to be thrown into it, when he ſaw that he could not redeem himſelf, nor ſave his life by them; though it ſeems hard to believe they ſhould go ſo far to do a thing they might have executed much nearer home. The waters of this lake have no iſſue, being environed on all ſides with very high rocks, and therefore 'tis thought that it comes under ground to thoſe fountains called the *Ojos de aqua*, and empties itſelf by them.

I cannot paſs over in ſilence another fountain which is at the foot of the *Cordillera*, on the other ſide towards *Cuyo*. There is a river called the *Rio de Mendoça*, which comes down from the eaſt, not inferior to that of *Aconcaqua* in *Chile*, which runs to the weſt into the ſouth ſea. Into theſe two rivers are emptied moſt of the little ſtreams of the mountain; that of *Mendoça* meeting in its way with a chalky mountain, bores it quite through, and leaves a bridge broad enough for three or four carts to paſs a-breaſt. Under this bridge is a great table of rock, over which run five different ſtreams of water, proceeding from ſo many fountains; which water is extream hot, and very good for many diſtempers. The ſtones over which it runs are of a green, like emerald. The vault of this bridge ſurpaſſes in beauty all that human art can produce; for there hang down from it ſeveral iſicles, in ſhapes of flowers, and pendants of a ſtone like ſalt; for the humidity which penetrates from above, makes it congeal like points of diamonds, and other figures, which adorn this vault; through which there falls perpetually a quantity of great drops, as big as peaſe ſome, and others as big as yolks of eggs; which falling upon the ſtone table I have mentioned, are turned into ſtones of ſeveral ſhapes and colours, of no ſmall value.

The Inga's bridge. There is another bridge on the other ſide, call'd the *Inga*'s bridge, either becauſe he caus'd it to be built, or becauſe (as is more probable) his generals were the firſt diſcoverers of it, and paſs'd over it; for it is not poſſible that any human art could make ſo bold an attempt as has been brought to paſs by the author of nature in this place. This bridge is form'd by a moſt prodigious high rock, which is cloven in two, as if it had been ſawed down, only cover'd on top: it is hollow to the very river, which is large and rapid, and yet the noiſe of it is no more heard on the top, than if it were a little brook; which is a ſtrong argument of the great diſtance there is between the top and the bottom of the mountain; for the opening not being above eight foot over, it being eaſy to leap from one ſide to the other, it would be thought, that a great river being ſo ſtreightened as to go through it, ſhould make a very great noiſe in paſſing ſuch a ſtreight place with ſo much force; and if the noiſe does not reach the ear, 'tis becauſe of the great diſtance. I myſelf have gone to the ſide of this bridge, and look'd down, (though with great horror, for it ſtrikes a ſhivering into one, to contemplate ſuch a depth, than which I have not ſeen a more terrible one;) I not only did not hear any noiſe, but that great river appear'd a little brook, hardly to be diſcern'd.

Theſe are the entertainments for the eye in paſſing this part of the *Cordillera*: as for the many others which may be met with in ſo vaſt an extent, who can relate them? I believe there are thoſe who know much more than what I have here deſcrib'd, which is only what I have ſeen; but from ſo little 'tis eaſy to infer more; for if only the riſe of two rivers have afforded ſuch matter of admiration, what may not be produced in the birth and courſe of ſo many others, as we ſhall deſcribe in the following chapter?

CHAP. VIII.

Of the vaſt Number of Rivers which take their Riſe in this Mountain, and empty themſelves into the Sea.

THE great author of nature has founded the beſt part of the beauty and fecundity of the fields of *Chile* in this range of mountains call'd the *Cordillera*, in which, as in a bank that can never break, he has depoſited its treaſure and riches, by aſſuring

Ovalle. 1646. assuring the annual tribute of so many brooks and ample rivers which are to fertilize the earth; for neither can the country maintain its fertility without such moisture, nor such a moisture maintain it self all the year without such quantities of snow, as are laid up in the deep hollows of it in the winter, to feed in the summer the many rivers that are derived from it.

Who can demonstrate the number of them at their rise? But one may guess at the prodigious quantity of snow which supplies them; for though it cannot be seen all in a mass, because its reservatories are impenetrable, yet its effects do manifest it; for besides the feeding of innumerable rivers which run to the east, and empty themselves into the north sea, and supplying prodigious lakes in the province of *Cuyo*, those which run to the west, and enter the south-sea, (not reckoning what may be by the streights of *Magellan*, and the *Tierra del Fuego*,) are above fifty, which may be well multiplied by four a-piece more which they receive, and so make two hundred; which arrive at the sea so full and deep, that some of them have water enough for the navigation of the galloons and ships of great burden; which is the more to be admir'd, because their course is so short, the most extended of them not passing thirty leagues in length.

The Salt River. The first river of this kingdom, beginning from the confines of *Peru* about the 25th degree of latitude, is the river called the *Salt River*, which comes from the *Cordillera*, running through a deep valley: its waters are so salt, that they cannot be drank; and when sometimes horses, deceived by its pure clear colours, happen to drink of them, they are turned into salt by the heat of the sun, so that the bodies seem of pearl, they beginning to petrify by the tail.

Copiapo. The next to this is the river of *Copiapo*, in 26 degrees; it runs twenty leagues from east to west, and makes a bay at its entrance into the sea, which serves for a harbour for ships. In 28 degrees the river of *Guasco* does the same, and forms a port.

Guasco.

Coquimbo. After this comes the river of *Coquimbo* in 30 degrees, whose port is a noble bay adorn'd on the shore with fresh and beautiful myrtles, and other trees, which continue within land as far as the town, and make a noble and pleasant grove, which out-does all the contrivances of art. There are fish'd in this coast tunny-fish, *albucores*, and many sorts of excellent fish, as also oysters, and great variety of shell-fish.

Tongoy and *Limari.* The next to the river of *Coquimbo* are those of *Tongoy* and *Limari* about 30 degrees and a half east: and then in 31 degrees the river of *Chuapa* empties itself into the sea. Upon that coast there is found a sort of delicate shell-fish, which they call *jacas*.

Chuapa.

Between the one and thirtieth degree, and the two and thirtieth, the rivers *Longotoma*, *La Liga* enter the sea; and about thirty three degrees that of *Aconcagua*, which is the great river which comes down, as we have said, by the way of the *Cordillera*. This is a very deep river; and though it runs through the large valleys of *Curimon*, *Aconcagua*, *Quilota*, and *Concon*, which being cultivated with all kinds of products, particularly wheat, flax, hemp, &c. and by consequence well water'd, yet this river arrives at the sea as full and deep as if they had not drained it by the way to fertilize their fields. *Longotoma*, *La Liga*, and *Aconcagua*.

About thirty three and a half, follows the famous river *Maypo*, which I cannot tell whether it be more famous for its good qualities, or for the danger and difficulty of passing it, many having been drowned in it, and every day miscarrying by it. It is of so rapid a current, and sometimes swells so high, that no bridge can resist its fury, but it is carried away by it; for which reason, at this day it has no other but one of many cables join'd together, and lying a-cross from one side to the other. Its waters are ordinarily thick; and it enters the sea with so much force, that it makes its way in it distinct for a good while; its waters are perfectly known from those of the sea by a circle they make: they are besides very cold, and yet it quenches thirst but ill, for it is brackish, which makes the flesh of the sheep which feed near it, to be excellent in taste. There are fish'd here also most excellent fish, particularly trouts, esteem'd all over the country. *Maypo.*

There falls into this river, among others, that of *St. Jago*, otherwise called the river of *Mapocho* which is divided into several streams, to water the district of that city; and it does it sometimes more than we could wish, when it overflows. Not far from the city, it hides itself under ground, leaving a bridge of two or three leagues over it, while it maintains a silent course underneath; at the end of this space it comes out in bubbles among a grove of cherry trees, with its waters as clear and purified as chrystal; so that though it seems to hide it self, and die, it is only to spring up again more beautiful and stately, being of a stronger current, before it is again spread and diffused to fertilize the fields. At this place of its second birth, there stands an ancient and illustrious convent of St. *Francis*, which, because it is within sight of a vast forest of trees, is called *St. Francis of the Mountain*, in which there have been, from *St. Jago*, or *Mapocho*.

time to time, most holy men of the first founders in that province, and who imploy themselves in the worship of God, and help of their neighbours, with great zeal and reputation of their order.

Poangue. The river of *Poangue*, which falls likewise into *Maypo*, runs also many leagues under ground: this cannot rise with more advantages than at its first fountain; for its waters are, at the very source, so clear, delicate, and sweet, that they cannot be mended; it has not its original like all the rest from snow water, but from minerals of gold, through whose veins it makes its way, as if it had an aqueduct of that precious metal: its course is border'd on each side with most beautiful trees, which contribute to make its waters wholesome: they are indeed of themselves a remedy; for they help digestion so visibly, that if any one has exceeded and eat more than his stomach can well embrace, one draught of this water will relieve him, so that he shall be hungry again in a little time. Neither is it useless under ground; for while it is there, it communicates it self to the whole valley by subterranean conduits: the effect of which is visible; for though in the summer it does not rain a drop, and the valley has no other watering, yet it brings as seasonable a crop, and as relishing fruit, as any other that has the help of rain and other irrigations; neither have I seen any where larger or more delicious melons, nor more abounding and well grown maiz, than in this valley.

De Colina and Lampa, make the famous lake of Cudaguel. There are two other rivers which fall into *Maypo*, which are call'd *De Colina* and *Lampa*; which uniting together about ten or twelve leagues from their first rise, make the famous lake of *Cudaguel* so profound and deep, that great ships might swim in it: this lake is about two leagues long, all bordered with delicate willow trees, and other greens, which keep their freshness and greenness all the year round; and, that nothing may be wanting to its agreeableness, it is full of excellent trouts and *vagres*, which sometimes are so plentiful, that they are easily catched; and this uses to be one of the greatest diversions of the citizens of the city of *St. Jago*. There are other lakes, as those of *Aculeo*, which empty themselves into this river of *Maypo*, on the contrary side to that of the clear river: there are also bred in it, smelts of above a foot long; the very name in *Spanish* declaring their excellency, it signifying a royal fish: some years there are such plenty of them, that the whole city may keep *Lent* with them alone, without buying any other fish from the sea; which, though it is very good, yet it never attains to the delicacy of the river fish, which is so sweet and healthy, that it is used to be given to the sick and convalescent. OVALLE 1646.

After *Maypo*, is the river of *Rapel*, not at all inferior to the other; it enters the sea about the 34th degree, and as many minutes; about four or five leagues before the two famous rivers of *Cachapoal* and *Tinguiritica* join together, and are no less in debt to mankind for the many people they have swallowed, than that of *Maypo*. Among others which increase their rapid current, are the rivers *Mallua* and *Chambaronigo*: on the banks of this the order of the *Redemption* has a convent, for the instruction and edification of all that country. The *Jesuites* have also a novitiate, who have for neighbours a monastery of St. *Dominick*. The lands thereabouts are extream fertile, have excellent pastures for the fattening of cattle, and are much valued all over the country. In thirty four degrees and three quarters is the river *Delora*, which receives those of *Teno*, *Peterroa*, and *Metaquito*, whose stream is so rapid, that many perish in it. These rivers water most rich lands, and a delicious country for the breeding and feeding of all sorts of cattle; and indeed there is not a foot of ground unimployed in them.

Rapel, Cachapoal, and Tinguiritica *Mallua and Chambaronigo.* *Delora, Teno, Peterroa, and Metaquito.*

The great *Maule* appears at thirty five degrees; and it makes the limits of the archbishoprick and jurisdiction of the city of *St. Jago:* all that was inclosed between this and *Rapel*, *Cachapoal*, and *Tinguiritica*, was called by the natural *Indians Promocaes*, that is, a place of dancing and delight, to express the pleasantness of that country. They were not out in this character at all: I remember once, that travelling in this country, when I came to a farm of any *Spaniard*, he would entertain me with nothing but the praises of it, and that with so many particulars, that I could not imagine it could be out-done by any in the world; but when I came to another farm, the master of it would relate to me such admirable properties of his, that the first seemed but ordinary to me. Thus I found every one so in love with the spot he lived on, that I could not but admire the whole, and have a great idea of the excellency and temperament of this land, as well as of its provisions. Partridge are abounding, and all manner of game; and as for fish, there are such quantities of smelts and trouts, that they take them when they will, being as sure almost to catch them, as if they had them in ponds at home. I have heard them often say, that when they were sat down to table, if any one longed for a fresh trout, they had no more to do, than to send and

The Maule. *Promocaes.*

Ovalle. 1646. catch one, which they would have ready dreſſed before they riſe from the table. The river *Maule* receives the clear river, and that Cauquenes. of *Cauquenes*; and though it be as deep again as either of them, yet it is leſs dangerous for paſſengers, and fewer people are drowned in it; becauſe near the ſea, by the yard for building of ſhips, it ſpreads itſelf, and makes a large paſſage, where the king has a ferry for the conveniency of paſſengers. The *Auſtin* friars have alſo a convent here, and take care of the *Spaniards*; and their black and *Indian* ſervants, who people all the banks of this river, and are numerous, living in ſeparate farms all along the country: theſe they call *Eſtancias*.

City of the Conception. Now we enter the juriſdiction of the city of the *Conception*, where the governor reſides; and there is a garriſon of the militia. The biſhoprick of the city of *Imperial* begins alſo at this river, which has for next and immediate neighbour the peaceable and Itata. noble river of *Itata*, three times as large, and as deep as the *Maule*, and enters the ſea at about thirty ſix degrees: its courſe is among rocks, and ſo is leſs uſeful to the land, becauſe it cannot water it: They paſs it upon rafts, and there are alſo fords in ſome places. About the middle of its Nuble. courſe, the furious torrent called *Nuble* joins it: this waſhes the walls of the city of *St. Bartholomew* of *Chillan*, an antient garriſon of the *Spaniards*, and a ſingular proof of their bravery and fidelity.

Bay of the Conception. Immediately next to this river is the ſpacious and agreeable bay of the *Conception*, into which the ſlow and ſilent river of *Andalien* empties itſelf at thirty ſix degrees and three quarters. There is another ſmall river which paſſes through the middle of the city, having firſt precipitated itſelf from a high rock, and affording matter to the induſtry of the inhabitants, for all ſorts of water-works among pleaſant groves of laurels, and myrtles, and other odoriferous plants which adorn its banks; and as it falls from ſo high, it invites the induſtrious planters to contrive mills for the ſuſtenance of the city; of which there are already a great many.

Biobio. Two leagues further from this bay, in the thirty ſeventh degree, the ſo-much celebrated *Biobio* enters the ſea. It is the moſt powerful river of all *Chile*: it has at its entrance two or three miles in breadth, more or leſs, according as it ſwells or ſhrinks, which is a great deal, conſidering its ſhort courſe: but that is not the chief thing which makes it famous, and deſerve ſo much praiſe; it is its wholſome waters; for (beſides the particular excellency they may acquire, by paſſing through veins of gold, which nevertheleſs many other rivers of this country have too,) it has a ſingular advantage, by a ſmall river which falls into it; which river, taking its riſe and courſe among *Sarzaparilla* roots, communicates to the other its virtue and good qualities, and makes it a cure for many infirmities. There is a tradition, That at the ſource of this river there were moſt rich mines, work'd before ever the *Spaniards* came into theſe parts. Upon this information, Don *Alonſo de Sottomayor*, preſident of the country, ſent a band of ſoldiers to view them, as they did; though as they came back, they were laid wait for by the *Indians*, our enemies, and had a ſmart engagement with them, and had much ado to eſcape with their lives. This *Indian* people do always as much as they can to hide from the *Europeans* the treaſures and riches of their country, as it has been ſaid already.

This river is the bounds which divides the *Spaniards* and our *Indian* friends from the *Indian* enemies: in winter the river overflows ſo, that all the fords are unpaſſable; and ſo the ſoldiers may take ſome repoſe till the ſpring, at which time they are to begin their inroads again. The enemy on his ſide has no garriſon, nor place of ſtrength; for they truſt to their mountains, to which they can retire at any time: but the *Spaniards* have many garriſons all along the river, with which they bridle and keep in awe the potent rage of their proud enemy, who alone has given them more trouble than all the reſt of *America*.

Their chief forts, beſides the cities of the *Conception* and *Chillan*, are thoſe of *Arauco* and *St. Philip*, in which there are generally about ſixteen hundred natural *Spaniards*, beſides the *Indian* allies, who are numerous. The firſt of theſe is upon the ſea-ſide, and the other nearer the *Cordillera*. There are others between on each ſide of the river, and ſome pretty far into the enemies country. I can name nine of theſe forts; which are, that of *St. Angel*, of the *Nativity*, of *St. Ann*, of *St. Roſendo*, of *Good Hope*, of *Talmacabuida*, of *St. Peter*, of *Colcuta*, and that of *Levo*. Theſe are all provided with great guns, and a ſufficient number of ſoldiers; and at ſuch proportionable diſtances from each other, that they can ſoon receive notice of what is neceſſary to be known from the firſt to the laſt by the cannon-ſhot, according as it may have been concerted beforehand.

The company of *Jeſus* has here two recidencies, one in *Arauco*, and the other in the fort of *Good Hope*; from whence they alſo make their attempts, not againſt the bodies, but to ſave the ſouls of their enemies, engaging with hell itſelf, and obtaining over it daily and glorious victories, as it ſhall

shall be told in its proper place; for now we must follow the description already begun of the rivers of *Chile*.

Colcura, Arauco, Lavapie, and Levo.

After *Biobio* follow four others much inferior to it: they are the rivers of *Colcura*, *Arauco*, *Lavapie*, and *Levo*, which empties itself near the thirty eighth degree; and a little further, that of *Ralemo*, which, a little from its source, is called *Coypo*, in near thirty nine degrees. The pleasant and peaceful river of the *Imperial* enters the sea, having first incorporated with its stream, the river called the *Ladies River*, because of the delicacy of its waters and quiet current. More above, nearer its source, it receives the two rivers of *Curarava* and *Eyow*, which, before they meet to enter the river *Imperial*, form the much-celebrated lake of *Puren*, a most unconquerable fortress of the *Indians*, who are more secure in it, than the *Spaniards* in any of theirs.

Ralemo, or Coypo.

Imperial.

Ladies River.

Curarava and Eyow form the lake of Puren.

About half a degree beyond the river *Cauren*, which is the same as the *Imperial*, the river *Tolten* pays its tribute to the sea, and is deep enough for great ships. About eight leagues further the river *Queule* does the same; which, though small, yet receives barks in it, and is about nine leagues upon a north and south line from the famous river of *Valdivia*.

Tolten.

Queule.

CHAP. IX.

Of the famous Port and River of Valdivia.

THE river and port of *Valdivia*, never enough commended by foreign writers, and no less admired by those who have seen it, had its name from *Pedro de Valdivia*, first governor and conqueror of *Chile*. It is, as it were, in the centre of the whole kingdom, at almost forty degrees latitude, south-west from *Seville* in *Spain*; upon a plain map one thousand nine hundred and seventy leagues, measured by the heavens. The sun is five hours, and a third part of an hour, in going from the meridian of *Sevilla*, to the meridian of *Valdivia*; so that when it is noon at *Seville*, 'tis in *Valdivia* six a-clock and forty minutes in the morning. Its longest day is of fourteen hours, or thereabouts.

Description of the river of Valdivia.

This river has its opening to the north; and because of the depth of its waters, great ships can go up to the very city, which is two or three leagues from the sea: when they are there, they can lie so near the shoar, as with a plank to go in and out, and take in and unlade their cargo, without the help of boats. There is just over-against the city, a fine island, called the *Island of Constantine*, with two little ones, one before, and the other behind the island. The river is navigable on both sides the island; but because the south branch has more depth, the great ships come in that way, and the lesser by the north branch.

There are two high points of land, like rocks, which mark the entrance of this river; the biggest is to the north, and is called *Bonifacio*'s *Hill*; the south is lesser, and is called *Gonçalo*'s *Hill*. When one is entered some way up the river, there is another streighter passage, which is the key of the port, or rather ports, because there are many harbours within. This entrance has also two hills, which come so near each other, that I have heard a captain, who was sent to sound the river, relate, That in the middle he was within musket-shot of either hill; the south one is called *Morro de los Marçanos*, and the opposite *Morro de Niera*: so that, according to this account, there might be an iron chain laid from the one to the other, with which, and two forts raised on each side, the entrance would be made impenetrable.

The port.

As soon as this streight is passed, there is on the south side a noble port; for though all the river may be called so, for the quietness of its water, yet this is more advantagiously situated, by being covered with the mountains of the land: 'tis called the port of the *Corral*: it forms a bay capable of receiving great fleets. When you have passed this port, there appears the first island; between which and the land on the south-side, there are many shoals and sands; wherefore the ships take the north-side, and go between this island and the great one; and then follow their course up to the city, by the channel of the great island. The lesser vessels may keep the other side of the island.

Besides all these good qualities, this port has other advantages from the land, by the fertility of the country, which produces corn, and fruits of all kinds, except grapes, which do not ripen here so well as in other parts of *Chile*, from which wine is brought to these parts: but it has great plenty of beef and mutton, fowls and venison. It has also wood for the building of shipping; and that which is above all, it has the richest mines of the finest gold in *Chile*; and in all *America* there is none comes up to it, but the gold of *Carabaya*.

This is the account of *Antonio de Herrera*. He adds, That there was an *Indian*, who had every day a revenue of twenty five or thirty *Pesos* of gold; which being observed by the governor *Valdivia*, he sent the *Adelantado Hyeronimo de Alderete* to *Spain*, to inform his catholick majesty of the

Ovalle. 1646. the great riches of the kingdom of *Chile*, that his majesty might make the more esteem of it; and to invite foreigners to come and people the country, and help him to conquer it, he sent some *Spaniards* by land, whose stirrups, breast-plates, and all that use to be of iron about a horse, were of fine gold; and that, not satisfied with this, he had resolved to go in person, to inform his majesty, and obtain from him the confirmation of his government: to which end he employed twenty thousand *Indians* to bring him gold, designing to embark and sail through the streights of *Magellan*, if death had not prevented him.

1552. This city was founded by the governor *Valdivia* in the year 1552. upon a high rising, but plain side of a hill, and above the rest of the country.

Recloma, *a famous* Indian *lady.* The famous *Indian* lady *Recloma* was very instrumental in helping towards its conquest and foundation. The story was thus: The *Spanish* forces were come to this river, conquering the country all the way before them; but here the *Indians* not being willing to let foreigners settle in their country, took up arms, and making the river serve for their defence, hindred the progress of *Valdivia*, and gave him great trouble. But he being a man of great courage, was not daunted by this resistance, but endeavoured to pass the river to engage the enemy.

Upon this occasion, this brave *Indian* lady, either inspired by heaven, or touched by compassion of so much blood as must be shed on both sides, in the rencounter, offered the governor, that she alone would gain him the victory, without any other force, than that of her eloquence and courageous mind. *Stay here*, says she, *and go no further; for I will put all this province into thy hands, and will make thee this day, lord of all that thy eyes can discover. Stay for my return here, and do not suffer any of thy soldiers to pass on a step further.* The governor promised to do so; and, upon his word and promise of good treatment to the *Indians* who should submit to his god and his king, she threw herself into the water, and, in the presence of them all, swam the river. When she was landed, she desired audience of the general of the *Indians*: to whom she delivered her message with so much force of eloquence, that they submitting to her reasons, promised to accept of what terms should be given them. With this the famous *Recloma* returned to the *Spaniards*, singing victory, laying at their feet the richest prize they could wish; and such a one, as after much time, expence, and blood-shed in the conquest of it, they would have thought themselves well paid to be masters of such a country, whose golden mines they presently began to work: by which means the city increased so fast, that if the devil had not troubled the peace, and caused the rebellion of the *Indians*, which ruined it, it had been one of the first and best cities of the *Indies*.

The *Hollanders*, our enemies, are well informed of the nature of the country, and the excellency of the port, and do all they can to get possession of it; but our saviour, who by his grace has hitherto preserved those countries free from heresy and its corruption, will not permit, that this *Hydra* of hell shall infect that air with its venemous breath, nor breed a contagion in the purity of its faith, which is propagated so sincere and true in the hearts of those new christians.

This has been proved by the success of a fleet of theirs in the year 1643. when these rebellious pirates passed the streights of *Magellan*, with a design to settle at *Valdivia*; for though in effect they did people the place, having first passed by the islands of *Chiloe*, where our company has so many glorious missions; in which they threw down the altars and the crosses, and committed other enormities proper to their impiety and obstinacy, yet at last they came off no laughers, but had reason to lament rather. The fame befel another of their generals, called *Antonio Sivajiro*, many of his fleet being taken prisoners, and thirty of them hung up by the feet, as is related by their own authors, *John* and *Theodore de Brye*. 1643.

But in this second occasion, they paid yet more severely for their attempt; for in the very same island, where they had committed all these disorders, God took the life of the general, punishing his unhappy soul with the due chastisement of such an undertaking. They lost the ship which carried their provisions, their ammunition, thirty pieces of artillery, all the brick and lime, and other materials for building three forts, which they had orders to raise in the river of *Valdivia*, and on the island of *Constantine* in that river; and having afterwards got to *Valdivia*, and begun to people, their new general, whose name was *Elvis Aramans*, was forced to shut up all his people in the island of *Constantine*, because they run from him continually, and forsook him; besides the prisoners made in the islands of *Chiloe*, and others destroyed by us, and the warlike *Indians*.

In short, God having espoused this cause as his own, they were tormented with hunger; and before the *Spaniards*, who were on their way, could come up to them, their own diseases and losses obliged them to weigh anchor, and be gone. This was their wisest course; for if they had staid till the fleet from *Peru* had come up to them, and the land forces from *Chile* had attacked them,

them, they had not gone off ſo well; for the marquis of *Manſera* being ſo good a ſoldier himſelf, and ſo zealous for god and his king, immediately, upon the firſt news of their arrival, had ſet out ten ſail, which he provided with powder and ammunition, and diſpatched them to give advice along the coaſt; then he prepared a navy, which was to be of 16 galloons and ſhips, and 4000 *Spaniards*, reſolving to go in perſon, or at leaſt to ſend his ſon.

The governor of *Chile*, the marquis of *Baydes*, with his accuſtomed vigilancy and readineſs in things, where the ſervice of god and the king are concerned, and as a captain of that valour and experience, which he ſhewed in *Flanders*, was ready to enter by land, after having provided all the ports of the kingdom with the army kept on foot by his majeſty; ſo that if the *Hollander* had had yet more force than he had, being ſo hard preſſed both by ſea and land, he muſt either have relinquiſhed the port, or periſhed there for ever.

It has been ſeen in this occaſion, that one man is as good as many in the defence of the cauſe of god and their country, againſt any invader whatſoever, every one deſpiſing all dangers on ſuch an account; but particularly colonel *de Villa Nueva Soberal* ſignalized himſelf at this time; for being general of the kingdom, and governor of the country of *Arauco*, he ventured himſelf in a ſmall bark in the midſt of winter, to ſollicite at *Lima* the neceſſary ſuccours, and aſſiſt the vice-roy for a more quick diſpatch of all things.

He took with him father *Domingo Lazaro*, of the company of *Jeſus*, that he might inform him as an eye-witneſs of all that had paſſed, he being at that time employed in *Chiloe*, in the apoſtolical miſſions when the *Hollanders* landed; he, nevertheleſs, with undaunted courage, embarked in the midſt of the winter in a tempeſtuous ſea, as it is at that time; and without apprehenſion of all thoſe dangers, and of being made a priſoner by the *Hollanders*, who lay in his way, and could ſcarce be avoided, he arrived at the city of the *Conception*, where he gave an account of all that had happened; by which means the country was immediately prepared, and in arms for their defence. OVALLE. 1646.

There is another action which ought not to be concealed, as well becauſe it ſhews the great prudence of the marquis *de Baydes*, as the courage of 20 *Spaniſh* ſoldiers. It being uncertain whether the enemy were ſtill at *Valdivia*, or whether he had abandoned it, they offered to go in a boat up the river, as they did by the governor's command; and without being terrified by the manifeſt danger they expoſed themſelves to, they went as high as the town; and having diſcovered the ill condition of the enemy, and his deſign of leaving the place, they returned with that advice. This moved the general not to attack them, as was at firſt reſolved; but it did not hinder his intention of peopling the place, (as I believe was done laſt ſummer;) for I have advice from *Panama*, that there is a garriſon of 600 *Spaniards* left there; to which our *indian* friends being joined, (and the coaſt *Indians* alſo,) that poſt will be henceforward inexpugnable, and by it the ſouth-ſea will be ſecured; for it being already ſo dangerous to ſail through the ſtreights, and ſo eaſy for us who are at home to defend this poſt of *Valdivia*, and having all the land our friends, we receive ſuccours both from the *Spaniards* and *Indians*, who are ſo friendly, that their caciques ſent to offer their aſſiſtance of their own accord againſt the *Hollanders*; I ſay it will be very hard henceforward for any one to give us any diſturbance.

CHAP. X.

A Continuation of the Deſcription of the Rivers of Chile, *and particularly of thoſe which run to the Eaſt; and of the Difference between the one and the other Side of the* Great Cordillera.

Chalbin. THE river next to that of *Valdivia* is that which is called *Chalbin*; it is deep, and capable of great veſſels. From this river, to a place called the *Punta de Galera*, 'tis about two leagues; and from this to *Rio Bueno* ſeven; into which fall five rivers more, and one which is beyond the bounds of *Valdivia*.

Rio Chico. After this is the *Rio Chico*, which comes from a lake at the foot of the *Cordillera*; in which lake are baths to cure leproſy and other infirmities. Next to this is the *Rio de la Ballena*, which is cloſe to the cape of that name, ſo call'd becauſe of a whale of prodigious bigneſs, which died upon that coaſt. After this, you come to the *Archipelago* of iſlands, into which falls the river call'd *De los Rabudos*, becauſe of an *Indian* nation of that name, ſo call'd, becauſe 'tis ſaid they are born with tails, as father *Gregory* of *Leon* deſcribes them in his map. More on to the ſouth is the river *De los Coronados*, named ſo by the company of a ſhip which put in there on the day of the *forty martyrs* ſo called. *De la Ballena.* The river *De los Coronados.*

Ovalle. 1646.

After theſe there are many rivers all along the coaſt; the firſt is called *De la Eſperonſa*, or of hope, becauſe of the wiſhes, that one day the light of the goſpel may reach to thoſe parts by means of the miniſters of it. The ſecond is called *Rio ſin fundo*, or the river without a bottom, becauſe of the great depth of it. The third is called the *Gallegos*, from a *Spaniard* of that name who fail'd along thoſe coaſts, and like another *Icarus*, gave his name to one of them, by being drown'd in the ſea hard by it, at a cape which has the ſame name. Then follow the rivers *De los Martyres*, and *De los Apoſtoles*; and immediately after them two others: the firſt has no name, the ſecond is called *De los Gigantes*, or of the *Gyants*, becauſe here they were begun to be ſeen, and they reach all along the *Streights*. The famous river call'd *De la Campana*, enters at a place named *El Ancon ſin ſalida*: this name was given to the river, becauſe its two arms ſeem to form the ſhape of a bell. There are two rivers more before you come to the *Streights*, to wit, that of *De los Paxaros*, or of birds, by reaſon of the vaſt quantity of them that were upon it, in that part which comes towards the *Streights*; and the other, of *St. Victorian*, called ſo from the opening, to which the ſame ſaint gives its name. As for the other rivers which run among the iſlands, and thoſe which empty themſelves into the *Streights*, they are many, and ſhall be deſcribed in their proper places.

De la Eſperonſa.

Rio ſin fundo.

Gallegos.

De los Martyres and *De los Apoſtoles.*

De los Gigantes.

De la Campana.

De los Paxaros.

St. Victorian.

Hitherto we have deſcribed the rivers of moſt renown of this long extended kingdom, which run from eaſt to weſt, and empty themſelves into the *South-Sea*: thoſe which run from the oppoſite part of the *Cordillera*, towards the north-ſea, are not ſo well known, becauſe thoſe parts are leſs inhabited, at leaſt, by ſuch as can give us a good account of them. The moſt remarkable of them are thoſe of *St. John* and of *Mendoga*, which are very large rivers, and empty themſelves into the famous lake of *Guanacache*.

The rivers of *St. John* and *Mendoga*.

The governor *Hieronimo Lewis de Cabrera*, a gentleman of great valour and merit, met with ſeveral great rivers in his paſſage over thoſe vaſt plains call'd the *Pampas*, where, as at ſea, people are fain to travel by the compaſs, not to loſe themſelves: he was in queſt of a nation call'd the *Ceſſates*, of whom we ſhall treat hereafter in its proper place. They were forc'd to paſs many great rivers, and without doubt there are many more as far as the *Pole*.

Nevertheleſs I am perſuaded, that theſe rivers do not equal thoſe which run oppoſite, and enter the ſea on the coaſt of *Chile*; and this may be clearly gathered from the difference which may be obſerv'd in paſſing the *Cordillera*, between each ſide of the mountain, which is ſo great, that they ſeem two different worlds, the eaſt and weſt parts; and one would think heaven had put theſe mountains to divide them as a wall, and keep off from the weſt, all the ſtorms and ill weather of the eaſt, where are the provinces of *Cuyo* and *Tucuman*, not to diſturb the ſerenity and tranquility of *Chile* and the weſtern parts. Any one that travels to the top of the high chain of mountains, may experience this clearly; for there he diſcovers both horizons, and when he looks to the eaſt, all is cover'd with groſs vapours, which ſeem to hinder the light, and ſhadow all the country; and at the ſame time looking weſt, the heaven is ſo chriſtalline and bright, that it cauſes pleaſure and joy to look on it. The eaſt ſide is full of a cloudy, thick air, which engenders ſtorms and hail, with horrible thunders and lightnings, which fright all the inhabitants: on the other ſide, in the weſt, there is not a cloud to be ſeen, but clear and bright, as if in the heavens themſelves there were ſuch a partition as the *Cordillera* to divide the climates, as that upon earth does produce a difference in the trees, plants, and animals on each ſide.

The vaſt difference between the countries on the eaſt and weſt ſides of the Cordillera obſerved.

A curious obſerver contemplating once, from this heighth, this ſo remarkable difference, ſaid, That nature, in the fabrick of this part of the world, ſeem'd to have turn'd her back upon the eaſtern provinces, and look'd with her face only upon *Chile*, giving bleſſings with both hands to this laſt, and leaving the other, as it were, diſinherited, and grieving at the pre-eminencies of its elder brother. In going down to the eaſtward there are fewer fountains and rivers, and thoſe muddy, the face of the land melancholy, without ſo much as one green tree to recreate the ſight, nor any pleaſant verdure; and when at laſt there is ſome, as in the valley of *Uſpallata*, the heats begin to be ſo intolerable, that all things ſeem afflicting and unkind. On the other ſide, when we go to the weſt, 'tis quite contrary; for as ſoon as we begin to deſcend, we meet with lovely ſprings; the trees are green, the groves frequent and pleaſant, and the little valleys, which are like ſo many reſting places in that great ſtair-caſe, where paſſengers take breath, and are refreſh'd with the verdure and flowers of them, the air ſtill grows purer and purer; and the more they come down, the more they leave behind them all the inclemencies of the climate of the other ſide, enjoying the advantages of the temperate *Chile*; for from the very foot of the mountains one feels the mildneſs of the ſea air, and

Great ſnows.

Intolerable cold.

one is rejoic'd with the harmony of the birds, and other delightful objects, ſo as to forget the trouble and danger of the way one has paſs'd.

There is the ſame difference in the very land at the foot of the mountains; for on the eaſt ſide there are few fountains; the land is barren, and little cultivated; neither are there flocks of any kind either fed or bred, ſo that the fields look like a uſeleſs barren ground, except it be that the thinneſs of the people has not as yet given way to try the fertility of the earth; for the plains below theſe are extreamly fertile, where they are cultivated; but at preſent there is nothing but thorns and barren dryneſs in thoſe parts.

'Tis not ſo to the weſt, where fountains break out continually, which in the winter are temperate, and in the ſummer as cold as ice, and that ſo much the more as the weather grows hotter and hotter. Theſe ſprings do ſo fertilize the fields at the foot of the mountains, that they keep the earth freſh and green all the year, though it be but a patch; for moſt of the ground is woody, and there is ſuch variety of wild trees, that one would think they were arbors and groves planted by the hand of man: many of theſe are loaded with fruits of the country, of which the *Indians* make excellent drinks, and ſome of them are very good to eat. The valleys are full of odoriferous beautiful flowers, brought forth by nature, without any human induſtry: there are alſo among them moſt extraordinary phyſical plants of a beautiful aſpect. The little hills and plains afford excellent paſture for all ſorts of cattle and flocks; there are alſo admirable valleys for planting of olives and almond-trees, and all ſorts of fruit-trees. At the lower part, about a league in the plain, there are vineyards, of which are made excellent wines, particularly muſcadels, which are in great eſteem. OVALLE. 1646.

There are likewiſe in this deſcent of the mountain, admirable paſtures, where great flocks are bred, and do increaſe wonderfully; their fleſh is extream favory, and the milk of the goats is ſo fat, that by only boiling and ſtirring it gently over the fire, I have ſeen it grow as thick as if flower had been put into it; and yet in other parts this milk is of its nature very thin. This may be ſaid particularly of the young ſhe-goats; and the milk thus boil'd has a ſweetneſs and delicacy which paſſes ordinary milk, even with the things that are put in to mend it; all which are arguments of the great ſubſtance and nouriſhment of that land. *Excellent paſtures.*

CHAP. XI.

Of the Effects produced by the great Snow of the Cordillera.

Great ſnows. WITH the firſt rains of the winter, which are about the middle of *May*, the *Cordillera* begins to be cover'd with ſnow, and to put on, as it were, a white armour, to hinder its being paſs'd, not only by men, but even by animals and birds, which are ſo driven out of it by the rigour of that ſeaſon, that there is not one remaining in it.

Intolerable cold. Even the *Silguerillos* and *Sorſales*, birds which of their own nature are ſo hot, that in the very beginning of the ſummer they take to the mountain, as ſoon as they perceive that the winter draws near, come in flocks down to avoid its rigour in the mountains; and then it is that the taking of them is eaſy, and that as ſoon as the cold pinches, the ground being almoſt cover'd with them, it proves the ſeaſon of moſt pleaſure for the youth of the country, who going out, take ſo many of them, either with glue or nets, that they carry loads of them home, reſerving thoſe of the fineſt colours to put in cages, for their harmony is very ſweet. The *Cordillera* is ſhut up five or ſix months in the year; ſo that till *October* or *November*, it cannot be paſſed without manifeſt danger of one's life; and in the midſt of winter not at all, becauſe all the paths and ways are cover'd with ſnow, to the heighth of many yards; and if any one ſhould be raſh enough to attempt it, he would after a little going, ſink in every where, ſo that he would not be able to go a ſtep forward nor backward, as has happened to ſeveral, who either for ſome very preſſing concern and intereſt, or flying from a death which threaten'd them for their crimes, have found it in theſe deſarts more certainly than perhaps they would have done in the priſons where they fear'd it.

Theſe are buried, not in ſepulchres whitened on the outſide, nor under cold marble, but in the very boſom of froſt and ſnow, which preſerves them without being imbalm'd, and yet keeps them as incorruptible and dry, for ſo they have been found after many years; for ſuch is the cold of thoſe mountains, that it dri's up all the moiſture that can cauſe corruption in dead bodies, and ſo preſerves them.

This ſo inſuperable difficulty of paſſing the *Cordillera*, is leſs at the entrance, than the end of the winter, becauſe the drifts of ſnow

OVALLE. 1646. ſnow are not then ſo violent as to ſhut up the ways entirely; ſo in thoſe ſeaſons ſome do venture to paſs, though never but with great danger, and upon urgent occaſions: if ſometimes they are ſo lucky as to get off well, becauſe they meet with a clear sky, yet at other times it coſts them dear; and always 'tis with infinite labour that they get thorough.

I have ſeen others who eſcaped with their lives by god's mercy, becauſe the ſtorm catch'd them before they were too far engaged in the mountain, and ſo they could yet make a retreat to the low countries; others have been forc'd to open their mules bellies that they ride on, and hide themſelves in them; and by that warmth, and other defence of cloaths, th , make a ſhift to get over the ſtorm of ſnow, if it does not laſt long; after which they gain the plains on foot, if they are not too far engag d, and ſo avoid the danger, but not the long-ſufferings which follow generally after ſuch adventures.

In ſhort, every body has ſome ſtory to tell of the mountain, and complain of it; for ſome loſe their toes, others their fingers; ſome their ſight; ſome are benumm'd and lam'd, and ſo remain all their life with great infirmities. And I do not wonder at all at this, becauſe though one ſhould paſs without a ſtorm, yet the cold is ſo terrible, that it cannot but injure nature extreamly in that ſeaſon, ſince even in the midſt of ſummer, when we paſs this mountain, and in the lower part of it ſweat with heat, as ſoon as we come to paſs the top, we are forced to put on double cloathing, and prepare the ſtomach with good warm things, to withſtand the ſharpneſs of the cold, and the ſubtileneſs of the air, which penetrates the body through and through, if it be not well cover'd.

Among the ſeveral times that I have paſs'd this mountain, one was in the beginning of *April*, when autumn in thoſe parts is at an end, and the winter begins to threaten, and I muſt own that the cold was ſo intenſe, that it ſeem'd a different ſpecies of cold from all thoſe I ever felt either in *India* or *Europe*; though even then it had not begun to ſnow, the cold was ſo fierce that it made one's hands cleave; nay, it had an effect upon the very rocks, for I remember the ſun was reflected by them as by a looking-glaſs. When we come to treat of the firſt diſcovery of this kingdom, I ſhall relate what was endur'd by the *Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro* with his army, and by thoſe who afterwards followed him, and paſſed this mountain, in which they were ſo ill handled, that ſome were ſtruck blind, others lame; ſome loſt their fingers without feeling it, becauſe the exceſſive cold took away all ſenſe; ſome were frozen to death, and with them ſome horſes, whom ſix months after ſome other *Spaniards* found ſo freſh and well preſerv'd, that they eat of them; and to ſecure themſelves from cold, made a defence of thoſe dead bodies; nay, ſome got into them. About ſix years after, others going that way, found a negro, who at that time was frozen to death, leaning againſt the ſide of a rock, with a lead horſe, and the reins in his hand, though conſumed with time. They who have a mind to know more particulars, let them read *Don Antonio de Herrera*, *Decade* 5. *Book* 10. and *Chap.* 5. and alſo *Gareilaſſo de la Vega*, in his firſt tome.

'Tis neceſſary to underſtand, that it is of this cold of the mountain that authors ſpeak, when they ſay, That the cold of *Chile* is ſo ſevere, that the rivers are frozen up, and men frozen to death in the fields: for this is only true of thoſe uninhabitable mountains, where I believe at that ſeaſon the rivers do not run, but are turned into chryſtal; and if any ſprings do eſcape, they are very few, and that in the valleys moſt ſecur'd and ſhelter'd; that appears by the rivers which run in the plain country, which are almoſt dried up, in compariſon of the quantity of water that they carry with them in the ſummer.

And thus the truth of what hiſtorians relate may be ſaved from contradiction; for they not knowing the country, make no diſtinction between the mountain and the plains, in which there never was ſeen any ſuch effect of cold in any part of them; for the ſea air, which is thick and moiſt, tempers the ſharpneſs of the blaſts from the *Cordillera*; and for this reaſon it is, that the colds of the *Pampas* of *Cuyo* and *Tucuman* are ſo inſupportable; as alſo thoſe of *Buenos Aires*, which being at ſuch a diſtance from both ſeas, and not enjoying the warmth of its vapours, the air in ſummer is intolerably ſcorching, and in winter ſo cold, and for want of rain ſo dry, that 'tis common for animals to be found dead in the fields, as well as the men too ſometimes.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Fountains which riſe in other Parts of Chile, *beſides the* Cordillera.

Fountains of Chile. BESIDES the rivers and ſprings of the *Cordillera*, there are others which riſe in the plains and valleys, which have admirable properties. I ſhall mention ſome, for 'tis impoſſible to rehearſe them all, nor can I remember but a few. Firſt, that which

which rises at the foot of the high *volcano* of *Villa Rica*, so famous in that kingdom for its terrible effects, for which God Almighty makes himself to be feared and respected by mankind; rises, I say, at the foot of this mount with such force, that it springs out of the earth in two sources, each as big as a man, and sufficient to form alone a good stream, and runs into a lake which is made by its waters.

Rio Chico. In another lake, out of which comes the river call'd *Rio Chico*, there rises also a fountain of hot water, most efficacious for the cure of leprosies, and all contagious infirmities. There is another springs up in the *Maguey*, yet most admirable; for there are two sources just by one another, the one of hot, the other of cold water; the hot one is so hot, that no one can endure his hand in it; the cold one is let in to temper the bath which is made for the sick. The baths of *Ranegua* are also very famous, and like these; which, for being near *St. Jago*, and in the greatest intercourse of the kingdom, are very useful, and much frequented. There are others in other parts; but not remembering them distinctly, I can say little of them. Among

Fountain of Ramon. the fountains, that of *Ramon* is very famous, as well for the goodness, as abundance of its waters; which is such, that they alone are sufficient to water many fields: it is about two leagues eastward of *St. Jago*, and in that district. There are

Caren. many others, among which that of *Caren* is worth taking notice of: it springs in a beautiful meadow, of about five or six leagues in length, affording a delicious prospect; its water is very sweet, and enters into the meadow; the earth of which is so porous, that whoever treads hard upon it, feels it shake under him: it is all the year green; and the grass is a kind of small trefoil, called by the inhabitants *Caren*, and is pleasant to eat. Neither ought I to pass over in silence another fountain between these two, very plentifully furnished with delicate sweet water, which is always so much the cooler, as the weather is hotter;

Mayten. it is call'd the fountain of *Mayten*, by reason of a tree of that name, which grows at the foot of a great square table of live rock, where people use to go and eat their collations, the tree sheltering them all the while from the heat; for 'tis a tree whose leaves are green all the year, something like a mirtle, but much larger, and without dispute of a more beautiful green: by its foot runs this fountain, whose source is a little higher in a valley, from whence it comes murmuring upon pebble stones, and among pleasant groves full of beautiful herbs and flowers.

The trees, though wild, yet bear very savoury fruits of that soil; and in them are great variety of birds, who, with their harmony and sweet notes, make the entertainment more delightful for those that frequent the place. 'Tis not the least part of their enjoyment, to discover at the end of these woods a prospect for many leagues over plains, which being of so great extent, many of them lie uncultivated; so that among the vineyards and plowed lands, the wild uncultivated part is so beautiful, particularly in the spring, that one would think art had help'd nature. There are in one place great spots of yellow flowers, which cover the earth, so that for a great space nothing else is to be seen; then you have white, blue, fillemot spots of the same proportion; the green meadows mingle in this with the waters of the river *Mapocho*, which is seen from this distance sometimes entire in its bed, then divided into several arms, and at last drained into the fields of the neighbouring grounds, to fertilize them. The prospect is terminated with several farms, which are called *Chacra's*, with their churches; and in the midst of all, the city of *St. Jago*, the capital of *Chile*, which being not above two leagues off, and the heavens so serene, the towers of it are easily distinguished, and the bells heard sometimes.

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A delightful prospect.

Mapocho.

This district is full of a great many more springs, all within the compass of a mile of each other; and their waters are excellent and healthy.

Conchalli. That which is to the north of the city of *St. Jago*, called *Conchalli*, is likewise highly commended; it springs in a little valley, called the *Salto*, or *Leap*, because of the fall of the river *Mapocho*. This river comes running in a plain to a certain place; where being divided (for it is the work of industry) into two branches, the greatest of which runs in its natural channel, the lesser is derived to water this valley; which towards the west is even; but towards the east the land is so high, through which the river runs, that it is two or three mile from the bottom of the valley to the high grounds, from whence the river falls. It is precipitated with great noise, making lovely and various cascades by the rencounter of the rocks and other obstacles, which by their streight passages retard its course, till at last it comes entire to the valley, and is divided into cuts and channels for the watering it; which is not ungrateful, to make a more than ordinary return to those who cultivate it, not only in corn, most excellent wine, and most savoury fruits of all kinds, but also it ripens them above a month before any other place thereabouts; and it is very

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remarkable, that in this valley, which is only half a league from the city of *St. Jago*, the figs use to be ripe, when in the gardens of the city, and all its neighbourhood, they scarce begin to change colour: therefore, as well for this as the game it affords, of partridges on the hills, and wild fowl in the waters and ponds of it, it is the greatest entertainment all those parts afford.

I shall not dilate upon more of these fountains, which are so frequent; for if I were to mention them all, I should never have done; for since those alone of the *Conception*, *Arauco*, and the country of the limits upon the warlike *Indians*, would require a large treatise, besides those of the district of *St. Jago*, what would it be then in the territories of the ancient cities, which are yet farther in the country? for it abounding extremely in rivers, it is to be presumed that it must be so in fountains and springs; all which proceeds from the abundance of moisture of the *Cordillera*.

Of these springs, the most agreeable for their good waters are the farthest off from the *Cordillera*, because they are more purified by a long motion, and refin'd by the good qualities of the earth they run through, particularly the mineral impregnations are singular: I cannot but mention one, which is in the novitiate of the company of the *Jesuits* of *Bucalemo*, whose waters are not to be match'd, at least I never met with the like; for without drinking them, one may discover by the touch their nobleness, their softness being like that of new butter; and they do make the hands that are wash'd in them in a few days smooth, and thereby prove their vast difference from other waters.

A medicinal fountain.

This fountain springs in a little valley, very pleasant, under some hills, about a league from the sea; and it bubbles up between a white sand, in which there is gold, as if it had a fire under it to make it boil. It is wonderful to observe, that if they throw any bough or flowers upon it, it seems to take it ill, and never is at rest till it has swallow'd it up, leaping up against it several times, till it has made it its own, and hid it from our sight; and this it will do for a whole evening, if they continue throwing flowers or branches of trees into it, without any body's being able to tell what becomes of them all.

The effects that this water causes in the stomach are admirable: it helps to digest the meat with more easiness; it destroys crudities, dissolves phlegms and gross humours, and evidently prolongs life, especially to old men. This was most particularly made clear in the person of that famous captain *Sebastian Garcia Caretto Chumazero*, the founder of that novitiate, who lived there many years, and came to be ninety years old in good health, and so vigorous, that he did to the last go on horseback through the woods and mountains, as if he had been a young man. I heard him say many times, that this fountain was his life; for as soon as he found himself any ways out of order, he sent immediately for the water of it, and drinking it fresh from the spring, he used to go to bed upon it; where falling asleep, he would after some time awake well disposed: this I have often been witness of. The old *Indians* thereabouts experimented the same, and did attribute their good state of health to this spring, without using any other physick or remedies.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Lakes of Chile, *and the Salt that is gather'd from them.*

Lakes.

AFTER having treated of the fountains and rivers, it seems natural to treat of the lakes and standing waters form'd out of them, and by some inundations of the sea in winter, when it fills them, and leaves them provided for all the summer. Those made by rivers come first in rank; and I wish my memory would serve to place them here, with their several qualities. Omitting then to repeat what we have said of those of *Aculco* and *Pudaguel*, which being near *St. Jago*, make the greatest diversion of its inhabitants, we will begin with the lake of *Tagataguas*, about fourteen leagues from that city, and which once was more in esteem; for the trouts catch'd there are of a larger size, and the game for wild fowl so much more diverting, that there is no comparison between these waters and others. I do not describe here particularly the variety of wild fowl, because I intend to do it when I treat of the variety of birds of this country. The lakes of *Villa Rica* are of great renown, though I confess I know little of their properties.

Lake of Tagataguas.

The lake of *Puren* has been famous, having been an impregnable fortress for the warlike *Indians* our enemies, by reason of the disposition and qualities of its situation; for from thence they have for many years maintain'd a war with whole armies of *Spaniards*, without being subdued: their advantage lay in this, That upon any rout given them by us, they had here a most certain and safe retreat, which when once they had recovered, they were out of all danger; for none could hurt them either by sword or fire.

Lake of Puren.

Sea lakes. The sea lakes are also many, and of great profit to their owners; for the fisheries in them are much more certain than in the sea: for which reason they furnish the best part of the lenten fare, though the sea affords a great deal too. Among the rest the lake of *Rapel* brings a great revenue: it runs in length above two leagues within the land. *Lake of Rapel.* In the winter time the sea is joined to it; for by its storms it forces an entrance, but it leaves it full of all sorts of fish; which, with those that are bred there, furnish it for the whole year, and enable it to supply all the neighbouring country; and that not only with fish, but with salt too in abundance: for, about *January*, the communication ceasing between it and the sea, when the sun is at its hottest in that climate, the water is congealed so, that it has a crust of a foot, or more, thick of a most excellent white salt. This, indeed, does not happen every year; for it requires an extream heat to do it, the lake being deep, and the climate there more enclining to cold: but they provide themselves in one, for many others; and the salt-pits made by hand seldom fail; for they not being of great extent, the water that is let into them turns to salt with less heat, the matter to be congealed being less in itself. And since we are mentioning salt, I cannot omit to relate what I myself have seen in *Salt found on an herb growing in the valley of Lampa.* the valley of *Lampa*, which is about three leagues from *St. Jago*; and it is this, There grows an herb, not unlike to *Sweet Basil*, only its green is upon an ash-colour, and not so gay; it rises about a foot above ground: this plant, in the summer, is covered over with small grains of salt, like pearl, which is congealed upon its leaves, either from the dew of heaven, or by some vapour raised by the sun from that earth; or else the nature of the herb itself is such, as to sweat out this humidity, which being afterwards congealed by the heat of the sun, is turned into salt. Let the cause be what it will, the effect is seen no where but in this valley, and upon that species of herb; which is therefore much valued by the *Indians*, the salt of it being more savoury, and of a finer flavour than any other. OVALLE. 1646.

I cannot tell whether *Johannes de Laet* means this in his description of the new world; for having mentioned the kingdom of *Chile*, to which he gives the preference for its excellent properties, he says, That in that kingdom, in some of its valleys, there falls, at certain times of the year, a dew so thick upon the leaves of the plants, that it is like sugar, and serves, being kept some time, for the same use as manna. *Antonio de Herrera* reports the same thing, in his general history of the *West Indies*; and, amongst other commendations he gives this noble kingdom, he relates the same thing of this strange and admirable dew. I say upon this, that I know not whether they allude to what I have reported of the valley of *Lampa* by my own sight, and have no knowledge of that other thing they mention; though one would think, such authors should distinguish things so different in their effects and savour, as salt and sugar. 'Tis possible, God may have done both, having been so wonderfully liberal to that country, where the singularities are so many and wonderful; and it would therefore be no wonder some of them should not be known, especially, considering that we, who are there employed for the conversion of souls, have not the time to search after curiosities, and secrets of nature.

CHAP. XIV.

Wherein is treated of the Sea of the Kingdom of Chile, *and of the Etimology of its Name.*

Sea of Chile. THE fountains, springs, rivers, and brooks, carry us along with them naturally to the sea, where their course ends, and where there is room for my pen to exercise itself, if the brevity of this narration did not confine my flight: I must therefore be content to say something of this element, that the nature of it may not be unknown as to this new world.

Etimology of the name of Chile. Beginning therefore with the etimology of its name: 'Tis well known that all commonly call it the *South Sea*, because it is towards the *antartick* pole, from whence generally the south wind blows, in opposition to the *tramontana*, or north, which reigns in the ocean as far as the *artick* pole. But leaving these disputes to the schools, or rather to that abyss of divine wisdom, *qui profert ventos de thesauris suis*, 'tis a known truth, that the effects which the wind of the *artick* pole causes in its jurisdiction towards the opposite part, the same is caused by the south wind in its motions from the *antartick* towards these parts.

Lake of Puren.

In *Chile* we look upon the south wind as a favorable wind, as in *Europe* the north is in the same esteem. The north with us covers the heavens with clouds, causes tempests and storms at sea, and makes all the land dark and sad: the south, on the contrary, *The south wind most favourable at Chile.*

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contrary, clears the sky, serenes the air, and makes the sea as calm as milk: on the contrary, this same south wind, in the north sea, is stormy, and covers the heavens with clouds, and raises those tempests, which do so endanger ships; whereas the north, called there *tramontana*, clears all again, and makes the fine days.

From hence proceeds, that in *America* the south wind reigns in summer, when the sea is calm, and the north in winter, when it is tempestuous: the north does most certainly, bring with it the rains, particularly from thirty six degrees to the pole, and that so suddenly, that sometimes, in the moment the wind comes to the north, the rain falls, and most commonly 'tis within half an hour after its change; and when in those parts in winter the sun is clear, and the weather fair, 'tis when the south wind overpowers the north; for the south in those parts is cold and dry, and so drives away the clouds, so as it happens sometimes that the heavens are dark; and as soon as the clouds are discharged, if the south appears a little the stronger, 'tis an infallible sign of calm weather, which generally follows in a trice; for this wind drives all the clouds so before it, that when it blows, it does not leave one in the sky.

The contrary of this is seen in *Europe*, where the south winds bring humidity, and the north drives it away: the south relaxes the body, and affects the head; but the north strengthens the body, purifies the air, and dries up superfluous humours. In short, these two winds cause quite different effects in *Europe* and in *America*, that we may call the *Europeans* sons of the north, and those of *South America* children of the south.

From this there follows another very notable and well-known difference, which is, That as to go from *Europe* to the *Indies*, the north is the proper wind, and carries us before it, and by consequence is contrary to our return; so in the *South Sea*, sailing from the pole towards these parts, the south is the favourable wind, and contrary to our return: from whence it proceeds, that the voyage from *Spain* to *Carthagena* being by the *North Sea*, and made in thirty, forty, and fifty days, the return to *Spain* uses to last fourscore, and a hundred, and more days. On the contrary, in the *South Sea*, where the voyage from *Chile* to *Lima* is but of about a fortnight, and as much more to *Panama*, or thereabouts, the return only to *Lima* is of two months, and from thence to *Chile* forty days. The *South Sea* is also called the *Pacifick Sea*, to distinguish it from the *North Sea*, whose storms and tempests are so frequent; whereas in the *South Sea* they are rare: but, in my opinion the difference is for another reason, which I shall alledge here.

Remarks on the navigation of the South Sea.

The most frequent navigations of the *South Sea* are from *Peru* to *Panama*, and from thence to *New Spain* and the *Philipinas*; and those from *Peru* to *Chile* are less used: by which it appears, that the best part of the *South Sea* navigations are between the tropicks; and so the sun has so much force, as to keep the winds from being furious, and making such lasting storms as those which are raised without the tropicks, and in parts nearer the pole; for this reason the sailors in these warm climates, where there never is any winter, called this sea the *Pacifick Sea*, from the good effects they experiment in it. The contrary of this is in the *North Sea*, where most of the navigations are out of the tropicks; where the sun having less force, the winter predominates, and raises mighty storms. Now the *Europeans*, who first navigated the *South Sea*, being such as were used to those dangers, to which the navigators of the northern parts are most commonly exposed, when they found so quiet a sea as that under the line, and in those which particularly are the seat of commerce with *New Spain*, *Panama*, and *Peru*, they gave it the name of *Pacifick*, without examining any further the cause of the difference of the effects, which they experienced in both seas: but if they had try'd that very *South Sea* beyond the tropick of *Capricorn*, they would not so easily have named it *Pacifick*.

Called also the Pacifick Sea.

I know that this discourse will be approved by those who have had experience of the hardships which are suffered by the navigators, from the twenty sixth degree of latitude on the coast of *Chile*, to fifty three degrees; for there, as soon as the winter begins, the sea cannot be navigated without manifest danger, the storms being no ways inferior to the greatest in the *North Sea*; and though at that season it is not so dangerous for ships to sail from *Chile* to *Lima*, because they every day get into a less latitude, and so enjoy a quieter sea, yet from *Peru* to *Chile* it is extream dangerous, not only because they come into a greater latitude, and go out further to sea, to avoid the south winds opposition, but also because the vapours of the sea, and cold mists of the earth do raise such fogs and dark clouds, that they cover the land so, that when they make their port, they are in great danger of splitting upon the rocks.

This, I say, is only of those coasts of *Chile* which are in the least latitude; for from the city of the *Conception*, towards the pole, even in summer, they are dangerous; and the ships which are bound for the islands of *Chiloe* have not above two or three months in the year to go in and out con-

conveniently, or they neither go in nor out till the year following: this is underſtood as far as forty four or forty five degrees, in which this archipelago of iſlands is placed; for from thence to the ſtreights of *Magellan*, thoſe may relate the dangers who have experienced them, and paſſed thoſe ſtreights: all that I know of it, is, that they all have matter enough to diſcourſe of at their return.

So that we may ſay, that the name of *Pacifick* does not abſolutely belong to the *South Sea*, according to its whole extent, but only as to thoſe parts of greateſt intercourſe, which, becauſe they are within the tropicks, are the freeſt from ſtorms; and yet it cannot be deny'd, but that the *South Sea* has an advantage over the *North Sea*, even within the tropicks, which is, that it is free from thoſe great ſands which are ſo common in the *North Sea*, about *Carthagena*, *La Havana*, and other iſlands, nay, even in the canal of *Babama*; which indeed are ſo many, that let a ſtorm be but moderate, they make it ſtill greater, and more dangerous, by ſhortening the ſea-room, and force the ſailors to be always heaving the lead, or elſe to ſplit upon the rocks, which may be clearly ſeen and diſtinguiſhed from the ſhip's ſide.

I find likewiſe, that the *South Sea* may be called *Pacifick* for another reaſon, which is, becauſe of the extream quiet it enjoys in its navigation, without diſturbance from any of its enemies, who are ſo frequent on all the ſhores of the *North Sea*; for there being no other entrance into the *South Sea*, but by the ſtreights of *Magellan* and *St. Vincent*, which are at ſuch diſtance, and defended by nature itſelf, the enemies of our quiet do not care to engage in ſo uſeleſs and dangerous a deſign, with ſo manifeſt a deſtruction, and ſo little advantage, as hath happened already to ſome hereticks who have attempted it; for having no ſettlement, nor landing place in all that vaſt ſea, they have been forced to ſail to the *Philippinas*: therefore the ſhips of the *South Sea* are free from any fear of enemies, and go and come without any apprehenſion of danger on that ſide. *Antonio de Herrera*, in the fifth *Decade* of his *General Hiſtory*, *folio* 319. relates the motive that *Magellan* had to call this the *Pacifick Sea*, and that is, Becauſe there is not in all that element a more ſpecious career for the winds and tides, and becauſe there reigns between the tropicks ſo ſteddy and ſtrong a levant, that in many days the ſeamen need not hand their ſails, nor the ſteerſman his helm, ſailing through thoſe vaſt ſeas as if it were in a canal or river. And the ſame author adds, That this motion of this wind proceeds from the courſe of the firſt *Mobile*, which is proved by its perpetual invariability, and the increaſe of its vehemence, as it draws nearer the *Equinox*. Some diſpute, whether it ought to be called a wind, or an impulſe which the air receives from ſuperior orbs, communicated to them by the firſt ſphere. So far this author. OVALLE. 1646.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Sea Coaſts of Chile, *and its Ports and Havens.*

IT would be too great an excurſion beyond my purpoſe, to mention all the ports and creeks along the coaſt of *Chile*; for they are very numerous. *George Spilberg*, admiral of a fleet of ſix ſail, whoſe names were, the *New Sun*, the *New Moon*, the *Hunter*, the *Pole-Star*, *Eolus*, and *Lucifer*, ſays, he obſerved twenty five ports in the ſtreights of *Magellan* alone, before he entered the *South Sea*: he commends them mightily, but particularly he is much pleaſed with the twenty fifth; for he ſtaid in it ſome time, and gave it his own name: he calls it a noble port, by reaſon of its ſafeneſs for ſhipping, as alſo for the pleaſantneſs of the fields, which, he ſays, were all covered with fruit; which I ſuppoſe were ſtrawberries, according to the deſcription he makes of them. He found there likewiſe abundance of excellent oyſters, at the mouth of a river, which beautify'd that port extremely, it falling into it from high mountains. But this retreat did not ſerve them long; for having ſeen ſome very fine coloured birds, they purſued them on ſhore, and hunted them; which they had no ſooner begun to do, but they were aſſaulted by a troop of *Indians*, with clubs in their hands, and ſome of them were killed, and the reſt forced to retire to their ſhips, and ſet ſail in haſte; which is a great mark of the valour with which thoſe people engaged them; for though they had fire-arms, they could not withſtand the charge.

Spilberg's obſervation of twenty five ports in the ſtreights of Magellan.

Spilberg aſſaulted by the Indians.

The moſt famous port in all the coaſt, beſides that of *Valdivia*, which we have deſcribed already, is that of *Coquimbo*, mentioned in our ſeventh chapter; and it deſerves all ſorts of commendation, as well for its lovely bay, where ſhips ride as ſafe as can be, as alſo for the pleaſantneſs of the country about it; which is one of the moſt delicious of all *Chile*. The products of the country are particularly gold and

Port of Coquimbo.

OVALLE. 1646.

copper, which is carried from thence to *Peru*; for the making of artillery, casting of bells, and other houshold furniture.

Copiapo, Guasco, and Pacudo.

The ports also of *Copiapo* and *Guasco* are esteemed, and more deservedly that of *Pacudo*, which is a private hidden bay, where the ships of *Peru* come to load with the hides and tallow of *Chuapa*; as also with tar and tackling for ships, which is made in that valley, and is whiter and better than any in *Chile*, by reason of the excellent waters they make use of in its making.

Quintero.

The next good port to these, is, that of *Quintero*, where the general of the six ships above named landed; and it being a place uninhabited, met with no opposition, but refreshed his men with a large fishing which they made. They do so commend the place, that they cannot sufficiently (they say) extol the pleasantness of the land, the sweetness of the water, the security for ships, and, in short, all sorts of conveniencies for human life; and after these many encomiums, the historian concludes thus, *portus hic nulli secundus*, this port yields to none; and yet this port of *Quintero* is none of the famous ones of *Chile*; by which it may be inferred, that he was but little acquainted with the rest. He could not land in them; for he found them all guarded by the militia, who expected him; and though coming to *Val Paraiso*, he had begun to land some men, yet, upon advice that the horse of *St. Jago* were at hand to hinder the descent, he took them on board again; and sailing at midnight, cast anchor at *Quintero*, where they watered, and cut wood, the admiral himself landing with many soldiers to protect his men: there they drew up a trench, with a kind of half-moon, to secure their retreat against the *Spaniards*, who began to appear upon the hills; but they did not stay for them, but embarking again, followed their course towards *Peru*, not landing any where else; but yet they commend the land extreamly.

Coucon, or Quillota, and Val Paraiso.

After these follows the port of *Coucon*, or *Quillota*, which serves to embark the product of those valleys; and hard by that, the port of *Val Paraiso*, where are landed all the goods brought for the city of *St. Jago*: from whence they are distributed all over its territory, and as far as *Cuyo*, and *Tucuman*: This port is every day more and more inhabited; and there is building a convent of *austin* friars, which will be of great relief to the souls of the inhabitants, and of all those who go and come, who are not a few; for this is the port of the greatest commerce with *Peru*: 'tis distant from *St. Jago* twenty four leagues, all plain and good way, fit for carriage; and so all the commodities of both kingdoms are conveyed and exchanged by it.

Near the port of *Val Paraiso* is that of *St. Antonio*, which is also very safe and good, and is at the mouth of the river *Maypo*. There is a mistake in authors about this; for they place the port of *Val Paraiso* at the mouth of a river, which they make in their maps to come from *St. Jago*; which is a very great error, because, at *Val Paraiso* there is no river of any note, but only springs and fountains, which rise out of the rocks close by the sea, which are most excellent waters. There are also others of a coarser nature, with which the ships fill their provision, because they having more body, they resist better at sea against corruption.

There are several other ports between that and the *Conception*, in the bays and mouths of rivers; but not much used, because they are not necessary; all those valleys from *Maule* to *Quillota* sending their commodities to *Val Paraiso*. I believe in time other ports will be imployed, because the products of that kingdom multiply apace, and so people will be willing to seek out the nearest ports for embarking their goods. All the product from *Maule* upwards, is carried to the harbour of the *Conception*, which is the best bay in all those coasts; and it being a very large one, providence placed at its entrance the island of *Quiriquina*; under which, as under a mole, ships are secured in foul weather. At the largest entrance of this bay is the port of *la Herradura*, or *Horse-Shoe*, it being in that form; and opposite to that is that of *St. Vincent*; and a little farther, that of *Carnero*, called so for the refreshment it afforded to one of the ships of the bishop of *Palencia*, who, by order of *Charles* V. passed the streights of *Magellan* with six sail, and having lost their *Patache*, were forced to the *Moluccas*.

Islands of Quiriquina.

La Herradura, St. Vincent, and Carnero.

Next to these are the ports of *Tirua* and *Quedal*, *La Baia Chica*, that of *Puralla*, the port of *St. Cebrian*, that of *Santa Clara*, that of *St. Domingo*, *St. Esteran*, *Los Reyes*, that of *Baixas*, that of the *Innocents*, and many others less considerable, as far as the streights of *Magellan*.

Several other Ports.

Besides these ports which we have marked upon the *terra firma*, there are several others, well known in the islands of *Juan Fernandes*, *La Mocha*, *Santa Maria*, in the islands of *Chiloe*, *Alfie*; where the most frequented are that of *Carelmapo*, and that called the *English Port*, because formerly an *English* ship landed there, and the men and ship, with all its artillery, were made prize. There are also several other ports in the archipelago of *Chiloe*, which I forbear mentioning, because I have not a perfect account of them.

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CHAP. XVI.

Of the Fertility of the whole Coaſt of Chile.

THE abundance and fertility of this kingdom is not only perceived in its valleys and fields, but likewiſe in its whole coaſt, even on the rocks, where the ſea beats. It will be hard to make this appear by particulars, becauſe though in other parts of the world the rocks produce ſhell-fiſh, yet I do not know that it is in ſuch quantity, nor ſo large any where as in *Chile*, nor of ſo many different ſpecies. Firſt, I will ſpeak of that which is moſt common and intelligible: There grows along the coaſt every where an herb not unlike to endive; they call it *Luche*, which they pull from the rocks: it is gathered in the ſpring, when 'tis moſt grown; and being dried in the ſun, 'tis made into loaves, which are look'd upon as a great delicacy far from the ſea, particularly in *Peru*, *Cuyo*, and *Tucuman*; for it ſerves for many ſauces. It grows upon the tops of rocks, ſuch as are above the water. At the foot of the rocks are found certain roots, which bring forth a trunk as thick as one's wriſt, called *Ulte-cueſte*: this they cut, and laying it before the fire, they pare it like a lettice, or cardoon, or thiſtle, but it has a much different taſte. From theſe trunks ſhoot out certain long cods, of three or four yards long, and ſome of about ſix or eight fingers in breadth: theſe they call *Coehauyo*; and there are two ſorts of them, which, though they reſemble one another, yet the *Indians* make a great difference between them, reſerving the good, which they cut and dry, and make proviſion of them for *Lent*; the others they leave to the ſea, which heaps them up upon the ſhoar, where they lie in heaps very uſeleſs. So much for the herbs. Now let us ſpeak of the ſea ſhell-fiſh. The beſt of this kind are *oyſters*, both great and ſmall, ſo much talked of by the *Hollanders* with great commendations: they found them in the ſtreights of *Magellan*; but the greateſt plenty of them is on the coaſt of *Coquimbo*, where they are very large and delicious; the leſſer ſort they call *Tacas*, very much valued too, and taken all along that coaſt. But thoſe of greateſt renown are the oyſters of *Chuapa*; in the great ones are bred pearls, as the *Dutch* ſay, and, according to *John* and *Theodore de Brye*, they bought ſome of the *Indians* in the ſtreights very finely wrought.

The herb Luche.

The root Ulteeueſte.

Oyſters.

Choros. That which they call *Choros* is alſo a fine ſort of ſhell-fiſh, and in its ſhell, as *Antonio de Herrera* ſays, there are pearl very white. That ſort which I have ſeen is not ſo big; but ſince they are to be found every where, there may be of all ſorts of them; for they are caught in abundance, both little, middle ſize, and large ones, ſome as broad as my hand. The choiceſt of them are thoſe which have the fiſh of a yellow colour, though the black ones are good too.

There is another ſhell-fiſh, called *Mane-gues*, which is in two round ſhells, ſuch as ſerve for models in architecture; the fiſh within is but coarſe meat, but of good ſuſtenance. In one kind of theſe, which is the little ſort, in opening the ſhell, which in the inſide is like mother of pearl, when one takes out the meat, one may ſee the impreſſion on the ſhell, of a purple colour, which repreſents the image of the moſt holy virgin, with her mantle, and her child in her arms, which cauſes great devotion and comfort; and, though they all have this impreſſion, yet ſome have it ſo perfect, that it is wonderful. Manegues.

A fiſh they call *Locos* may alſo be ranked among the ſhell-fiſh: they call them alſo *Aſs's-Hoof*, becauſe they are of that ſhape: They are very ſavoury, but hard and indigeſt; for which reaſon they are to be eaten ſparingly, though in the dreſſing of them they macerate them between two ſtones, to ſoften them. I ſhould never have done, to go through all the kinds of ſhell-fiſh; as likewiſe of ſnails, which are alſo good to eat, and are produced on the rocks. There are ſome caſt up by the ſea, in ſuch quantity, that ſhip loads may be had of them, of ſuch variety of figures and colours, that I doubt not but the curious in *Europe* would value them, and our artiſts would make curioſities of them; but they, for want of ſuch artificers, are good for nothing in the *Indies*, but to make lime of, by burning them in a furnace; yet they are in ſuch vaſt quantities, that the ſhore is covered with them, and they make a fine ſhew. Locos, or Aſs's-Hoof.

The ſhell-fiſh called *Picos de Papagayos*, are another kind much eſteemed: they are ſo called, becauſe for their ſhape and bigneſs, they are juſt like parrots heads; and as theſe birds build their neſts on ſhoar, in ſome hollow rocks and caves, ſo this fiſh breeds in a kind of ſtone-work, hollow, like little cells, where it grows till it comes to be of the bigneſs of thoſe heads. They dreſs them in thoſe very neſts, which ſerve for pots, and when they are enough, take them out. They are excellent meat. Picos de Papagayos.

Thoſe

Ovalle. 1646. Kericos.

Thoſe which they call *Kericos*, though common in other parts, yet I never ſaw them ſo large as in thoſe parts; and being taken in the increaſe of the moon, they have very large tongues, fat, and of about two fingers breadth.

Crabs, Apavicoras, and Praunes. Lobſters.

The *Crabs*, *Apavicoras*, and *Praunes*, are likewiſe very good, and of ſeveral ſorts and ſizes. The *Lobſters*, and thoſe of that kind, are likewiſe much eſteemed; they breed under the rocks, and are fiſhed for, as all the reſt, not with nets, but only by the *Indians* going into the ſea up to their middle, and knocking them from the rocks with ſticks in their hands. So much for this kind of eatables. There are others which live a little more in the ſea, which are of a beautiful form; ſome they call ſea-ſtars; ſome the ſun; others the moon; becauſe they are of the form of thoſe planets, as they are commonly painted. Theſe may be eaten too; but they have one very ſingular property, which is, to cure the vice of drunkenneſs, being reduc'd to powder, and given in wine to drink; and this is of ſo certain an effect, that thoſe, who before they took it had no greater delight than drinking of wine, did afterwards ſo abhor it, that they would not touch it, though they were hir'd. This is a healthy remedy, as well as ſure; and therefore us'd by the *Negroes* to avoid taking another; which, though as certain, is very dangerous; which is, drinking the ſweat of a horſe mingled with wine. They ſay, this puts thoſe who take it, in danger of loſing ſome of their ſenſes; though I knew one, who being exceedingly given to drunkenneſs, his wife gave him this remedy without his knowledge, and it did him no other hurt than to make him hate wine, ſo that he could not bear the ſmell of it; but, as I ſaid, the *Negroes* uſe the powder of the ſtar-fiſh; and though I have obſerved, that with ſome it is not ſo efficacious, but they long for wine again after a while, yet it is but to repeat the remedy as ſoon as that ill inclination prevails again: and this is commonly ſo practiſed upon the *Negroes*, who are much given to that vice.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the various Kinds of Fiſh which are fiſhed on the Coaſt of Chile.

The whale.

LET the whale appear firſt, ſince by its bigneſs it is a kind of king of the ſea; and if where the king is, the court is, we may give that title to the ſea of *Chile*, where there is ſuch ſtore of whales, that I know not any place where they abound more; and they are accompanied by ſuch a court of little fiſhes of all kinds, that thoſe who have navigated thoſe ſeas, cannot but mention it with admiration. Among the reſt, *William Seerten*, who came with a fleet through the ſtreights, ſays, That they met with ſo many whales near certain iſlands, that they were forced to ſail with great care and attention to avoid them, they being ſo many, that they were almoſt always in the ſhips way, and endangered the loſs of them, being ſo big, that they look'd like rocks: they are all along the coaſt of *Copiapo* and *Guaſco*, and are of no ſmall profit, by the ambergreece they caſt on ſhoar. The journals of thoſe who have paſſed the ſtreights do mention much of this amber floating on the ſea, and therefore no doubt but a great deal of it is on ſhoar; but it is loſt, for the *Indians* having no value for it, know it not; and 'tis but within theſe twelve years that the *Araucana's* minded it; by ſeeing ſome *Spaniſh* ſoldiers look for it, they did ſo too, and found a great deal, and very good, on the coaſt. Of the grey ſort, which is the beſt, they found great pieces of an aſh colour, with a nobler and more delicate ſmell; the ordinary ſorts are yellow and black, and it has a quicker, though not ſo ſweet a ſmell as the grey. I have heard the people of thoſe parts ſay commonly, that the difference is very accidental, and that it depends only upon being more or leſs prepar'd by the ſun-beams: and experience ſeems to confirm this thought; for I have obſerv'd that the black does in time grow white, by being expos'd to the ſun in a box; but if it be laid open, ſo as both ſun and rain come upon it, the experiment will be more manifeſt; and as for the harſhneſs of the ſmell, it may be remedied by infuſions in roſe water, expoſing it firſt to the dews for nine days, and then to the fire, by which means it grows perfect.

Though 'tis known that amber is a thing which the whales caſt from them, there is diverſity of opinion about the manner, becauſe ſome think that this noble product is form'd at the bottom of the ſea, or upon ſome rocks; and that the whales eat it for food, and not being able to endure it in their ſtomachs, becauſe it is naturally extream hot, they get to the ſhore to caſt it up: others ſay, it is the whales excrements. 'Tis not my buſineſs to decide this diſpute. The other great advantage which the whales are of to the country, is the oil they afford after they are dead; and it is a great deal that one whale will yield: it ſerves for various uſes of life. We do not know that theſe fiſhes die of a violent death,

death, becauſe their vaſt bulk defends them both from men, and all other animals, that may be their enemies; but yet being ſubject to pay the common debt of nature, when they find themſelves near death, they draw near the land, and are often caſt on ſhore by the ſea, which will not bear any corruption in its waters; and 'tis ſtrange to ſee how they are thrown up in great numbers on thoſe coaſts. The oil is made by the heat of the ſun, and when the weather has conſum'd the fleſh, the ribs and other bones remain white; and the *Indians* make uſe of them for ſeats: much more conveniency and curioſity might be afforded by them to other workmen.

There are another ſort of fiſh which are found moſt on the coaſt of *Coquimbo*, which are not ſo big as whales, but yet are very large, and a good fiſh to eat, which are the tunny-fiſh, and the *Albacoras*, which the *Indians* kill with great dexterity: they go into the ſea a good way upon floats of ſeal-skins, well ſowed together, and blown up like a bladder; they carry with them a kind of trident with ſharp tongues; this is faſtened to a long, ſlender, but ſtrong rope; the *Indian* guides his float near the fiſh he chooſes, and then darts it with his trident; the tunny, as ſoon as wounded, goes out to ſea like lightening; the *Indian* gives him rope enough, and follows him the way that he runs, till the fiſh has ſpent itſelf by loſs of blood; and then the *Indian* draws in his rope, and the fiſh with it, either dead or dying, and lays it on his float, and he returns to port with his prey rejoicing. *Tunny-fiſh, and Albacoras.*

There are many other ſorts of fiſhes; one of the moſt extraordinary is the flying-fiſh, which fly with wings, and follow a ſhip like birds. The lion-fiſh is alſo admirable: they are found in great quantities about the *Streights* of *Magellan*, near a port, call'd *Port Deſire*: they are very good to eat, but very hard to take; for though they wound them with ſhot in many places, yet if they do not hit them in the head, or the ſtomach, they do not yield: they are as big as a colt, and have a lion's head, with a perfect mane; which the females of them have not, neither are they above half as big as the males, and have a thinner skin. Thoſe who have ſail'd through the *Streights*, talk much of theſe ſea-lions, and do alſo mention many other forts of fiſhes which they took there, ſome of ſixteen foot long, very ſavoury and good to eat. *Antonio de Herrera* ſays, That there are fiſhes taken in the iſland of *Sancta Maria*, out of whoſe eyes they take a ſort of coarſe pearl, which have a gloſs like the true ones, and are worn by the women; and if, as they are ſoft, they were a little hard, they would be better than pearls. *Flying-fiſh.* *Lion-fiſh.* OVALLE. 1646.

The ſea wolves, or ſeals, which are found on all the coaſts, are innumerable. I have ſeen whole rocks cover'd with them, and they lay even one upon another, ſo as ſome of them rolled down into the ſea again, there not being room for ſo many: they are as big as calves, and make a noiſe like them. *Sea-wolves, or ſeals.*

Antonio de Herrera, in the voyage of *Magellan* ſays, That in the river of the *Croſs*, in the *Streights*, they took one ſo large, that without his head, skin, and fat, he weighed nineteen *Caſtillan Arrobas*. The *Indians* take them for their skins, which are very hard and ſtrong, and ſome eat their fleſh. As to the plenty of the ordinary fiſh of thoſe ſeas, the authors already cited ſpeak very advantageouſly of their kinds, particularly *William Scowten*, who coming with his fleet to the iſland of *Juan Fernandes*, in thirty three degrees, and forty eight minutes, the quantity of fiſh they met with was ſo great, that in a very little time they catch'd a great quantity of *Robalos*, which is the beſt and moſt wholeſome fiſh of all thoſe parts. They did not take them with nets, becauſe they had not time to land, but with hooks at ſea, by the ſhip's ſide, and that as faſt as they could throw in and pull up. *An* Arroba *is twenty five pound.*

What I myſelf have ſeen, is in the great lake of *Rapel*, all the ſides of it cover'd with *Pejereges*, by the vaſt quantity of them which came upon the coaſt, as the droves of pilchards by the bay of *Conception*, and in *Chiloe*, ſo that they take them with blankets. I have ſeen the ſame droves of tunny-fiſh, which come leaping over one another's backs, as if there were not room for them; and, indeed, that climate being ſo favourable to multiplication in all animals on ſhoar, as ſhall be ſhewed in its proper place, it cannot well be otherwiſe as to the fiſhes. Pejereges.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the Birds of Chile.

THE birds and fiſhes ſeem to be brothers of the ſame *venter*, the author of nature having created them both out of the element of water; and therefore, to diſpatch all the creatures of this country, having treated of the firſt, it ſeems that the chain of an orderly narration obliges us to ſay ſomething of the others. To ſpeak generally,

Ovalle. 1646. generally, it may be truly ſaid of the air of that hemiſphere, that it has a great advantage over the earth, though ſo fertile, ſo rich, and ſo delicious, as we have repreſented it; for though it is true, that it now produces the animals and fruits of *Europe*, with ſuch an increaſe as is wonderful, yet it cannot be denied, that before the *Spaniards* carried thither the ſeeds and animals which are now ſo multiplied, (for they had them not in any ſort, though perhaps others which ſupplied the want of them,) the air, without being at all enrich'd by the acceſſion of foreigners, has maintain'd always ſuch an abundance of the volatile kind, that it needed no ſupplies from *Europe*, but rather has many to make up any one defect.

The eagle. To begin with the king of them all, the eagle: there are there abundance of them; thoſe which are call'd royal or imperial have been ſeen there only twice; firſt, when the *Spaniards* firſt enter'd that kingdom; and the ſecond time, in the year 1640. when the *Araucanos* ſubmitted their untam'd necks to their God and the king, they interpreting this as one of the ſigns of God Almighty's will to incline them to take that reſolution which they then took. As for the ordinary eagles, who do not differ much from the others, they have always been and are ſtill in the country very common. *Faulcons.* There are likewiſe bred faulcons, ſo large and ſtrong, that for their beauty they have been carried from thence, though ſo far, as a preſent to the king of *Spain*; and they are commonly carried to *Peru*, particularly that kind which are called *primas*, or firſt, though thoſe call'd ſecond are very large too. There are beſides, *Birds of prey.* all other birds of rapine and prey; and of *Singing-birds.* the ſinging-birds, there are linnets, bullfinches, nightingales, blackbirds, and many others, who form ſome a baſs, and ſome a tenor, with all the other parts of a harmony, beyond belief, particularly in ſummer, under the ſhades of trees.

Birds of game. The birds for game are, herons, partridges, wild pigeons, thruſhes, turtles, parrots, wild ducks of a thouſand ſorts, ſome of one colour, and ſome of another, and *Tame fowl.* all very good. The domeſtick tame fowls are hens, ducks, geeſe, turkeys; and that *Swallows.* nothing may be wanting, ſwallows in ſummer, which go away in winter, as they do *Owls and bats.* in *Europe*, to warmer climates; ſcreech-owls, and other night-birds; as alſo bats.

Theſe are the birds of the *European* kind, which are found in thoſe parts, as well as I can remember; and there is hardly a bird here in *Europe*, that I obſerve in the fields, that I have not obſerv'd the like ſomewhere in *Chile*, with very little difference.

Who now can deſcribe the variety of native birds of that climate? who are in ſuch variety and abundance, that people are fain to guard their vineyards from them as ſoon as the grapes begin to ripen; and yet 'tis impoſſible to hinder them from doing a great deal of miſchief, they being ſo nimble, and having ſo ſecure a retreat, though all ſorts of inventions, ſuch as guns, croſs-bows, ſlings, ſcare-crows, are put in uſe; ſo that if any are negligent, they may be ſure to find their vintage made to their hand. And this miſchief is not only for their vineyards, but likewiſe for all ſeeds, which is fain to be watched after 'tis ſowed, 'till it ſprouts; and as ſoon as the wheat and maiz begin to ripen, the guards muſt be renewed; for there comes whole armies of birds to attack them, and do them as much miſchief as if they were *Xerxes*'s armies.

Parrots. In particular, the parrots are ſo voracious and greedy, and have a bill that cuts like a razor; they come in flocks of ſuch an extent, that when they riſe they cover the air, and fill it with ſuch a confuſion of cries, that I cannot find any thing to compare it to. This kind of birds is bred all over *Chile*, in the mountains, and in the *Cordillera*; and 'tis wonderful to ſee how exactly they come to an hour, as if they were call'd by a bell, or had ſome notice where and when the fruits are ripe, and in ſeaſon for them to enjoy them: they come down from the mountains in the evening; and the noiſe they make in flying, though they fly high, is ſuch, that one would think them cloſe by: they have a ſhrill clear voice, and they fly all ſcreaming at once, ſo that their noiſe is very loud: they are all green and yellow, and have a blue circle about their neck, and very good to eat, particularly the young-ones.

Thoſe years which are to prove rainy, as the natives obſerve, as ſoon as the weather grows cool, before the winter begins, one may ſee every evening, for many days, great quantities of crows come down from the *Cordillera* into the plains: they come about an hour before ſun-ſet in ſquadrons, forming a triangle or pyramid, the point of which is led by one ſingle one, before whom none dare go: the figure they make is moſt regular, with great correſpondency to each other, as if they were fixed in the air, and immoveable, ſo equal and well-concerted is their flight.

There is likewiſe a bird which we call *Taltales*, or *Galinaſos*: it is like a duck, but has bigger wings: they are either black or brown, and very voracious of carrion. In the time of ſlaughtering, which is every year in *Chile* of moſt beaſts, there is a great deal of fleſh loſt; then theſe birds come, as if one had ſounded a charge to them, and fall upon the carrion with ſo much greedineſs, that having eaten their

Taltales, or Galinaſos.

fill, they cannot riſe again, and are eaſily knock'd on the head with ſticks: the bones of their legs are valued to make ſcizers, and their quills, which are as thick as ones finger, ſerve for harpſicals, and other curioſities. Out of this ſlaughtering-time they die with hunger; but among all the ways they have of maintaining themſelves, their way of hunting young goats and lambs is admirable: they ſit upon high trees, and from thence ſpy the flocks of ſheep and goats, watching till any of the young-ones ſtray from the guard of its dam, as they often do, either ſtaying behind to feed, or climbing ſome rock: this the *Taltale* quickly ſeeing; and that the young-one is far from the defence either of the ſhepherd or old-one, it leaps upon it, and the firſt thing it does, is to peck out its eyes, and eat its brains; which it does ſo quick, that though it cry, and the ſhepherd or mother come to its relief, 'tis too late. Very like to theſe are another ſort of bird, both as to bigneſs, colour, and ſhape, and its diſpoſition to prey; they call them *Peuques*, only they are ſomething leſs, and of a nicer diet, being pleaſed with nothing but hens or chickens, which they take very dexterouſly: they are ſo bold and nimble, as to get into a hen-rooſt, and carry away their prey, even in preſence of the owners, without being ſtopped or prevented. Ovalle. 1646. Peuques.

CHAP. XIX.

The ſame Matter is purſued, and the Flying of Hawks treated of.

Flamencos. AMONGST the great number of birds which are bred in lakes and ponds, and on the ſea-ſide, which are of great variety, none are more remarkable than the birds called *Flamencos*: they are white and ſcarlet, bigger than turkeys, but ſo long legg'd that they walk through a lake with great gravity, the water not touching their feathers by a foot or two: the *Indians* delight in making works of their white and ſcarlet feathers, for their dances and their feaſts.

The Child-Bird. There is another bird, called the *Child-bird*, becauſe it looks like a ſwadled child with its arms at liberty: I have not ſeen them any where but at ſea; perhaps they are the ſame, called *Pinguins*, of which frequent mention is made by thoſe who paſs the *Streights* of *Magellan*: They are generally painted in the maps; and they ſay, there are abundance of them in thoſe parts, and that they are good meat.

Herons-feathers. There are other birds which furniſh the tufts of feathers, called *Herons-feathers*, which though ſo narrow, yet are ſo valued, that formerly every feather was worth two *rials*: thoſe which grow under their wings are larger and better, though thoſe on their heads, which they wear as aigrettes, are ver fine. There are but few of this kind of birds; for they do not increaſe ſo much as others. There are more of that kind, call'd *Garçolas*, which ſerve for ſoldiers feathers, and other ornament. There are many others of great variety of colours, of which the *Indians* uſe to make their ornaments, called *Mallengues*, which are made for the head like a garland of moſt fine colours of wooll, and in that they ſtick a plume of feathers, for their dances, and days of rejoicing.

Garçolas.

Voycas. The birds called by the *Indians Voycas*, are very famous among them, in whoſe notes, at certain times and places, they find great myſteries, prognoſticating by them, either their own, or their children, or their friends death, or ſickneſs, or other misfortune; and they remain with great apprehenſion and fear. The *Spaniards* call theſe birds *Pechicolorados*, that is, marked on the breaſt; becauſe there is no ſcarlet deeper, nor brighter, than the red on their breaſt: the other feathers of their wings and body are brown. There are other very little ones, called *Pinguedas*, whoſe body is not much bigger than an almond: theſe live upon flowers; and that they may come at the honey of them, nature has given them a bill, which, when 'tis ſhut, is like a needle to ſow with; and for this reaſon they feed flying, like bees, from flower to flower, without lighting but very ſeldom on a branch of it, and that very ſlightly. Theſe birds are of the greateſt beauty imaginable; for if they were made of poliſhed gold, they could not ſhine brighter: they have a green mingled with this gold colour. The males are diſtinguiſhed from the females, in that they have on the head a lively orange colour, which is like fire. Thoſe on the other ſide of the *Cordillera* are yet more beautiful, becauſe their tail is alſo of the colour of their head; and though they have ſo little a body, their tail is a foot long, and two inches broad. Pinguedas.

There is likewiſe a very odd bird, to which the *Spaniards* have given the name of *Wood-Pecker*; becauſe though they are but little, they have ſo ſtrong and ſharp a bill, that they form their neſts with it in the trees, forming a hollow place fit for them as exactly, as if they had an inſtrument to do it. Of theſe I have ſeen but few; but there are great numbers of a kind of birds, called Wood-Pecker.

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called *Condores*, which are as white as ermin, and of their skins they make muffs, it being of a very ſoft touch, and extream warm; but the bellies of the buzzards are much more ſo, being admirable to make ſtomachers to cover the pit of the ſtomach, and help digeſtion.

I have not ſeen ſuch variety of birds on the other ſide of the *Cordillera*; and the cauſe, I believe, is the dryneſs of the land, and the want of that ſhelter of woods and groves which are on *Chile* ſide; but in thoſe plains, called the *Pampas*, there are *Francolins* to be found, which are a ſort of wild hens, and as big; but much better meat, and of a higher reliſh. There are likewiſe *Oſtriches*, who are a mighty bird, and very numerous there. They often find their neſts, and in them ſuch a quantity of eggs, as one neſt will feed a great company; one of them alone being beaten and fry'd, makes a pancake big enough to dine ſeveral people: their feathers are employ'd for umbrellos to keep off the ſun, and other good uſes.

Francolins.

Oſtriches.

Variety of diverſions in hunting, hawking, &c.

'Tis a pleaſant ſight to ſee the taking of the *Francolins*: the *Indian*, with a ſtring made at one end into a running knot or nooſe, at the other having a little piece of ſharp cane faſtened to it, goes out to find them, which when he has done, he draws gently near, ſo as not to fright his game; when he is at a due diſtance, he begins to go round the bird, making with the cane ſeveral circles over his head. The *Francolin* is of its own nature a very fearful bird, and ſimple, and dares not riſe, becauſe he thinks he is encompaſſed round, but goes into the middle of the circle; where the *Indian* leſſening ſtill his rounds, follows it, ſo that at laſt it ſquats down upon the ground, and lets the *Indian* put the nooſe over its head; which when he has done, touching it on the wing with the ſharp end of the cane, the bird flies up, and draws the nooſe cloſe, and ſo is catch'd like the fiſhes by an angling-rod.

'Tis not ſo eaſy to catch the *Oſtriches*; for though they do not fly, yet they have ſuch large wings, that though a greyhound be very ſwift, if the bird has law of him, he will hardly overtake him; but if by chance he comes up with him by ſurprize, or otherwiſe, 'tis wonderful to ſee the art the *Oſtrich* uſes to avoid his teeth; for when the dog is juſt going to ſeize, the *Oſtrich* lets down one of his wings, and fixes it to the ground, covering with it its whole body: the greyhound thinking he has him ſure, takes hold with open mouth; but he fills it only with feathers, and is cheated; for immediately the *Oſtrich*, before the dog can clear his mouth, ſets a running, and gets a good length before him; and often eſcapes, if the greyhound does not make extraordinary haſt to overtake it.

This is a very diverting ſport; but that which is uſed in *Chile* with *Faulcons* is much more ſo: not to fly partridges, for that is a known ſport every where; but with another ſort of bird, which the *Indians* call *Qualteu*, from the ſound of its note when it ſings, which ſounds ſo. Theſe are as big as hens, and have very large wings, and upon their wings they have, in the joining place, provided by nature for their defence, certain ſharp points. The *Spaniards* call theſe birds *Friers*, either becauſe they always go two and two, or three and three, or becauſe the colour and order of their feathers is ſo, that one would really think they have a hood and a frock.

For this ſport 'tis not enough to have one *Faulcon*, but there muſt be two, and thoſe very well taught, and dexterous to aſſiſt one another. There uſes to be very good company to ſee the engagement, as we may call it; for it is worth ſeeing. Coming then to the place that theſe birds haunt, which is generally ſome meadow or watery ground, (for that they never forſake, their laſt defence being in the water, as ſoon as they are ſprung,) one at a time, the ſportſman flies one *Faulcon* at them, who, as if he minded not his game, endeavours to get as high as he can, and get the wind of his prey, who, at the ſame time, does the ſame thing, and contends for place with his enemy; ſo that they both get almoſt out of ſight; but at laſt the *Faulcon* having the better wing prevails. When he has got advantage enough over him, he comes down upon him like lightening; but the *Qualteu* defends himſelf, either by avoiding the blow, or by oppoſing the armed points of his wings; upon which often the unwary hawk is wounded in the breaſt. When the ſportſman ſees the engagement laſt too long, fearing his hawk may tire, or be balked before the victory declares for him, looſes his other *Faulcon* to help the firſt, who being freſh, ſoon joins his companion, and both together fall upon the *Qualteu*, but not at the ſame time, leſt they ſhould hinder one another: one gives him a blow, and then the other another; and ſo, though he make a good defence, he is forced to yield, which he does, by making a way for the water, where he has his laſt retreat to defend his life: here he expects his enemies upon his back, with the points of his armed wings turned towards them: the *Faulcon* deſpiſing the danger, comes down with all his force, and ſeizing her with one foot, tears her to pieces; but 'tis not without receiving ſometimes dangerous wounds. The victory does not always coſt ſo dear; for that is according to the ſtrength of the contenders.

tenders. I omit the ſhooting of wild-fowl in the fens and waters, which is nevertheleſs very entertaining, as are likewiſe the *Indians* ways with nets, nooſes, arrows, night-lights; nay, the manner of catching the *Faulcons* themſelves is as diverting: 'tis done with fine nets, in which they involve them, that they may not hurt their wings. Ovalle. 1646.

This is ſufficient about the birds; and ſince we are in the region of the air, ſo near heaven, let us ſay ſomething of it before we come down to the earth again.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Heaven, and Stars, which are proper to the Kingdom and Region of Chile.

'TIS the common opinion of all thoſe that have ſeen and dwelled in *Chile*, that its ſoil and heaven, if they have their equal, have not their ſuperior in the world; and though ſome ſay the ſtars of the *artick* pole are larger than thoſe of the *antartick*, yet as to their brightneſs and beauty, and the light they give, and as to their numbers, with the clearneſs of the heavens where they are, there is none but muſt own the advantage on the ſide of the *antartick*. We may give, as a natural reaſon of this, the temper of the climate, both as to air and earth; for though there are in it ſo many rivers, as we have obſerved, yet they being rapid, and ſwift in their courſe, do not cauſe overmuch humidity by their ſtay, but afford only what is neceſſary for its fertility; and, of the two extreams, the country is rather dry than moiſt, particularly as far as thirty four or thirty five degrees, as is manifeſtly made out by two experiments: firſt, by the facility with which all wounds are cured, which uſe to be much longer in wet countries; and, ſecondly, 'tis proved from the habitations and houſes, where the beſt apartments are reputed to be on the firſt door, they being looked upon in ſummer for cooleſt, and in winter for warmeſt; and, though they are watered every day in the year, and the floors moſt commonly but of earth, not at all upon vaults, yet they are never unhealthy: and there is no need of board-flooring or mats, let the winter be never ſo ſharp. This is a convincing argument, that the country inclines to dryneſs rather than to humidity; from whence it follows, that the ſun raiſes fewer vapours; and therefore the air being clearer, the brightneſs of the ſtars is more conſpicuous; and for this reaſon the ſun ſets and riſes ſo glorious, caſting out reſplendent beams of light, which is not ſo on the other ſide of the *Cordillera*; for there I have ſeen the ſun pretty high, and its whole body viſible, and yet no ways dazzling, the vapours of the earth taking away the radiant beauty of its beams.

The experience of this is yet more admirable to thoſe who ſail from *Peru* for *Chile*; for though they keep out a great way from land, yet they know preſently by the horizon when they come to the heighth of *Chile*; for they begin to ſee it all diſengaged from clouds and ſerene, gilded and glorious, and its beauty increaſing upon them every day, as they gain more heighth towards the pole. On the contrary, when they ſail for the line from *Chile*, the nearer they grow to the tropick, that light and ſplendor grows duller and duller; ſo that in my voyage for *Panama*, I ſaw all the horizon muddy, ſad, and clouded, which continued till I got to the *Havana*; where being in eighteen degrees north latitude, the horizon cleared up and grew every day better and better, till we got to *Spain*.

So much for the clearneſs and beauty of the heavens and ſtars, which may be confirmed by all thoſe who have ſeen the place; but 'tis not ſo of the bigneſs of the ſtars. The aſtrologers pretend, That the contemplation of them, and their meaſure, belongs entirely to their art, as underſtanding beſt the diſpoſition of the celeſtial ſphere; but, in my judgment, they who can beſt ſpeak of this matter, are thoſe who have ſeen both poles, as is well obſerved by *John* and *Theodore de Brye*, in the eighth and ninth part of their twelve curious books, where they relate variety of hiſtories, obſervations, and voyages, which have been in the *North* and *South America*, as far as the *Streights* of *Magellan*. They report then the opinions of learned men, who, in ſailing on the *South Sea*, obſerved what I ſhall here produce, tranſlated faithfully from their elegant *Latin* into our vulgar tongue, in theſe words:

The learned of our nation, who have ſailed the South Sea, do relate to us many things of that ſky, and its ſtars, as well of their number, as beauty and bigneſs; and my opinion is, that the ſtars we ſee here, are no ways preferrable to the meridianal ones; but rather do affirm, without diſpute, that thoſe ſtars which are near the antartick *pole are more in number, and brighter and bigger.* John and Theodore de Brye.

He adds, beſides, ſpeaking of the ſtars of the conſtellation of the *Cruzero*, that their ſplendors and beauty is extraordinary,

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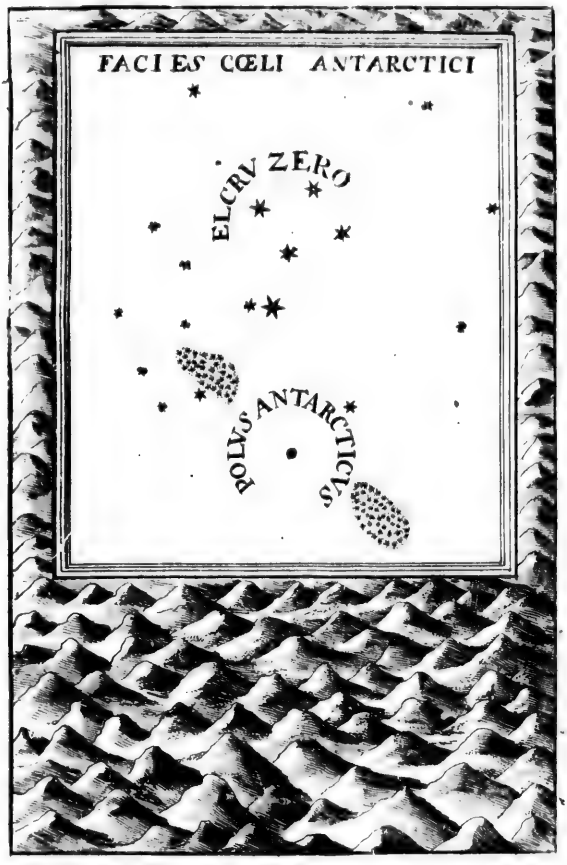
and that the *Via Lactea*, or *Milky-Way*, is much brighter in these parts. This is all from those authors.

The fourteen constellations of the Hemisphere of Chile.

Peter Theodore, a most skilful pilot and astronomer, relates in particular the stars of that hemisphere, and the fourteen figures or constellations they make. The first is the *Camelcon*, which contains ten stars; the second is the *Indian Aspick*, made up of four stars; the third is the *Flying-Fish*, which is made up of seven; the fourth, called the *Fish Dorado*, is composed of five; the fifth is called the *Hydra*, and is of fifteen; the bird *Toucan*, which is the sixth, has eight stars; and the *Phœnix*, which is the seventh, has fourteen; the *Crane* has thirteen, which is the eighth; in *Noah's Dove*, which is the ninth, there appear eleven; the *Indian Sagittary*, which is the tenth, has twelve; the *Peacock*, which is the eleventh is composed of sixteen; the *Bird of Paradise*, otherwise called *Maaucodiata*, has twelve; the thirteenth is the *Triangle*, and contains five; and the last is the *Cruzero*, in which are four, which make a cross, with a little one close by it, which makes the foot of the cross. And though this *Cruzero* is the guide of those who sail in the *South Sea*, as the *Cynosura* is to those who navigate the *North Sea*, yet it is not immediately at the pole, but thirty degrees from it; but there being no stars of that bigness near



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it, it is made uſe of for that effect, but not for the needle; for that in either ſea, whether ſouth or north latitude, always turns to the north; though when one is in the *South Sea*, the whole globe of the earth, or the beſt part of it, is between them and the north, according to the circle that the *Cruzero* makes. The fix'd point of the pole ſeems to be between two, as it were, great clouds, though they are not ſuch, but cluſters of ſtars, not well diſtinguiſhable, ſuch as compoſe the *Via Lactea*; and they are always fixed, without ſtirring; and when the heavens are clear, they are brighter, and better ſeen. There are other ſtars nearer theſe clouds than the *Cruzero*; but not being ſo big, there is little notice taken of them, but only of the *Cruzero* ſtars, which are indeed very beautiful, and ſhine with great livelineſs. I ſuppoſe that thoſe who have not ſeen them in their own place and ſituation, would be glad to ſee a draught of them; which therefore I have placed in the foregoing page, repreſenting them as they are ſeen there. OVALLE. 1646.

CHAP. XXI.

Of the Animals, as well proper, as new Comers to the Kingdom of Chile; *and alſo of the* Bezoar-Stones.

TILL the *Spaniards* came to theſe *American* parts, there never had been ſeen in them either cows, horſes, ſheep, hogs, houſe-cats, nor rabbits tame or wild: nor dogs, except thoſe called cur-dogs; but no hounds, greyhounds, nor other dogs for game, either by land or water; no maſtiffs, nor little dogs, which we call lap-dogs; no goats, nor aſſes: but as ſoon as the *Spaniards* were ſettled in *Chile*, and found the land ſo proper for the breed of cattle and flocks, they have increas'd them to a degree of ſuperfluity; ſo that there is not only enough for the ſupport of human life, but alſo for thoſe animals who are carnivorous; for, as we have ſeen above, in the ſlaughtering time, much fleſh lies waſte in the fields, ſo that 'tis neceſſary to burn it, and throw it into lakes and rivers, to hinder its corrupting the air. That which in other parts is call'd a calamity and deſolation of the country, which is a murrain among cattle, in *Chile* is thought a neceſſary purge of the too great abundance of it. This may ſeem a paradox; but yet is founded upon experience, becauſe the cattle increaſing as it does, and the land being ſo good, that it fattens them to a wonderful degree, (there being often taken out of one cow a hundred and fifty pounds weight of tallow, each pound of ſixteen ounces,) there is enough to do to get a vent for it. The ſame may be ſaid of the hides; for though *Peru*, where the beſt part of the conſumption is made, is ſo great, yet ſuch is the product of *Chile*, that it wants another *Peru* to conſume it; for this reaſon 'tis a gain to loſe the increaſe of the cattle, for then the profit is more, with leſs trouble and coſt of ſervants. In the beginning of the ſettlement in *Chile*, Don *Antonio de Herrera* ſays, That horſes were commonly ſold for a thouſand pieces of eight a horſe; and *Garcilaſſo* ſays, That at firſt a horſe did not uſe to be ſold in *Peru* at all, except upon the death of the owner, or upon his returning to *Spain*; and in that caſe they were ſold for four, five, or ſix thouſand pieces of eight a horſe. He ſays, he himſelf knew a ſoldier who had an excellent horſe, and that a negro going one day by with him in his hand, a gentleman, who ſaw them, ſent to offer the ſoldier ten thouſand pieces of eight for the horſe and negro, which he refuſed with contempt: but ſince that time horſes have multiplied ſo, that there being not people enough to feed and tend them, they are fallen extremely. The cows too have increaſed ſo as to cover the fields; and 'tis a wonderful thing to ſee in thoſe great plains of *Tucuman* and *Buenos Aires* vaſt herds of them feeding, without any other maſter than the firſt that will take them, if he can. I have ſeen in *Chile*, in the territory of *St. Jago*, horſes already dreſs'd for war, ſold for two crowns a-piece, to ſupply the army, and yet for ſhape, courage, and good qualities, they yield to no *Neapolitan* horſe I ever ſaw; no, nor to the *Andaluzes*, from whom they are deſcended; for they have had no reaſon to degenerate in ſo good a land. The cows too, which were at firſt out of all price, I have ſeen ſold for a crown a-piece, and the calves for half a crown: the ſheep, ſuch as I have ſeen bought in flocks for *Cuyo* and *Tucuman*, have been ſold for three pence, or three half-pence a-piece.

Theodore and *John de Brye*, do mention ſome author, who ſays, That rats were likewiſe ſtrangers to *Chile*, and were carried thither by an *Antwerp* ſhip that paſſed the *Streights* of *Magellan*: they muſt not mean the ordinary houſe-rats and mice, but thoſe great ones which have a large tail, and are about a foot long: they are called *Pericotes*, and are very miſchievous. This ſhip, without doubt, took port in ſome Pericotes, a large ſort of rats.

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of thoſe of *Chile*, where it left theſe animals, ſo prejudicial and hard to deſtroy; for they reſiſt the cats, and 'tis a ſtout one that can kill them. But it is a wonderful thing to obſerve, that though in ſea-towns the magazines, ſhops, and warehouſes, are full of them, yet they never go further into the land, which they might eaſily do, by ſo much carriage as the commerce of thoſe parts requires. I believe the air of the *Cordillera* does not agree with them, and ſo may have killed thoſe which have been carried by chance with goods; for I do not remember I ever ſaw one in *St. Jago*, nor in any town far from the ſea-ſide.

Sheep.

Among the animals that are proper to *Chile*, the firſt may be reckoned thoſe which are called the ſheep of that country: they are of the ſhape of camels, not ſo big, nor vaſt, and without the bunch that camels have: they are white, black, brown, and ſome are aſh-coloured. The authors above cited ſay, That anciently they ſerved to plow the land in ſome parts, before there were oxen in it; nay, in the relation of *George Spilberg* and his fleet, 'tis ſaid, the *Dutch* paſſing by the iſland of *Mocha*, ſaw the *Indians* uſe them in that work.

They are made uſe of at this time in ſome parts, for carriage of wine, wheat, maize, and other proviſions; and I remember to have ſeen them about thirty years ago ſerve to carry water at *St. Jago* from the river to the houſes, for the uſe of the family; but now they are not at all employed there in this kind of labour, there being ſuch quantities of mules and aſſes for all that ſervice. Theſe ſheep have their upper lip ſlit, with which they do, as it were, ſpit at thoſe who vex them; and the children, who uſe to do it, when they ſee them ready to ſpit, run away; for they know, and 'tis a common truth, that wherever their ſpitting falls, it cauſes a ſcab; and having a very long neck, about three foot long, they uſe theſe defenſive arms the better. Their wool is extreamly valued; for of it are woven cloaks, or mantles, ſo fine, that they look like camlet: they govern them by a kind of bridle, which they put through holes in their ears, and ſo by pulling the reins, turn them which way they will: they kneel down to be loaded, and when the loading is well fitted and faſtened, they riſe and carry it very gravely.

Pegues, a ſmall ſort of wild rabbits.

There are likewiſe natural to that country a ſort of little rabbits, called by the *Indians Pegues*, which they eat with much pleaſure: they are wild. The taking of them is very good ſport: they carry water in great tubs to their holes; and though they are very deep, and have ſecret iſſues and correſpondencies with each other under ground, to avoid being purſued by the hunters or their dogs, yet the water overcomes them; and while they fly from it, the *Indians* watch for them at their other holes, and with their dogs take them as they come out to avoid the water.

Small tame rabbits, called Cuyes.

There are another ſort of little rabbits, which are like theſe, but they are tame, and the *Indians* call them *Cuyes*, which are alſo very good meat: they are of pretty colours, and ſpotted: they are very common every where.

Squirrels.

The ſquirrels are not ſo; and I do not know they are to be found any where in *Chile*, but in the valley of *Guaſco*: they are grey, or aſh-colour, and their ſkins are mightily valued for furs, for their warmth and fineneſs of the touch.

Wild goats.

The animals called *Guanacos*, *Chamois*, or *wild goats*, are very like theſe country ſheep, as well in their ſhape as motions; but they are of a different colour; for they are red, of a clear colour: they never can be tam'd, but go in flocks, feeding in the fields; and 'tis as much as a very ſwift horſe can do to overtake them running; and if they have the leaſt ſtart of them, they ſeem to play with them; for by an eaſy gallop, they make the horſe ſtrain; in which they are much help'd by their long legs, for by them they gain more ground at every reach: yet 'tis very eaſy to catch the young-ones, or thoſe who are not us'd to be hunted; becauſe being ſo tall, and their bones, becauſe of their youth, not well knit, they are eaſily tir'd; ſo that by following a flock of them on horſeback with dogs, (and they go three or four hundred in a flock,) the young-ones are forc'd to lag behind, and ſome are kill'd by the dogs, ſome are knock'd on the head with a ſtick by the hunter. I have ſeen them bring thus three or four dead at a time. And this is not only a pleaſant, but a uſeful ſport; for the fleſh of theſe young-ones is like kid's fleſh, and is eaten freſh; but that of the old-ones is not ſo, but dried and ſmoak'd: 'tis the beſt of that kind in the world.

The bezoar ſtone.

Theſe creatures breed, in a bag they have under the belly, the bezoar-ſtones, which are ſo valued againſt poiſon and malignant fevers, good to rejoice the heart, and other admirable effects. The matter out of which they are made, are herbs of great virtue, which theſe animals eat to cure themſelves of any thing they ail, and preſerve themſelves from the poiſon of any venomous creature, as ſerpents, or poiſonous plants, and other accidents.

Theſe ſtones are found in the oldeſt guanacos; and the reaſon is, that their natural heat not being altogether ſo ſtrong as the heat of the young-ones, they cannot convert into their ſubſtance all the humour of the herb they take to remedy their indiſpoſition; and

and ſo nature has provided, that what remains may be depoſited in that bag, and be made a ſtone to cure in men the ſame infirmities: according to this notion one may obſerve, that the ſtone is compos'd of ſeveral coats, ſome thicker, and ſome thinner, according to the quantity of matter that is gathered together at each time, juſt as a wax candle is made by ſeveral coats given at ſeveral times to form its bigneſs.

'Tis likewiſe a thing well experienced, that in thoſe countries, where there are moſt vipers, and other poiſonous animals, theſe ſtones are moſt plentiful; and the cauſe is manifeſt, becauſe theſe animals, and the deer-kind, do beat ſo much ground for their livelihood, they are more expos'd to venomous creatures, which, when trod upon, wound them ſorely, and they run naturally to their remedy in theſe herbs; and as they do this more frequently in thoſe parts where they receive moſt damage, by conſequence there are more of theſe ſtones engender'd.

From hence it happens, that in thoſe parts of *Cuyo*, there is a greater quantity of theſe bezoar-ſtones to be had, than in that which we call properly *Chile*; for there are many vipers and poiſonous creatures, of which *Chile* is very free, as we have ſaid; and yet there are taken ſome ſtones here, but the greateſt part come from *Cuyo*; to which likewiſe it is of ſome conſideration, that there are bred more guanacos and ſtags than in *Chile*; for that country being not ſo populous, and having ſuch vaſt plains, theſe animals have room enough for food and for increaſe; but it is not ſo towards the ſea-ſide of *Chile*, for that being very populous, and full of cattle and flocks, there is no room for the wild ones, except upon the edges of the *Cordillera*, from whence they come down into the plains ſometimes.

The bigneſs of theſe ſtones is in proportion to the animal that breeds them; the moſt certain rule is, that if they are little, there are many in the bag, and fewer if large; and ſometimes, when very large, there is but one. I carried with me to *Italy* one that weighed thirty two ounces; and yet that was not it which made it the moſt valuable, but its virtues and ſhape, for it was a perfect oval, as if it had been turn'd by a turner: the *Indian* who found it had ſeventy pieces of eight for it; becauſe when a great ſtone is found, it is not ſold by weight, but according to the eſtimation of the owner, and the bigger the dearer. OVALLE. 1646.

The virtue of theſe bezoar-ſtones is very well known and experienced; and people of quality take them, not only in the time of their ſickneſs, but alſo in health, to preſerve it: the way of uſing them is to put them whole into the veſſel that holds either the wine or water, or into the glaſs out of which one drinks, and the longer they ſtay in, the more virtue they communicate. And if a perſon be not much indiſpoſed, there is no need of uſing them any other way; but if any one ſhould be attack'd by any diſtemper of conſequence, and be ſick at heart or be affected with melancholy fits, it would have more virtue to grate a little of the ſtone to powder, and drink it: whatſoever way 'tis taken, it comforts the heart, purifies the blood; and the uſing of it is look'd upon as a preſervative againſt all infirmities.

There are alſo bred in the *Pampas*, or the plains of *Cuyo*, many hares; and one ſort, call'd *Chirichinchos*, whoſe fleſh taſtes like that of ſucking pigs. But the greateſt increaſers are the *Guanacos*, and the deer. It has been ſaid already, that in *Chile* there are but few, for the reaſons alledged; but there are great quantity of wild cows and wild mares, which came at firſt from ſome which went aſtray, by the negligence of the owners; and being once in thoſe mountains, they have increaſed ſo wonderfully, that they are become a game, and many go to kill them, or take them for profit. *Hares.* *Wild cows.* *Wild mares.*

CHAP. XXII.

Of the Trees growing in Chile.

AMongſt other obligations which the land of *America* has to *Spain*, one is the having enrich'd it with ſo many noble plants, trees, and ſeeds, which it wanted; for before the *Spaniards* conquer'd it, there were not in all *America* either vines, fig-trees, olive-trees, apple-trees, melicotoons, peaches, auberges, quinces, pears, pomegranates, cherries, apricots, plumbs, oranges, lemons, citrons, nor almonds. As for ſeeds, there was neither wheat, barley, nor oats, aniſeed, coriander-ſeed, cumin, nor oreganum, linſeed, flax, peaſe, beans, nor cabbage, lettice, radiſhes, cardoons, chicory, or indive, *berenguenas*, gourels, melons, cucumbers, parſley, garlick, or onion. But inſtead of theſe trees, fruits, and plants, the author of nature had provided them with others of great uſe and good reliſh, ſuch as maize all over *America*: *Friſoles*, *Las Papas el Madi*, *Los Capallos*, and ſome others, are proper only to *Peru*, and the land within the tropicks; the *Camotes*, *Guayabas*, *Mammeyes*, *Plan-*

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tanos, *Zipitapotes*, *Anones*, *Niſperos*, *Aquacates*, *Pinnas*, *Guanabanas*, *Papayas*, *Pitabayas*, and many others, which, though highly commended, do not generally come up to the reliſh of the *European* fruits. And the bread and wine has been a ſingular addition to them, ſuch as the *Indians* value more than all their product, and particularly the wine, which is their chief delight; as for bread they value it, but not ſo much.

Though *America* is oblig'd to *Europe* for all this addition, yet *Chile* much more, as having the greateſt advantage by it, and with more plenty than any other part of that new world; for though all that we have nam'd of *European* plants are to be found ſomewhere, yet not all everywhere; for in ſome there grows corn, and not wine; in others both thoſe, and not oil; in others neither corn, wine, nor oil, but other fruit-trees. The ſame thing may be ſaid of the animals to eat; ſome have beef, others mutton, others pork, which on the continent is a delicacy, and is given to the ſick; ſo that running over all *America*, we may find that this communication of new creatures has reach'd ſome parts for one thing, and ſome for another. But as for the kingdom of *Chile*, it may be ſaid to have been totally oblig'd and enrich'd; for all the trees, ſeeds, plants, and all the animals, *&c.* of *Europe*, are to be found there, and that almoſt in every part of it, for 'tis rare to ſee any thing take in one place, and not in another; but if it does they may eaſily have it from their neighbours, if it be not ſo good, or not at all with them.

In the third chapter of this book, we have already mentioned how all theſe *European* fruits and ſeeds take in *Chile*, but we can never enough dilate upon that ſubject: It will hardly be believed by moſt people, particularly by thoſe who never having been out of their own country, are ſo in love with it, as not to imagine there can be any equal to it, much leſs exceed it; and we relating things ſo diſtant, of which we cannot bring ocular witneſſes, we are the more liable to contradiction; but ſince we are writing a hiſtory, we muſt ſpeak the truth as we know it, and it really is.

Trees. Some trees do not exceed in bigneſs thoſe of *Europe* of the ſame kind, as cherry-trees, quince-trees, almond, peach, and pomegranate-trees, olive, orange, lemon, and citron-trees, melicotoons, which laſt in *Tucuman* are nevertheleſs very large, and to that degree, that three or four men ſometimes cannot embrace the body of one of thoſe trees. I have ſeen ſome apple-trees as big as elm-trees; the pear-trees are yet bigger, and much more the mulberry-trees, and walnut-trees, though as to their fruit, it is not ſo large as that of *Europe*, the nuts having the ſhell as thick again, and by conſequence leſs meat. This is as to the garden-trees brought from *Europe*.

As for the trees natural to that country, they are of two ſorts, the one is fruit-trees, the other not: of the firſt, I find only three kinds of ſpecies of thoſe, which are likewiſe in *Europe*, which are the *avellanos*, or haſel-nut, the pine-tree, and the *algarrabos*, or cod-tree. Of thoſe which are not properly fruit-trees, there are the *laurel*, the oak, the willow, the cypreſs, which are in great abundance, and very large; out of theſe they have boards very fit for boxes and trunks, which are no ways pieced, but of one plank; the doors and coverings of the churches are alſo of this cypreſs-wood.

Theſe trees grow moſt commonly in the precipices of the *Cordillera*, which being very deep, the cypreſſes are extream large and tall, for they ſhoot up till their tops can be warm'd by the ſun-beams; ſo that they are as ſtreight as a wax-candle, and of ſo fine a ſmell and perfume, that though it be ſo plentiful, it bears a good price, and a greater in *Peru*, to which 'tis carried, as well as the cedar, which does not ſell ſo well, becauſe there are more of them. *Cypreſs-tree.*

Theſe cedar-trees are without compariſon bigger, and have larger heads than the cypreſs-trees, and of one of them are made ſeveral planks; but more of this when we come to ſpeak of the iſlands of *Chiloe*, for there they are larger than in any other part. The colour of the wood is red when it is firſt work'd, but in time, and by degrees, it loſes that lively colour, and comes to be of a kind of walnut-tree colour; the planks are of the faſhion of cedar planks, not ſo ſubject to the worm, but more eaſy to work. *Cedar-tree.*

The oak alſo yields very large planks, for they thrive exceedingly, and grow very thick; ſome of them are white, and the wood of them is corruptible; others are red, and incorruptible. *The Oak.*

The planks from the *paragua*-tree are the moſt in uſe, but leſs valuable. The tree is a handſome branching tree, keeping its leaves green all the year: they are like elms. *Paragua-tree.*

The moſt common wood of all, and that of which there is moſt plenty, which ſerves for the covering of houſes and roofs, is the cinnamon-wood. Theſe are very large trees, of a beautiful aſpect; they keep their leaves all the year, and are like that which in *Italy* they call the laurel royal. The *guayacan-tree* is bred in the mountain or *Cordillera*, and from thence has its hardneſs and heavineſs, which is ſuch, that it is like iron; and *Cinnamon-tree.* *Guayacan-tree.*

and the balls made of it to play at billiards, are almoſt as hard as the ivory ones; the tree is no large tree, and the heart of the wood is a yellow mix'd with green; the decoction of it is good for many infirmities.

Sandal-tree. The ſandal-tree is very odoriferous; there are great quantities of them in the iſlands which are nam'd from *Juan Fernandes*; 'tis a preſervative againſt the plague, and is us'd by the confeſſors, and others, who are bound to approach infected people. There are other trees and ſhrubs of admirable virtue for ſeveral infirmities, of which the *Indians* have a particular knowledge, and perform admirable cures with them.

The fruit-trees bred in the mountains are many, and of great variety: let us firſt treat *Palm-tree.* of that which indeed carries the palm, not only becauſe of its name, but that its heighth, beauty, and abundance, and that of its moſt excellent fruit, challenges the firſt place among all the reſt.

They grow generally upon the mountains, and in precipices, ſo thick together, that ſeeing them at a diſtance, one would think they were a clump ſet by hand; they are very thick and high, all the body of the tree is naked till the top or firſt ſprout; its nature is to loſe all its old branches as the new ones come out, by which means the body of the tree riſing free, and diſencumber'd from ſuch boughs as uſe in other trees to grow out of the ſides of them, is totally employed in feeding the top, and the fruit which grows within it being, as it were, a pyramid round it, to preſerve it by the admirable texture of its leaves and branches which encompaſs it.

Theſe palm-trees have a wonderful property, and moſt certain, which is, that none of them give their fruit, except they are in ſight of each other; and if it happens that one comes up alone, without a companion, though it thrive to a great largeneſs, yet it never bears, except another be planted by it, and this they call the female; and as ſoon as the female is planted, though never ſo little a one, yet the great ones bear, and the ſecond in its time, when it is big enough: I have ſeen the experience of this; and 'tis a thing well known to all. The fruit of theſe trees is called *Cocos*, and is like filberds, though bigger by half, and the meat within the ſhell is not ſolid, but hollow, and is, round the edge, about the thickneſs of a crown-piece, and in the reſt of the hollow is a kind of milk, or water, of an excellent reliſh; and ſo is the fleſh of it, which is white, and ſerves to preſerve the liquor like a viol, which ſtays in it till it be imbibed by the *Coco*, which happens in ſome months; and then they are not ſo good to eat as when they are freſh; but then they are good to preſerve, as almonds are, and other kernels of that nature. Ovalle 1646.

Antonio de Herrera, and other authors, ſay, that theſe *Cocos* are good againſt poiſon; and nature ſeems to ſet a value upon it, by the many covers in which it is involved; firſt, the kernel is cover'd with a ſhell harder than that of the almond, then it has another cover of a green colour, and ſometimes yellow, which is woven ſo cloſe about it, and ſo ſtrongly, that when it is green, 'tis eaſier to break it than to peal it off. The fruit grows cloſe to a ſtalk, which ſometimes will have above a thouſand on it; and this is environ'd by a great ſhell, which grows bigger and bigger with that bunch it contains, till at laſt the fruit makes it burſt and open into two parts, which are like two boats, each of above half a yard long, and two ſpans diameter in the broadeſt place, and the bunch within all of a fine yellow, very beautiful to look on. It hangs on the branches till it be ripe, and then falls to the ground, where it is gather'd, and great proviſion is made of it for *Peru*; for beſides their being made a ſweetmeat, the children rid the merchants of them for play-things, it being one of their greateſt entertainments.

The palm-trees which bear dates, do not ſeem to be natural to this country, but brought from abroad; for I never ſaw them, as others, wild in the fields, but only in gardens.

There are other fruit-trees wild, which come in the fields, and are call'd *Pengue*; they *The Pengue.* have a red fruit, ſomething bigger and more oval than the filberds; theſe the *Indians* eat boil'd with other ingredients. There are alſo trees call'd *Magues*, which are very *The Magues.* beautiful and cooling; the leaves are admirable againſt a burn; the fruit is black like a myrtle-berry; 'tis very well reliſh'd, having a *dulcepiquante* very agreeable; it blackens the mouth and hands when it is eaten, and for that reaſon the more civiliz'd people do not uſe it ſo much. There are alſo fruits of which the *Indians* make their fermented liquors, whoſe names and properties I cannot call to mind; only I know there is great variety of them; and I can remember one call'd *Quelu*: the fruit is very ſweet and ſmall, between red and yellow; of this they make a drink extraordinary ſweet. They make another drink of that which they call *Iluigan*, and the *Spaniards Molle*; it is of the ſhape and colour like pepper; the tree on which they grow is but little, but a great bearer: this drink is very agreeable, and coveted even by the greateſt ladies. The moſt common drink of the *Indians* is made of maiz, which is the ordinary bread and ſuſtenance of the *Indians*.

Let

Ovalle. 1646. The Murtilla.

Let us end with the tree called *murtilla*; though, if we believe the authors who treat of it, it deserves to be ranked in the first place. *Antonio de Herrera* speaks so well of this tree in the ninth *Decade* of his history of the *Indies*, *Book* IX. and *Folio* 247. that I will relate only what he says, and that in his own words, which are as follow: [*There is a kind of fruit of trees that grow on the mountains, which grow from thirty seven degrees upwards, and in those countries 'tis a common food; the natives call it* Uni, *and the* Castillans Murtilla. *It is red, and like a small grape, something bigger than a swolen pea; its shape and colour is like the pomegranate grains, its smell and taste agreeable, and not unlike a grape. It has little grains, like a fig, which are almost imperceptible to the tongue; its temperature is hot and dry: of this they make a wine, which exceeds all other liquors, even that of the* east-india coco, *or* palm-tree: *neither cyder, mead, nor beer, nor all the other drinks described by* Andres de Laquuna, *are to be preferred to it. This wine is clear, fine, warm, and very agreeable to the taste, as well as profitable to the stomach. It consumes all vapours in the head, its heat warming the ears without going any further: it comforts and cherishes the stomach, increases appetite, and never takes it away. It never offends the head, or makes it heavy, or burthens the stomach; and it bears as much water again as wine will do. Those who have tasted it, commend its colour and flavour, as much as that of grapes. Its colour is golden, and mighty bright; and it is as sweet and good as the wine of* Ciudad Real. *There is little of it made, and so it lasts but eight months; for which reason 'tis not known how many years it would keep. It takes up as much labour and care as wine, in the making: if it be left to itself, and without fire, 'tis forty days before it ferments. It casts down a lee, and works out the frothy part at the top of the vessel; and for that reason care is taken to scum it as it boils, and then 'tis drawn off into another vessel. When 'tis turned to vinegar, its vinegar has a better taste and colour than wine vinegar; for it retains the colour of the fruit, which is very odoriferous and sweet.*]

Ant. de Herrera.

Thus far this author: from whence it may be inferred, that this land had good wine of its own; and it had also very good oil made of a seed called *Madi*; it is extreamly well relished; but now 'tis not much in use, because that of olives is so common.

It is not possible to describe particularly, one by one, all the various sorts of trees that are bred in the woods and mountains of *Chile*; and it would take up a very large treatise, which is not my purpose; yet when we come to treat of the *Streights* of *Magellan*, we will speak of the cinnamon-tree, which is to be found there, and of the barks of some other trees of that soil, which have the same taste as the *east-india* pepper. All that I can say at present, is, that there are few of these trees that lose their leaves in winter, particularly those which grow wild in the woods, which are generally aromatick, and of a very fragrant smell; and of them, all the finest of this kind are bred in the territory of the *Conception*. I would not have believed it, if I had not seen it; for in travelling I met with lovely groves, which bordered the highways, and cast out so rich a smell from their leaves, that the flowers of jasmin did not appear sweeter. There are also abundance of myrtles and laurels, which grow in great groves naturally; and yet among them there are trees whose leaves exceed them infinitely in the perfume of their smell; insomuch that passing one's hand over them, one would think one had amber gloves on.

BOOK

BOOK II.

Treating of the ſecond and third Part of the Kingdom of CHILE.

CHAP. I.

Of the Iſlands of the Kingdom of Chile.

HAVING, for the better deſcription of the kingdom of *Chile*, divided it into three parts, we have treated of the firſt and principal one, which is that which is properly called *Chile*, in which many things are ſaid which are common to all the three parts; therefore in theſe two which remain, we ſhall take notice of that only which ſhall be peculiar to them, to avoid repetition.

Iſlands. We come now to the ſecond part, which are the iſlands which are ſpread all along the coaſt of the *South Sea*, as far as the *Streights* of *Magellan*; I ſay, they are many in number, and ſome of them very large ones; as that of *Santa Maria*, *La Mocha*, *Juan Fernandes*, and, above all, that of *Chiloe*, in which is founded the city of *Caſtro*. Some make theſe iſlands fifty, ſome ſeventy leagues in length, and about ſix or ſeven leagues in breadth. In the ſame ſea, or archipelago, there are many more, ſome of ten leagues, and others leſs; and in all, reckoning thoſe that are within the *Streights* of *Magellan*, there are above two hundred diſcovered.

Del Soboral, De Muxillones, De los Paxaros, many others. Juſt over-againſt *Coquimbo* there are three, which are called *Del Soboral*, *De Muxillones*, and *De los Paxaros*, in thirty degrees latitude; two more in thirty three and forty degrees: there eight ſmall ones juſt over-againſt *Val Paraiſo*, which are called the iſlands of *Juan Fernandes*; who dying, left them to the *Jeſuites*. Then follows the iſland *Quiriquina*, which is in the bay of the *Conception*. Juſt over-againſt *Arauco* is the iſland of *Sancta Maria*, in the thirty ſeventh degree; and in thirty eighth that of *La Mocha*. Hard by *Valdivia*, about forty three degrees, comes the archipelago of *Chiloe*, which is compoſed of forty iſlands; and hard by it is the province of *Calbuco*, in which there are twelve more. Thoſe of *Los Chonos* are as many, in forty five degrees; and in fifty degrees are the eighty iſlands diſcovered by *Pedro Sarmiento*, as ſhall be related hereafter.

OVALLE, 1646.

Iſles of Chiloe. The iſlands of *Chiloe* are reputed barren; but their ſoil is not really ſo, only the exceſſive rains choak the ſeed, and do not let the corn thrive; ſo that they are without wheat, wine, or oil, or any other plants which need much ſun. The nature of the climate of this archipelago is ſuch, that it rains almoſt all the year, ſo that only maiz, or other ſuch grains can ripen, that do not want ſo much ſun. The nouriſhment or diet of the natives, is moſtly of a root called *Papas*, well known over all the *Weſt Indies*, of a good nouriſhment; and they grow there bigger than in any other place. They have beſides ſome maiz, ſome fiſh, and particularly ſhell-fiſh, which is excellent in thoſe ſeas. They have few ſheep, but very good poultry, as well as hogs, and ſome beef; with which, and what beſides is brought to them from *St. Jago*, and the *Conception*, the *Spaniards*, both of the garriſon and city of *Caſtro*, make a good ſhift. This city is the capital of the chief iſland; in which, and in the reſt, there is great quantity of honey and wax made. And *Herrera* and other hiſtorians ſay, there are mines of gold upon the ſhore; and they remark it as an extraordinary thing, and hardly heard of in any other place.

Manufacture of the iſlands. The manufactures of theſe iſlands are the cloathing for the *Indians*, who have a kind of veſt which they call *Macun*, and it is without ſleeves, becauſe their arms are naked; and over this they put a garment called *Chomi*, which ſerves for a cloak, and is like that which painters give to the apoſtles in their pictures. They have another commodity from their woods, particularly of the plank they make of a tree, which is a cedar, and of which they have vaſt woods, and in them trees of a prodigious ſize; for friar *Gregory* of *Leon*, of the order of *St. Francis*, in his map of *Chile*, which he dedicates to the preſident *Don Louis Fernandes*

OVALLE. 1646. *de Cordoua, Senior del Carpio*, says, that some of these trees are so big that they cannot be hardly encompassed by a rope of six yards long; and out of the wood of the boughs there has been made six hundred planks, of twenty five foot long, and two foot broad; and that which is considerable, is, that this plank is not sawed, but cut with axes; in which there is much more loss. This author deserves belief, as well from the experience of forty two years that he lived in *Chile*, as from having been definitor of his order. And what I have heard from the mouth of a colonel, who was both born and bred in that country, will serve to confirm this; which is, That if two men on horseback are on each side of the tree, when it lies along, they cannot see one another; for the body of the trunk hinders them. These planks are carried to *Chile* and *Peru*; and in exchange they bring back provisions to live on. The islands of *Chono* are yet poorer than these; because, that being nearer the pole, their summer is shorter, and their rains more copious, insomuch that they drown the earth, and hinder it from producing.

Isles of Chono.

We have little knowledge of any other islands besides these of *Chiloe*; because the continent being so large, and yet not throughly peopled, there has been little occasion of inhabiting any more than some few of the islands; by which means there is but small discovery made of their qualities; though 'tis reasonable to think they resemble the land over-against which they lie.

Isles of Juan Fernandes.

As for the islands of *Juan Fernandes*, I will relate what I find writ about them in *Theodore* and *John de Brye*, in their relation of the voyage of *John Scutten*: they say then, that these two islands are very high land; the least of the two, which is the westermost, appeared to them barren, as being covered with wood, and very mountainous; though not landing on it, they could make no judgment of the inside of the island. The bigger island, which is the eastermost, is likewise mountainous, but has great variety of trees, and much grass, with which are fed great herds of swine and goats, bred from some few which were put on shore by *John Fernandes*, who began to cultivate these islands as his own; but he dying, and the *Spaniards* finding greater advantages upon the continent, they forsook those islands, which were out of all trade, leaving their stocks of cattle behind them, which now are infinitely multiplied.

Fine Island.

They say besides, that coming to this, which they call the *Fine Island*, they found a port very safe for their ships, having twenty or thirty fathom depth, the shore all sandy and even, with a delicate valley full of trees of all sorts, and wild boars, and other animals feeding in it; but they could not distinguish them, by reason of the distance they were at. They extol particularly a most beautiful fountain, which coming down from high rocks, rowls into the sea by different canals, which form a pleasant prospect, and its water is very sweet and agreeable. They saw also great store of seals, and other fish, which they caught in great plenty. In short, they were so in love with this island, for the good qualities they discovered even at its entrance, that they were very unwilling to leave it, though pressed in point of time.

I do not doubt, but this is a very pleasant situation; for in its temperature, and other properties, it must be very like *Val Paraiso* and *St. Jago*, because 'tis almost in the same degree west; and without doubt these islands will be peopled in time, when the continent grows populous, as it does every day; for then people will be seeking new habitations; but at present they only go thither sometimes to fish, to send it to *Peru*, where they have it not so plentifully.

The same authors, giving an account of the other *Dutch* squadron under *George Spilberg*, say, That they came to the island of *Mocha*, and found the north side of it plain and low, but the south full of rocks: they landed; and the good reception they found from the *Indians*, is an argument of the fertility of the place. Those *Indians* are a noble sort of people, and very good natured. When they had refreshed themselves much at their ease, they made provision of great store of sheep, who are very large, and in great plenty there, as likewise of hens, eggs, fruit, and other provisions. They treated the *Indians* on board, and shewed them their great guns, and their men in order for fighting: they presented them also with *european* commodities, such as hats, cloaths, axes, and things which they valued. After this, they set them again on shore; and the *Indians* made signs to them to go back to their ships, as they did.

Situation of Tierra del Fuego.

But they were very differently received in the island of *Sancta Maria*, where the vice-admiral landed with some of his men, and were invited by the *Indians* to eat; but from the ships they saw a great army coming down upon them, as they were going to sit down to table: whereupon they made signs to them to retreat to the port; which they did, and had just time to embark. But they likewise carried off about five hundred sheep, and other refreshments, having found the island very fertile and well provided, as well as very temperate, being about thirteen leagues south-west from the city of the *Conception*, about thirty seven degrees, and not above three leagues from *Arauco*; which makes some think, that formerly this island was

1618.

fastened to the main land, and that the sea had in length of time made the division which now forms the bay of *Arauco*.

There is little to be said that is particular of all the other islands to the *Streights* of *Magellan*, since it has not pleased God to let them be peopled by *Spaniards*, and so give an entrance to the gospel; by which means the product and nature of them might be known, and many souls saved which inhabit them.

All that we know now of them, is, That in the voyage of *Pedro de Sarmiento* to *Spain*, being sent by the viceroy to chastise *Francis Drake*, for his boldness for infesting those coasts; in his way, on this side the *Streights* of *Magellan*, he discovered a great archipelago of islands, which they told to the number of eighty, which he named by several names, and took possession of them in the name of his king. He also discovered more islands in fifty one degrees, to which he did the same. 'Tis known likewise, that in the *Streights* themselves there are many islands, some of which we shall mention when we treat of the *Streights* of *Magellan*. OVALLE, 1646.

CHAP. II.

Of the Land called Tierra del Fuego.

THE land called *Tierra del Fuego*, (so famous in the relations and maps we have of the *Streights* of *Magellan*,) has deceived many by its name, people believing that it had been given it for some *Volcanos*, or burning mountains, or other subterraneous fires; but it is not so, for this name had no other occasion, than that the first navigators through the *Streights* discovered upon it many fires and great smoaks, made, as they supposed, by the numerous inhabitants of it; and so they called it the *Land of Fire*. There arose likewise another mistake from its great extent; for it was judged to be a great continent, of which in time the world was undeceived, as we shall see hereafter.

Situation of Tierra del Fuego. This land, called *Tierra del Fuego*, is that which forms the south side of the *Streights* of *Magellan*, extending itself the whole length of the *Streights*, east and west, above one hundred and thirty leagues. Formerly, before the *Streights* of *St. Vincent*, otherwise call'd the *Streights* of *Le Maire*, were discover'd, this land was thought to be joined to some other great continent of the *Terra Australis*, which was supposed to join to *New Guinea*, or the islands of *Solomon*; and *Ortelius*, in his *Geography*, is of this opinion; but upon the discovery of the other *Streights* of *St. Vincent*, that doubt has been clear'd, several having gone through them to the *South Sea*; and among the rest, two caravels, set out by the king's command, in the year 1618. on purpose to view these *Streights*, which it was said had been discover'd by *James Le Maire*, which caravels were commanded by Don *Juan de More*.

1618. These two vessels set out from *Lisbon* in the month of *October*, 1618. and being come to the east entrance of the *Streights* of *Magellan*, they passed by it, and run along all that coast, without finding any entrance, till they came to that of *Le Maire*, which they went through in less than one day's time; after which they turn'd to the south, and afterwards to the west: they went round all the *Tierra del Fuego*, and sailing north, came to the west entrance of the *Streights* of *Magellan*, into which they enter'd, and sail'd through them to the *North Sea*. Having thus made a circle clear round the *Tierra del Fuego*, they proved it demonstratively to be an island separate from all other land. The same was done by Sir *Richard Haukins*, an *English* gentleman, who having pass'd the *Streight* of *Le Maire*, sail'd for five and forty days to the south, without finding any land contiguous to the *Tierra del Fuego*, but many islands, as is related by *Antonio de Herrera*, *Chap.* 27. of the description of the *West-Indies*. The same has been confirm'd by several, who being driven by storms from their intended course, have been forc'd to run towards the south pole; amongst the rest by *Francis Drake*, who having pass'd the *Streights* of *Magellan*, the sixth of *September*, 1572. and being got on the seventh, a degree from the *Streights*, was carried by a storm two hundred leagues to the south; and coming to an anchor in some of those islands, he there found that the sun being eight degrees from the tropick of *Capricorn*, the days were so long, that there was not above two hours night; from whence he inferr'd, that when the sun came to the tropick, there must be a perpetual day of twenty four hours. The same was experimented about two year ago by the fleet of general *Henry Brum*; which having pass'd the *Streights* in *April*, were by the force of ill weather carried into seventy two degrees, and cast anchor at the island of *St. Bernard*, to which they gave the name of *Barnevelt*; and it being about the entrance of winter, the days were not above three hours long, so that they expected they would still shorten till *June*, when the sun being furthest off from that hemisphere, would leave them in a total night; for this reason,

Ovalle. 1646. reason, and because of the hardness of the weather, which increas'd every day, they durst not winter in that island, as they had a mind, but after a fortnight's stay in it, weigh'd anchor, and sail'd for *Chile*. In which voyage they made but little advance, having always the wind a-head, insomuch that they were a whole month doubling one cape, and lost in the endeavour their *Tender*, in which was the best part of their provision.

So much for the islands belonging to the coast of *Chile*; but having also mention'd the islands of *Solomon* and *New Guinea*, to which antiently it was thought that the land of *Tierra del Fuego* was join'd, it will be well to say something of them.

The author who writes the best of them, is *Antonio de Herrera*, and from him is taken what *John* and *Theodore de Brye* say of them; which is thus:

Islands of New Guinea. The islands of *New Guinea* run from something more than one degree south of the pole *antartick*, three hundred leagues east to the fifth or sixth degree; according to which reckoning, they fall about the

Islands of Solomon. west of *Paita*. The islands of *Solomon* fall to the west of *Peru*, about eight hundred leagues from its coast, and extend themselves between the seventh and twelfth degree: they are distant from *Lima* about fifteen hundred leagues: they are many, of a good size: there are eighteen principal ones, which are some three hundred, some two hundred, some one hundred, some fifty leagues, and less in compass. Between them and *Peru*, inclining to the land of *Chile*, there is another call'd the island of

Isle of St. Paul. *St. Paul*, about the latitude of fifteen degrees, and about seven hundred leagues from the *terra firma*.

The fleet of *William Scowten* having run along the coast of *Chile* in the year 1615. or 1616. from the *Streights* of *Magellan*, took their course to the west, when they were about the latitude of eighteen degrees, to try to find out some new island, and found one in fifteen degrees; which, according to their computation, was distant from the coasts of *Peru* about nine hundred leagues. After this they discover'd two more, which they call'd the *Cocoa* islands, by reason of the great plenty of that fruit that was there, that the inhabitants did use to drink the sweet liquor that was bred within the *Cocoas*, but when it was at an end, they made a shift with salt water; to which, being accustom'd from their youth, it did not hurt them. They say more, that the inhabitants go naked, though not quite; and that their way of being civil and saluting, is to give themselves blows upon their temples, which is the same as with us the pulling off the hat or cap. At first they laughed at the fire-arms, till they saw one fall much wounded, which undeceiv'd them, and convinced them that it was not only noise which proceeded from those arms. These islands are distant from *Peru*, 1510 *German* leagues, which are longer than the *Spanish* leagues, though not so long as the *Indian* ones. There were found also other islands in the latitude of twenty nine degrees, which perhaps were those which at first they call'd the islands of *Solomon*. Others say, that there are others more to the west, opposite to *Chile*. Whosoever is curious enough to know the particulars of all those islands, their temperature, inhabitants, their good and ill qualities, may find them in the above-cited authors, who treat of them more at large; for my intention, 'tis enough to say what I have reported. 1615. *The* Cocoa *islands.*

CHAP. III.

Of the two Streights of Magellan *and* St. Vincent.

THE *Streight* of *Magellan* receiv'd its name from that man, who eternized his own, by being the first who discover'd and pass'd it. This was that famous *Portuguese* captain, *Hernando de Magellanes*, whose intrepid soul going almost beyond the true limits of all ordinary valour, seems to have border'd upon temerity and rashness, by engaging himself to discover a passage altogether unknown, and so narrow, that it was very dangerous for ships, being besides in the fifty fourth degree, which makes it very cold. This bold captain begun to enter the *Streight* by the *North Sea* the twenty seventh of *November*, in the year 1520. and in twenty days, which was a happy passage, he enter'd the *South Sea*; from thence he sail'd to the *Philippine* islands, where he was kill'd in one of those islands called *Matan*, to which he went from another called *Zebu*, to fight against the king of the first, because he refused to subject himself to one of those kings who had turn'd christian; engaging him with more courage than conduct, and so he perish'd by the great number of his adversaries. His death was very much lamented, and he much miss'd in the discoveries of that new world; for, without doubt, if he had lived longer, he would have made great discoveries in the *terra firma* and islands.

To give a more certain account of this *Streight* of *Magellan*, I will make use of the memoirs of those who have pass'd it, and left

left relations of it, who, as eye-witneſſes, were leſs ſubject to miſtake. And firſt I will give thoſe ſworn relations given in *Caſtilla* by thoſe who ſet ſail from the *Corunna*, by the emperor *Charles* the fifth's order, in ſix ſhips under the command of *Fray Garcia Jofre de Loayſa*, a knight of *Malta*, and born at *Civedad Real*.

They ſay in their report, That the ſaid *Streight* is a hundred leagues in length, from the cape of the *Eleven Thouſand Virgins*, which is at the entrance of the *North Sea* to the Cape of *Deſire*, which is at the entrance of the *South Sea*; and they ſay more, that they found in the *Streight* three great bays, of about ſeven leagues wide from land to land, but the entrances of them are not much more than half a league over; the firſt is about a league deep; the ſecond about two leagues; the third, they ſay, is encompaſs'd with mountains of ſuch a heighth, that they ſeem to be in competition with the ſtars, and the ſun does not enter within them in the whole year; which was the cauſe of their enduring there an extream cold; for it ſnows almoſt continually, and the ſnow never melting by the ſun-beams, it looked with a kind of bleuiſh colour. They ſay, moreover, that the nights were twenty hours long; they met with good water, and trees of ſeveral ſorts, among which many cinnamon-trees; and that the leaves and boughs of the trees, though they appear'd green, yet burnt in the fire as if they were dry; that they found many good fiſhing-places, and ſaw many whales, (ſome mermaids,) many of the tunny-fiſh, ſharks, cods, great ſtore of pilchards and anchovies, very great oyſters, and other ſhell-fiſh. That there were alſo very good harbours, with fifteen fathom water; and in the *Streights* itſelf above five hundred fathom, and no where any ſands or ſhoals. They obſerv'd ſeveral pleaſant rivers and ſtreams, and ſaw that the tides of both ſeas came each of them above fifty leagues up the *Streight*, and meet about the middle of it with a prodigious noiſe and formidable ſhock. Though a *Portugueſe* captain, who had paſs'd this *Streight*, told me, That theſe tides were only ſome high floods, which laſt a month, or thereabouts, as the winds blow; which makes the ſea ſometimes riſe to a great heighth, and at other times fall as much, leaving the ſhoar dry for a great way; and the ebbing is ſometimes ſo faſt, that ſhips are left dry, as this captain's ſhip was, ſo that he was forc'd to dig his way out to get into deeper water. They found ſeveral other entrances in this *Streight*; but for want of proviſion they could not ſtay to ſearch them: they loſt one ſhip off the *Virgins Cape*; and they had ſcarce enter'd the *Streights*, when a ſtorm blew them back to the river of *St. Ildefonſo*, and to the port of *Santta Croce*, where they found ſerpents of various colours, and ſtones that were good for ſtanching of blood; all this may be ſeen in *Antonio de Herrera*, in the ſecond tome, *Decade* 3. and the ninth book, *Fol.* 335. and it does not diſagree with the other relation of *Magellan*'s voyage, though this makes the ſtreighteſt part yet leſs, allowing it not above a muſquet-ſhot over, and from one entrance to another it reckons a hundred leagues, the land on both ſides being very rich and beautiful. OVALLE. 1646.

This is, in ſhort, the relation given in to the king. There are ſome other authors, who neither make the *Streight* ſo long, nor do they make the narroweſt part ſo ſtreight; for ſome allow but fourſcore and ten leagues, or leſs, to its length; but yet 'tis probable, that the firſt give the moſt credible account, becauſe they examin'd it with ſuch care and punctuality, in order to inform his majeſty. All agree in one thing, which is, in the good qualities of the ſea, land, and iſlands of the *Streight*, as well as of the ſhoar on both ſides, and of the good parts that are in it, and of ſome particularly ſo ſecure, that the ſhips rid in them without being faſtened, being as ſafe as if they had been in a box.

Among the reſt the *Hollanders* celebrate much the twenty fifth port, call'd the *Famous*; and it is ſo much ſo, that *George Spilberg*, their general, gave it that name, for the excellent reception they found there: they ſaw the whole earth about cover'd with various fruits of various colours, and of excellent taſte. To delight them the more, there was a fine brook of excellent water that fell from a high rock, and water'd all the valley entering into the port; and beſides theſe five and twenty ports or harbours, there were many others in the remaining part of the *Streight*, which might be a third of it, all which were very remarkable.

There is a harbour call'd *De la Pimienta*, or the *Pepper Harbour*, for the ſake of ſome trees they found in it, whoſe barks had a moſt aromatick ſmell, and a taſte of pepper, ſomething more burning and quick than that of the *Eaſt-Indies*. When the *Nodales* paſs'd this way, they gather'd a great deal of this bark; and authors ſay, that when they brought it to *Seville*, it was ſo valued there, that it was ſold for ſixteen ryals, or two crowns a pound. *Harbour* De la Pimienta.

The ſame authors report, that they found cinnamon-trees, which bore good cinnamon; and in the ſecond narrow paſſage ſome others, that bear a ſort of black fruit, of moſt excellent taſte and ſavour. In other places they ſaw moſt beautiful woods

Ovalle. 1646. and groves, pleaſant plains, agreeable valleys, and intervals of great beauty, with high mountains; ſome cover'd with ſnow, from whence there deſcended lovely ſtreams; others all cloathed with greens of various ſorts; and in them they deſcried many animals going to and fro, ſuch as deer, oſtriches, and others, as alſo great variety of moſt beautiful birds of all colours; and among the reſt they kill'd one ſo large, that meaſuring one of its wings, they found it above a yard long; and they were ſo tame that they flew to the ſhips, and ſuffer'd themſelves to be handled: they found alſo another ſort of large birds, which they call'd ſea-geeſe, every one of which, after they had been plum'd and pull'd, weigh'd eight pounds of *Caſtile*; and they were ſo numerous, that the ground was cover'd with them, ſo that they kill'd what quantities they pleas'd. They ſaw another ſort of bird, much of the ſhape of a pidgeon, all white, only with red bills, and red feet; all which were a great entertainment to them as they ſail'd along. They commend alſo the harbour, which they call *Moſt Beautiful*, where the city of *St. Philip* was founded; there they ſaw the traces of ſeveral animals, which us'd to come to drink in thoſe chryſtal fountains. After the third ſtreight place, there is to be ſeen a moſt excellent harbour, call'd the *Shell-Harbour*, by reaſon of the vaſt quantities of oyſters and other ſhell-fiſh that they found there, which ſufficed to feed the whole fleet ſeveral days, carrying away with them a good proviſion likewiſe for their voyage, all owning that they were better than thoſe of *Europe*.

There are found in the great canal of the ſtreight ſeveral iſlands, which are as eſtimable as the *terra firma*; they are generally in the wideſt part, where the ſea is ſeven or eight leagues over; the chief are thoſe of *St. Lawrence* and *St. Stephen*, otherwiſe called the iſland of *Barnevelt*. Before they came to theſe, they found other iſlands, which they call'd the *Pinguin Iſlands*, for the great quantity of that ſort of birds that are bred there. There is another, call'd the *Holy King's Iſland*, which is in a river, which enters into the ſtreights, and they ſaw in it many ſeals. Others of theſe iſlands are nam'd *Sevaldo*, from the name of him that diſcover'd them, near which there were ſtore of the pinguin birds, and abundance of whales. After having paſs'd the ſecond ſtreight, there are ſtill more iſlands, the firſt is call'd of the *Angels*, and is full of the birds we have mention'd. The ſecond is nam'd the iſland of the *Patagoons*, or gyants, becauſe they ſaw there ſome of them. Near the ſhell-port there are other eight iſlands; and a little before the entrance into the ſouth-ſea, there are ſeveral other iſlands, which muſt be very little, for the ſtreights are there very narrow. Some may deſire to know, whether, beſides this entrance of the ſtreight of *Magellan*, there are any other, by which ſhips may ſail from the north-ſea to the ſouth. Touching which, the relation of *George Spilberg* ſays, that there is one by the cape, which they called *Prouvaert*. Some *Engliſh* likewiſe, who have ſail'd that way, are of the ſame opinion; for which they cite father *Acoſta*, of our ſociety, in his *Oriental Hiſtory*, tranſlated by *John-Hugh Linſcot*, *Chap.* 10. in the end; as may be ſeen in the already-cited *John* and *Theodore de Brye*, who add, that many other authors do agree in this opinion; and that thoſe of *Spilberg*'s fleet, before they came to the ſtreight, ſaw this opening on the north-ſide, but they did not dare to go into it, becauſe they had expreſs orders to paſs the ſtreight of *Magellan*; and beſides, that which added to this reſolution, was the obſervation they made of the great force with which the waves met each other at this opening, inſo much that the ſea ſeem'd to boil.

Iſles of St. Lawrence *and* St. Stephen.

Pinguin Iſlands.

Holy King's Iſland.

Iſles of Sevaldo.

Iſles of Angels.

Iſles of Patagoons, and ſeveral others.

This is all that I have met with in authors about this opinion, which even *John* and *Theodore de Brye* look upon as falſe; becauſe neither the *Spaniards* nor *Dutch* ever ſaw this ſecond canal; but rather that the whole land of *Fuego* is one great continued iſland, which they prove by the relation of the navigation made by the *Nodales*, who were ſent to ſearch for the *Streight* of *St. Vincent*, and who went round the *Tierra del Fuego*, without finding any ſuch opening, or any other than that of *Magellan* and *St. Vincent*; and yet I am of another opinion, and hold the firſt for certain; and this does not contradict the opinion of *Spilberg*, who does not ſay, that the opening he ſaw was on the ſouth, but on the north ſide, towards the land of *Chile*; and ſo, though the land of *Fuego* be an iſland, it does not follow that there may not be an entrance on the north ſide. But let us leave that to time to make out, and ſay ſomething of the *Streight* of *St. Vincent*, which is the ſecond paſſage from the *North* to the *South Sea*.

CHAP.

OVALLE. 1646.

CHAP. IV.

The ſame Matter is continued, and the Uſefulneſs of the Commerce between Chile *and the* Philippine *Iſlands is made out.*

1619. IN the year 1619. the king ſent, in the month of *October*, the two caravels which I mentioned above, to ſearch the *Streight* of *St. Vincent*, becauſe about that time it was reported in *Spain*, that *James Le Maire* had diſcovered it. Theſe two ſhips ſailed to the bay of *St. Gregory*, which is near the eaſt entrance of the *Streight* of *Magellan*; from whence they ſailed along all that coaſt, where they ſaw and converſed with a ſort of giants, who were at leaſt the head higher than any of the *Europeans*; and they exchanged for ſcizars and other baubles gold, which it ſeems is the product of that country: after which they ſailed ſouth-weſt round the *Tierra del Fuego*, till they came to the mouth of this new *Streight*, which they called the *Streight* of *St. Vincent*; and before they entered it, they ſailed along the ſhore of this new diſcovered land, keeping it always on the right hand, their courſe eaſt-north-eaſt, as it tends.

They ſailed about thirty leagues; and not having diſcovered all that way, nor as far as they could ſee, any opening or inlet, they returned to the opening of the *Streight* of *St. Vincent*; and entering into it, went through it in leſs than one day, it not being above ſeven leagues in length; and being entered afterwards into the *South Sea*, they followed the ſame land to the eaſt, and ſouth-weſt thirty leagues more; and ſeeing it was one continued coaſt, cloſed up with mountains of great heighth, they durſt not go any further, beginning to want proviſions; and ſo thinking that this land might reach as far as the *Cape* of *Good-Hope*, they left it, and ſailed to the weſt entrance of the *Streight* of *Magellan*; which they entered, and went through to the *North Sea*, returning that way to *Spain*, to give an account of what they had diſcovered, having made a very fortunate voyage, and not loſt one man, nor had any ſickneſs, all that climate being very like that of *Europe*, and particularly to the cold part of it. This made the king give order for the ſetting out of eight ſail more, to carry this way to the *Philippine* iſlands all the relief neceſſary of ſoldiers, artillery, and tackling for ſhips, reſolving henceforward that they ſhould always go this way, as being ſhorter, eaſier, and of leſs charge and danger. This was the opinion of *Michael de Cardoel*, and the other pilots choſen for this expedition, who obliged themſelves to ſail to the *Philippines* (bating extraordinary accidents) in eight or nine months; for having once paſſed the *Streights*, if they had the wind and currents favourable, they hoped to get to the *Philippines* in two months; becauſe from *Chile* to thoſe iſlands, there is no reaſon, as in other navigations, to wait for certain ſeaſons and times of the year; for all that voyage being to be made within the tropicks, there is no danger of winter; but one may ſail it at any time of the year.

The *Dutch* authors already cited, treating of this ſubject, add theſe words: ["In truth this is a great conveniency to mankind, to be able to go from *Europe* to theſe iſlands in ſo ſhort a time, with all the health and ſafety of the ſailors; it being otherwiſe in going by the *Cape* of *Good Hope*, where the diverſity of winds is to be obſerved, ſome of them being ſo contrary, as to hinder abſolutely the voyage; ſo that it laſts ſometimes fifteen or ſixteen months. Beſides, this courſe is ſo ſubject to diſeaſes, that often they bury half their men in the ſea, as happened to *Girrard Reinſt*, who was ſixteen months getting to *Bantam*, which is not above half way to the *Philippines*, and yet loſt a quarter of his men: *Adrian Wreuter* was nineteen months getting to *Bantam*, and loſt out of the ſhip, called the *Fleſſingue*, one hundred and ſixty three out of two hundred: the ſame happened to the other three ſhips of that ſquadron."] Thus far theſe *dutch* authors; who add, That the ſhip *Concordia*, going the other way, arrived at the *Moluccas* without loſing a man. And if they ſay true, and make out that it is better to ſail this way to their *Batavia*, how much better is it for the *Spaniards*, who drive a trade with *Peru* and *Chile*, the diſtance being much leſs, and having for friends all the ports of *Chile*, if they won't go ſo high as *Peru*, which the *Dutch* have not? Neither would it be a ſmall advantage to exchange in thoſe ports the merchandizes of *Europe* with their product, which is ſo wanting in the *Philippine Iſlands*, and all thoſe parts of the eaſt. Every one may find their account in this trade; the *Spaniards*, without running the danger of ſickneſs in thoſe unhealthy climates of *Carthagena*, *Panama*, and *Puerto Bello*, might find as much vent for the *european* commodities; *Chile* and *Peru* would have all goods from *Spain* much cheaper than they have them now by the *terra firma*; the charges then would

be

Ovalle. 1646. be three times leſs; and, at the ſame time, they would help off the product of thoſe parts; as from *Peru* they might load corn, wine, and oil; and if they did not care to go ſo far, they might have the ſame things from *Chile*, and cheaper, beſides copper, hides, almonds, and other commodities proper to *Europe*: ſo that 'tis clear this would be a very advantageous intercourſe for the *Philippines*, who want all theſe commodities ſo much.

Neither would the trade of *New Spain* receive any damage at all from this; for thoſe countries could not have them from *Peru* and *Chile* ſo eaſily as from *Europe*; and ſo *Spain* would ſend leſs, only ſo much as is carried to the *Philippines* from *New Spain*, which cannot be much; for the charge of carrying thoſe *european* commodities from *Vera Cruz*, to be embarked again for the *Philippines*, is very conſiderable, it being at leaſt one hundred and ſixty leagues by land from the *Vera Cruz* to *Acapulco*, which is the port where they are to be embarked; after which they have a navigation of three months; and then there being not always conveniencies of ſhipping in *Acapulco*, thoſe commodities are kept ſo long that they are ſpoiled; and 'tis ſeen by experience how little of this trade turns to account: but it would be otherwiſe if theſe commodities were carried from *Chile*, ſince in two or three months, always in a temperate climate, they might ſail with a conſtant ſouth wind, which blows all the ſummer infallibly, and ſo bring the product of *Chile* in a good condition to the *Philippines*. This commerce, though it would accommodate all parties, yet, it muſt be confeſſed, it would be moſt beneficial to *Chile*, which would thereby have more vent for its product, and acquire more people to cultivate its natural fertility.

There has been two obſtacles to this project, which have hinder'd its taking: the firſt is, the difficulty of paſſing the *Streight* of *Magellan*, becauſe it being ſo much elevated towards the pole, it cannot be paſſed but in certain months of the year, which if thoſe who attempt it do not hit, they are in danger of periſhing, as in effect it has happened to ſome ſquadrons of ſhips, as I ſhall relate in the next chapter; though others have paſſed it very luckily in its proper ſeaſon, the *Streight* itſelf having, as we have ſeen, many good harbours and ſhelters for ſhips.

The ſecond obſtacle is the ſame that keeps the port of *Buenos Aires* from being frequented, (for elſe all the treaſure of *Peru* might be ſent that way;) and it is, That the courſe of trade is ſettled the other way, notwithſtanding the great charge the crown is at to have two fleets, the one in the *South*, the other in the *North Sea*, only to ſecure this paſſage; and that with the loſs of ſo many *Spaniards* lives, that in the hoſpital of *Panama* only, there was buried, as they told me when I went that way in the year 1630. above fourteen thouſand perſons; and what muſt we gueſs then in the ports of *Carthagena* and *Puerto Bello*, which have been the ſepulchre of ſo many *Europeans*. 1630.

Notwithſtanding all theſe miſchiefs, this way is continued to maintain thoſe cities already founded in thoſe parts; though it is moſt certain, that the ſame end of carrying the ſilver to *Spain* might be attained by one only fleet with leſs danger of the ſea. By that courſe the galleons would ſail always in deep water, and not run the hazards they do between *Carthagena* and the *Havana*, between which places they are fain to ſound all the way, and keep the lead going, to avoid the many ſholes that are in thoſe ſeas, and in the canal of *Bahama* afterwards: beſides that, the dangers of ſickneſs would be avoided; for the *Spaniards* find by experience, that at *Buenos Aires* they are healthy, that being in the temperate climate correſponding to that of *Europe*.

And for the ſame reaſon the navigation between *Chile* and the *Philippines* is not put in uſe; becauſe the courſe of things being once ſettled one way, 'tis very hard to change them, though to a better. I ſhall not purſue this matter any further, becauſe it ſeems to touch the ſtate and government, which is not my deſign: perhaps time will bring all things to paſs; and that thoſe of *Chile* themſelves will venture to find out this vent for their product. All conſiſts in trying; for the advantages on both ſides would be ſo manifeſt, that the ſweet of them would ſoon make the way eaſy, and that trade would wonderfully enrich *Chile* and *Peru*, ſince they might bring back to thoſe kingdoms all the commodities of *China* and *Japan*; and that without carrying any gold or ſilver, which might be preſerved all for *Europe*. Thus the greateſt part of this new world being enriched by its own product, the king's revenue will be the greater, as well as the returns in gold and ſilver the greater; and all things thus well accommodated, the ſervice of god, and the divine cult and worſhip would be better carried on.

CHAP.

OVALLE. 1646.

CHAP. V.

Of the Fleets; ſome of which have been loſt, and ſome have happily paſſed the Streight of Magellan.

Four of the biſhop of Placentia's ſhips loſt in the Streight of Magellan.

AMONG the fleets which have been loſt in the *Streight* of *Magellan*, the firſt was that of four ſhips ſet out by the biſhop of *Placentia* for the *Molucca* iſlands; which having got to the *Streight* with good weather, and being enter'd into it about twenty leagues, there riſe from the weſt a ſtorm, which blowing directly a-head, forced three of the ſhips aſhoar, they not having room to turn or run before it; but all the men were ſaved. The fourth had better fortune; for going before the ſtorm, ſhe got out of the *Streight*; and when the foul weather was over, came into the *Streight* again, where the other ſhips were loſt, and found the men; who had ſaved themſelves on ſhoar; who preſently made ſigns and cries to be taken on board; but they with hearts full of grief anſwered them, *What would you have? We cannot relieve you, for the proviſions we have on board are not ſufficient for us, and ſo we may fear to periſh all of us together.* They could not ſay to them the other words of the goſpel, *Go rather to thoſe who ſell*, becauſe they were in a deſart country, where they had no remedy, but to ſend ſighs to heaven, accompanied with inconſolable tears and cries, capable of moving the ſtones themſelves. Thus they left them, purſuing their voyage, much afflicted to be forced to forſake them, and not be able to do any thing for them; but theſe are accidents and hard caſes belonging to the ſea-faring men.

'Tis not known to this day what has become of theſe men; only there is a tradition, that a great way within land, on the continent of *Chile*, near the *Streight*, there is a nation call'd *Ceſſares*, who were endeavour'd to be diſcover'd by Don *Hieronimo Luis de Cabrera*, governor of *Tucuman*, about eight and twenty years ago, with a good army rais'd at his own charge; but his diligence was in vain, as we have marked already, and told the cauſe of his miſcarrying. 'Tis thought, and 'tis very probable, theſe *Ceſſares* may be deſcended from thoſe *Spaniards* who were ſaved in this ſhipwreck; becauſe it was poſſible, that ſeeing themſelves without any other recourſe, they might go on into the *terra firma*, where contracting alliance with ſome *Indian* nation, they may have multiplied, and the fame of them may have reached the neighbouring nations, and ſo on to others. This is certain, that this tradition is much kept up, that there is in thoſe parts an *European* nation called *Ceſſares*. Some ſay, that there has been heard the ſound of bells, and they have founded cities where they live; but, in fine, there is no certainty of all this. A gentleman born in *Chiloe*, and who has been a colonel in thoſe parts, gave me in writing a relation of ſeveral traditions and informations of great numbers of people that inhabit the land within, and who have much gold. There has been made ſeveral attempts to diſcover them, though all have miſcarried for want of proviſions, or by other accidents, which in time may be remedied when it pleaſes God. And at this very time I have receiv'd letters, which acquaint me, That father *Hieronimo de Montemayor*, apoſtolical miſſionary of that archipelago of *Chiloe*, had enter'd into the *terra firma* in company of captain *Navarro*, a man very famous in thoſe parts; and that they diſcover'd a nation, which 'tis thought are theſe *Ceſſares*, becauſe they are a nation of white complexion, and freſh cherry cheeks, and who in their ſhape and diſpoſition of body, ſeem to be men of mettle; and that they had brought ſome of them along with them, to endeavour to inform themſelves of that which they ſo much deſire. This is all the father writ at that time, becauſe the ſhip could not ſtay, and there is but one ſhip every year bound for thoſe parts; ſo he was forced to refer himſelf to the next conveniency, to inform me more particularly of the original and deſcent of this nation; ſo that this is all that at preſent we can ſay of this nation of the *Ceſſares*, which 'tis poſſible may come from theſe ſhipwreck'd men; or elſe they may deſcend from ſome *Dutch*, who may have been ſhipwreck'd in the ſame place, or thereabouts; and their complexion ſeems to fortify this conjecture; beſides, that they ſpeak a language which no body then preſent could underſtand; or there may be both *Spaniards* and *Flemings*. 'Tis thought we ſhall not be long without knowing the truth, and ſo I continue my narration.

The Ceſſares, ſuppoſed to be Spaniards originally.

A Spaniſh fleet loſt in the Streight.

The ſecond fleet which miſcarried in the *Streight*, was that which was ſet out about two and twenty years ago, under general *Ayala*, a gentleman of high birth and valour; who going from *Spain* to *Chile*, dealt with his majeſty for a relief of men, which he was to carry through the *Streight* of *Magellan*, without landing any where elſe; but juſt as they were entering it, they were all caſt away, ſo as to this day there has not been any account of them, except of the vice-admiral's ſhip, under the com-

Ovalle. 1646. mand of *Francisco de Mandujava*; for having loſt ſight of the admiral in the ſtorm, ſhe was carried afore the wind to the port of *Buenos Aires*, where he landed the men, and marched them over land to *Chile*. I heard ſome of the men talk of this matter; and they uſed to blame the general very much, for having gone about to enter the *Streight* when the time of the year was ſo far advanc'd, particularly having been adviſed in *Braſil*, where he touched to winter there, which he refuſed to do, for fear his people ſhould deſert him, and ſo he and they all periſhed.

Theſe accidents ſeem to have made this paſſage leſs practicable; but yet we know that many have paſſed this *Streight* with little danger, and ſome with great felicity. Eight fleets are mentioned by *John* and *Theodore de Brye*, as well *Spaniards* as foreigners, who have paſſed this *Streight*; and though ſome have had bad weather, yet there is no doubt but time and good obſervations may make it more feaſible; particularly there being ſo many good harbours and bays in this *Streight*, where ſhips may ſhelter themſelves, and let the ſtorms blow over.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Province of Cuyo.

Cuyo, *the third province of* Chile.

AFTER having treated of the two firſt parts of the kingdom of *Chile*, we muſt ſay ſomething now of the third, which contains thoſe large provinces of *Cuyo*, which are on the other ſide of the *Cordillera*, towards the eaſt. We have already deſcribed their ſituation and extent, let us treat now of the nature of them. And to begin with their ill qualities; 'Tis a wonderful thing to conſider that there being nothing between them and *Chile*, but the high mountains of the *Cordillera*, yet they are ſo different in their qualities. We have already mention'd ſome; but we may ſay, that as to their temperature, they are in every thing entirely oppoſite; for firſt the heats are exceſſive and intolerable in ſummer; and for that, as well as for the vaſt quantity of bugs, or punaiſes, which are there, ſome very ſmall, and others as big as bees, one can hardly ſleep a-nights in the houſes, and therefore the people all ſleep in their gardens and court-yards. There are almoſt perpetual thunders and lightenings, and many poiſonous reptiles and inſects, though not ſo many as in *Tucuman* and *Paraguay*. There are likewiſe a ſpecies of *Moſquitos*, or gnats, no bigger than the points of needles, and as ſharp in their ſting, though themſelves are almoſt imperceptible; they get into the hair of one's beard, and one cannot be rid of them any other way, than by killing them.

Remarks on Cuyo.

Theſe are the evil qualities of the land of *Cuyo*; let us now mention the good ones. The land is ſo fertile, that in many things it exceeds even the richeſt ſoil of *Chile*; the crops are better, the fruits larger, and of better taſte, by reaſon of the great heat, which ripens them more: there is good ſtore of corn, wine, fleſh, all ſorts of fruits, roots, and herbs of *Europe*; as alſo great quantities of olive-yards and almond-grounds; ſo that the only eſſential difference between it and *Chile*, is the many venomous animals, and the thunders and rains in ſummer; though to make ſome amends, if *Chile* exceeds in ſummer, *Cuyo* has the advantage in winter; for though the cold is ſharp, yet it is not with ſuch clouds, nor ſuch ſnow and rains, as in *Chile*; but rather the weather is ſerene, and the ſun beautiful and clear, without any dark weather, which makes it very temperate.

Cuyo, *an inland country.*

There is no ſea-fiſh in this province, it being very far from any ſea; but it has ponds, which are called the ponds of *Guanacache*, where they catch great quantities of trouts, as they call them, which are very big, like the *Savalos* of *Seville*, but much better without compariſon; for they have no ſmall bones, and are of a higher reliſh, and a very healthy food.

Beſides the fruits of *Europe*, this country has ſeveral very good of its own. The firſt is called *Chanales*, which are like filberts or ſmall nuts; only the difference is, that that which is to be eaten is not within, but on the outſide of the ſhell: the other is the *Algaroba*, of which they make bread ſo ſweet, that it nauſeates thoſe who are not uſed to it. All *Tucuman*, as far as *Buenos Aires* and *Paraguay*, are provided from hence with figs, pomegranates, dried peaches, and dried grapes, apples, oil, and excellent wine, of which they have abundance, which they carry over thoſe vaſt plains, called the *Pampas*, (where for many leagues together there is not a tree, nor a ſtone to be found,) in large carts, ſuch as they uſe here in *Rome*; and they are a caravan of them together, to defend themſelves from certain *Indians*, who are enemies, and often attack them by the way.

Some years ago they began to diſcover here rich mines of ſilver, the fame of which drew people from *Potoſi* when I left *Chile*, becauſe they were reputed to be richer, and of more profit than thoſe of *Potoſi*, all proviſions being more abounding and cheaper too. Theſe mines were alſo ſaid to be in a plain country, where carts might come eaſily. They write me word likewiſe, That there

there has since been discover'd gold mines of a prodigious richness. 'Tis true indeed, that in this matter of mines, there is a great difference between assaying of them in little parcels, or in great ones; for often the oar that promises much, yields but little, when the assay comes to be made in great. This is a common observation in mines; and if these of *Cuyo* do not prove extraordinary rich, there will hardly come any people from abroad to them, particularly from *Chile*, where they have already so many and good ones, of such a known profit, and yet they do not work them, the people being more profitably employed in husbandry, which turns to greater account.

I will give here an extract of a letter which I received in *Rome* this year from father *Juan del Poço* of our company, a person of great piety, and worthy of credit, who is at present in the college of *Mendoça*, the chief of all those of the province of *Cuyo*, and it is thus: ["The greatest news here, "is about the mines which are begun to be "discovered, which if it holds as they re- "late, it will be the greatest thing in the "world: they are of gold, which is seen "among the silver oar: there are come very "understanding miners from *Potosi*, who "cannot give over commending them. "There come people from *St. Jago*, to "work them, and captain *Lorenço Soares* is "named for *Alcalde Mayor* of these mines."] There are others who write the same thing; and there is no doubt to be made, but that if they can have people, that country will be one of the richest of all the *Indies*; for its great fertility wants nothing but people to cultivate and consume its product. This will make the three cities of that province, which are that of *Mendoça*, that of *St. Juan*, and that of *St. Luis* of *Loiola*, increase mightily, which since their first foundation have been at a stand, by reason of the neighbourhood of *Chile*, which has kept them down; many of the first inhabitants of *Cuyo* having left it to go to *Chile*, as being more temperate, and more abounding with the conveniencies of life; for the same reason that we see in other parts most people flock to the capitals of a kingdom, as is evident in *Naples* and other great cities. But if the *Spanish* inhabitants increase as they have done hitherto, there will be enough for all these parts; and already some of *St. Jago* have settled, and married at *St. Juan* and *Mendoça*; neither can it be otherwise, for the people of *Chile* are beginning to be so streighten'd, that they cannot have all the conveniencies of being at large, and so are forced to seek them abroad.

And 'tis most certain, that the conveniencies of this province are very great; and their not appearing so, is owing only to their neighbourhood to *Chile*, in comparison of which these countries appear a place of banishment, and is look'd upon as the most ri- OVALLE. 1646.
gorous that can be given any one in *Chile*; because, to say truth, the difference is very great, considering the proprieties of each place; but if we consider *Cuyo*, without comparing it, it is not only a good place, but surpasses many others, where nevertheless the inhabitants think themselves very happy, though wanting the abundance of *Cuyo*, where the flesh is very substantial and savoury, and great abundance of game, as also of pork, turkeys, ducks, hens, and other tame fowl.

The wines are very generous, and of so much strength, that though they be carried three or four hundred leagues over those plains, and the intolerable heats of the *Pampas*, and that by oxen, yet they come good to *Buenos Aires* and other places, and are preserved with the same facility, as long as one pleases, without spoiling; and they are in such quantity, that all the provinces round are supplied with them, nay, as far as *Paraguay*, which is three or four hundred leagues more. The bread is excellent, so is the oil, and all sorts of pulse and gardening; the fish better than the sea-fish; the flax and hemp as good as that of *Chile*; the materials for tanning very good; and, in short, it has all necessaries for life, with as much advantage as any other country.

This being thus, and even more than I relate, what is there wanting to this land, or what are its blots? *punaises*, *thunder*, *lightening*, *hail*. And what other country has not some of these? Shall we say, because God has exempted *Chile* by a singular providence from these things, that therefore *Cuyo* is an ill country? No; for then we must condemn most countries where these afflicting circumstances are found. And though it must be own'd, that in the summer the heats are great, yet they do not exceed those of *Tucuman*, *Buenos Aires*, and *Paraguay*; and they are inferior to those of *Brasil*, and those of *Carajas*, *Carthagena*, *Puerto Bello*, and *Panama*, as I myself have experienced in some of those places. And these parts of *Cuyo* have some amends made them from the neighbourhood of the snow; for the city of *Mendoça* is not above a league from the *Cordillera*, which is full of it; and likewise the good qualities of the air do something moderate the heat; for it is so healthy, that it never hurts any body by being in it, which makes them sleep in their gardens abroad, without any apprehension, except it be of some sudden shower which does often happen in summer; for on a sudden, though the heavens be clear and bright, it grows cloudy, and falls a raining with great fury; but this may be easily remedied; and likewise the thunders and thunderbolts might be avoided, which are the

Ovalle. 1646. the things which fright thoſe of *Chile* moſt, they being ſo little uſed to them; and therefore at the very name of *Cuyo*, they think the heavens are falling upon their heads, or that the punaiſes, and other nauſeous vermin are never to leave them; ſo that no greater mortification can be propoſed to an inhabitant of *Chile*, than to go to live in *Cuyo*. And beſides all this, the vaſt ſnows which fall on the mountains, ſhut up the paſſes, and hinder all communication or intercourſe; ſo that in five or ſix months one cannot receive a letter, though thoſe two provinces are not above thirty or forty leagues aſunder, that is, the breadth of that chain of mountains called the *Cordillera*. This therefore is that which diſcredits *Cuyo*; and if it had been further off from *Chile*, it would have had a better name; but it is with that, as with two loaves, which though both good, yet if one be whiter and better, no body will touch the other, the beſt being always moſt pleaſing.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Confines of the Province of Cuyo, *and particularly of its Eaſterly Bounds, the* Pampas, *and of the River of* Plata.

Situation of Cuyo. THE confines of this province of *Cuyo* to the weſt, are *Chile*; and to the eaſt, the *Pampas*, or vaſt plains of the *Rio de la Plata*, and part of *Tucuman*; which reaching as far as thoſe of *Rioca*, and the mountains of *St. Michael*, with all the reſt as far as *Salta* and *Jujuy*, make the north ſide of it; and to the ſouth, it has the *Streights* of *Magellan*. All that lies within theſe bounds are open plains, reaching ſo far, that there is not ſo much as any ſtop to the eye; but it is like a ſea, and the ſun ſeems to riſe and ſet out of the earth; and at its riſing, it is ſometime that it gives but little light; as alſo it loſes ſome of its beams before it be quite out of ſight when it ſets. The *Manner of travelling.* way of travelling in thoſe plains is with very high carts, which they cover over neatly with hoops, over which are cow-hides, with doors to go in and out; and theſe are drawn by oxen: there are alſo windows to give a free paſſage to the air, and on the bottom one makes one's bed with ſo much conveniency, that often travellers ſleep out the whole journey, and feel not any of the inconveniencies which attend it. Generally they ſet out about two hours before ſun-ſet, and travel all night, till it be an hour or two after ſun-riſing; ſo that a traveller juſt wakes when he comes to the baiting-place. This muſt be owned to be a great conveniency; becauſe one may alſo walk on foot ſometimes, in the cool, before one lies down, and ſo one comes merrily and eaſily to one's journey's end.

Hunting. There is alſo another entertainment which helps to paſs the time pleaſantly, and that is hunting: and for this end ſome carry horſes empty, and dogs on purpoſe; and there is game enough both of hare and veniſon: for there are herds of *Guanacos*, of two or three hundred. The dog follows them; and the young-ones, not able to follow, are left behind, when the hunter knocks on the head with a club he carries, without lighting from his horſe, and returns to the carts loaden with veniſon, which ſerve for proviſion as well as entertainment. At other times they follow the partridges, francolins, or the bird called *Quiriquincho*. But to all this there are abatements and mixtures of trouble: the firſt is, the mighty heat in ſummer; for which reaſon, leſt the oxen ſhould be ſtifled with it, they travel in the night; and when they come to halt, or bait in the day time, 'tis in places where there is not ſo much as a tree, under whoſe ſhade one may reſt; nor is there any other ſhade than that of the cart, and ſome coverlet upon it; for to go into it, is like going into an oven. But this is not all the way, there being ſome pleaſant running ſtreams and rivers bordered with green willow-trees, which very much mitigate the fury of the heat. The greateſt inconvenience that I perceived in that journey, was the want of water; which is ſo great, that we were forced to provide ourſelves, when we arrived at any of theſe rivers, for many days journey; for there is no other, except ſometimes ſome plaſhes remaining of rain-water; and that is all green, and can ſerve only for the oxen: and yet this is rare too; for theſe are often dried up to mud, and then one is forced to double the day's journey, and march as far again; ſo that the cattle is almoſt dead with thirſt. I have ſeen ſometimes, on theſe occaſions, the oxen take a run as if they were mad or poſſeſſed; for they know by inſtinct, a league or two before they come at it, the places where it is, as if they ſmelled it; ſo there is no ſtopping thoſe that are looſe; and even thoſe who are at the yoke, make what haſte they can; and when they get to the water, they raiſe the mud ſo by their haſte, that they drink as much mud as water.

When this happens, while there is any of the water left that was taken at the river,

and carried in carts, the misfortune is the leſs; but when that water is already ſpent, the people ſuffer extreamly: for though moſt commonly ſome one man is ſent before to take up ſome water of the cleareſt, before the oxen trouble it, yet they make ſuch haſte, that that prevention moſt commonly miſcarries; and then we are fain to ſtop our noſes, and ſhut our eyes to drink, and divert even our imagination, if we can. And to all this there is no remedy, but from heaven, as it happened to me once, that it pleaſed god to ſend us a ſhower in our greateſt extremity, which filled ſeveral wells, and there was enough for us and our cattle, as alſo to carry away; for which we thanked the divine majeſty, acknowledging his great mercy to us in ſo preſſing circumſtances.

This ſuffering would not be ſo great, if there were any towns and villages in the way; for there are little lakes, by which they might ſettle, which though ſome years they yield no water, yet it is to be come at by a little digging, and that not very deep; and if there were people in thoſe deſarts, wells might be made, or the rain-water gathered in ciſterns, as it is practiſed in ſeveral other places. But theſe plains are ſo vaſt, that they can hardly be peopled, being extended for ſeveral hundred leagues; and beſides, there being no trade ſettled of any importance in thoſe parts, there cannot be inns nor places of ſhelter ſettled; and ſo at preſent, whoever travels that way, muſt carry every thing; for when once one is ſet out, there is no addition to be made; and therefore all is to be provided, more or leſs, according to one's ability; and that muſt be at leaſt a fortnight's allowance, and ſome times twenty or thirty days, till one comes to ſome inhabited place. This is the manner of travelling in the plains of *Cuyo*, and *Tucuman*, and the *Rio Plata*, where in many leagues one does not ſee a hill, nor a ſtone, nor a tree, but continual plains; and if, to dreſs your victuals, you have not the foreſight to carry ſome wood, all the remedy is to gather the cow-dung, which ſerves the turn very ill. In ſome places of this province of *Cuyo*, there are woods near the rivers, from whence may be had materials for building; and hard by the *Cordillera* there is a ſort of tree that breeds incenſe. I brought ſome of it to *Rome*, and the druggiſts told me, that it was finer than the ordinary, conſumed in churches. There grows there alſo the herb called *Xarilla*, which is very hot, and a good medicine, as we have ſaid already. There are many others, of which I cannot give ſo particular an account, as not having made any ſtay in thoſe parts; neither am I in a place where I can advantage myſelf of thoſe relations, that others might give me; and which may ſerve for larger hiſtories than mine, I pretending only to brevity. Therefore let this ſuffice for an account of the ſituation, ſoil, heavens, proprieties, trees, plants, fruits, metals, flocks, fountains, rivers, ſea-fiſhes, and birds, in all the three parts or diviſions of the kingdom of *Chile*. Let us now ſay a word of its inhabitants, the old *Indians*, who have poſſeſſed it all formerly.

OVALLE. 1646.

BOOK III.

Of the Inhabitants of the Kingdom of CHILE.

CHAP. I.

Of the firſt that peopled America, *and their Antiquity.*

OVALLE. 1646. THE knowledge of the firſt inhabitants of the kingdom of *Chile*, depends neceſſarily upon that of the firſt inhabitants of *America*, which is not eaſy to be made out. If we ſhould take the opinion of the *indian Guancas*, near the valley of *Xavia*, they would certainly affirm, that which is a conſtant tradition among the natives of *Peru*, and before they had any knowledge of our faith, and is, That many years before there were *Ingas*, who were the kings of thoſe parts, the country being very populous, there was a great deluge: (thus far 'tis well.) But then they add, That in the hollow rocks of the higheſt mountains, there remained ſome alive, who returned and peopled the earth afreſh; and the ſame tradition is received by the *Indians* of *Quito* in *Collao*. If this were ſo, the *Indians* of *Chile* might lay claim to the new peopling of *America*; for if any, their mountains were moſt capable of reſiſting the deluge, they being the higheſt that are yet diſcovered. There are other *indian* mountaineers, who are leſs miſtaken; for they affirm, That none could be ſaved in the mountains, becauſe they were all covered with water; but that ſix were ſaved in a float they made. If they had ſaid eight, they would have hit upon the number which the apoſtle St. *Peter* ſays eſcaped with *Noah* in the ark which he built.

Antonio de Herrera, in the *Third Tome* of the *General Hiſtory* of the *Indias*, excuſes theſe errors of the *Indians*, ſaying, 'Tis probable there was ſome particular deluge in thoſe parts, to which they might allude, becauſe all the nations of that world are agreed in this tradition. The true and natural excuſe is, that theſe poor wretches have not had the good fortune to ſee the chapter of *Exodus*, where they would have been undeceived; for there 'tis ſaid, That *out of the ark of* Noah *there was not left any living thing upon the earth, and that the water was fifteen cubits over the tops of the higheſt mountains.* The other *Indians*, who talk of the ſix men ſaved on the float, may have had ſome tradition from their forefathers, who were nearer the time of *Noah*, about the ark; and as they are a people who have no books, becauſe they cannot read, whatſoever they might learn from their anceſtors, and retain in their memories, might by degrees be loſt, or diminiſhed; and ſo the deſcendants came to have the tale of the float and the ſix perſons, not examining how it could poſſibly be, that upon ſo ſlight a contrivance, which can hardly laſt three or four days in the water, thoſe people ſhould maintain themſelves for ſo long as the deluge laſted. As for the manner and time, how and when the deſcendants of *Noah* paſſed to people this new world, or how their generations have been extended ſo far, 'tis a moſt difficult thing to make out; for the *Indians* being without written records, as other nations have, there is no diving by their memories into their antiquities, which even when they are committed to writing, uſe to produce variety of opinions about the origin and beginning of things. Beſides, there was in *Europe*, even among the moſt learned, ſo great an ignorance of all that regarded *America*, that it was judged ſcarce inhabitable, if it was at all; and ſo they could give us no light of a thing they had no notion of, or which they thought impoſſible; but after the diſcovery of this new world, people began to reaſon, and every one made his gueſſes or reaſonings as well as he could. Some have ſaid, with reference to what is hinted by *Plato*, in his *Timæus*, (as is related by our father *Acoſta*, in his firſt book of the *New World*, in the twenty-ſecond chapter,) that people paſſed from *Europe* and *Africa*, to certain iſlands; and ſo from one to another, till they came to the *terra firma* of *America*.

The ſame author advances ſomething more probable, in his nineteenth chapter; *Acoſta*

where

where he ſays, That ſuppoſing we all came from the firſt man *Adam*, and that the propagation of the ſpecies of mankind, after the deluge, was made by thoſe only who were ſaved out of the ark of *Noah*, 'tis not improbable, that the firſt inhabitants of *America* came to thoſe parts, not with deſign, or by their own induſtry, becauſe of the little uſe of navigation that was in thoſe days, and particularly through ſo great a ſea; but that they were caſt by ſome ſtorm on thoſe coaſts, as it happened ſince in its firſt diſcovery, as we ſhall ſee hereafter in its proper place. He brings, to prove this, the example of ſeveral ſhips, which, contrary to their courſe, have been driven to very remote ſhores. This is every day's experience, and will not ſurprize thoſe who know any thing of the ſtrength of the winds and currents in thoſe ſeas; and that which the ſame father *Acoſta* alledges of himſelf, That he had ſuch a paſſage, that in fourteen days he came within ſight of the firſt iſlands of the gulph of *Mexico*, going from *Spain*.

This, though probable, has yet a ſtrong objection againſt it, which is about the wild beaſts, ſuch as tygers, lions, wolves, and others of that nature, which could not be carried in ſhips, becauſe they were of no uſe to mankind, but rather miſchievous: and though ſome may anſwer with *St. Auſtin*, in his ſixteenth book *De Civitate Dei*, *Chap.* 7. when he ſolves the difficulty how theſe animals came into iſlands, and ſays, That they might either ſwim thither, or be carried by hunters, or that they might be created a-new by God Almighty, as they were in the beginning of the world; which is the beſt ſolution, if it were as probable as it is eaſy to ſay. But, firſt, there is againſt it the opinions of philoſophers, who will not allow any great animals to be propagated any other way than by generation. And, beſides, if God, as without doubt he might, had created them a-new, what neceſſity was there for him to command *Noah* to take ſo many pairs of all living creatures, all male and female? which care ſeems ſuperfluous, if God reſolved to make a ſecond creation of all thoſe ſpecies after the deluge. 'Tis more probable, theſe creatures might arrive at the iſlands ſwimming, and the birds flying, particularly to the neareſt iſlands; but this does not prove, that they could arrive to thoſe remote parts of *America*, there being ſuch a vaſt ocean, that 'tis not poſſible that either beaſts or birds ſhould have ſo much ſtrength as to ſwim or fly over it; for this reaſon he concludes in the end of the one and twentieth chapter, that the men, as well as animals, paſſed either by land or water to *America*, near ſome part where it joins to the other parts of the world, either by the *Tierra de Bacalaos*, or the *Streight* of *Magellan*, that is not ſeparated but by ordinary little ſeparations of water and ſea, which might be eaſily paſs'd in ſmall veſſels, ſuch as were in uſe in thoſe ancient times. Ovalle. 1646.

Aug. de Civit. Dei.

This is the author's opinion; which, as to the *Tierra de Bacalaos*, carries with it only the probability of an ingenious conjecture; becauſe as yet that part of the world has not been diſcovered; but if in time it proves like the conjecture about the *Streights* of *Magellan*, 'tis all without any grounds; for, as we have already related, 'tis now made plain, that *America* on that ſide is entirely divided from the other parts of the world by a vaſt ſea. 'Tis true, that to the eaſt 'tis not known yet how far that land runs, which is over-againſt the *Tierra del Fuego*, and is on the eaſt ſide of the *Streight* of *St. Vincent*, otherwiſe called the *Streight* of *Le Maire*; for ſome think that it may run as far as the *Cape* of *Good Hope*, and ſo be ſo near that part of *Africa*, that men might paſs in ſmall veſſels from the one to the other. 'Tis likewiſe uncertain, that the continent of *America* ever was nearer than it now is to any other continent, or that the ſea has ſince broke away part of either, to make the ſeparation wider, as we have obſerved it did in the iſland of *Sancta Maria*, which is ſuppoſed to have formerly been all of one continued piece with the firm land of *Arauco*; but theſe are all conjectures, and he alone knows the truth who created theſe men, and other animals of *America*, and by whoſe providence they paſſed to thoſe parts, for the great ends of his hidden ſecrets; to whom, with all veneration for his councils, we muſt ſubmit the enquiry, why he has been pleaſed that that part of the world ſhould remain undiſcovered for ſo many ages, without any communication with thoſe parts where his divine light has appeared ſooner. Theſe are conſiderations for the good to make uſe of with thanks, for having been admitted to it; and confuſion of the wicked, who at noon day are as much in the dark, as if it had never dawned.

Peter Bereius, in his geography, as *John* and *Theodore de Brye* do relate, collects the antiquity of thoſe nations of *America*, from their moſt ancient kings and lords, and from the ruins of ancient edifices, and other memorable things; for this argues the largeneſs of time, in which all this was done. Amongſt other things, he mentions the report of one of their gardens belonging to ſome king, (which muſt be of *Peru*, who were always the richeſt,) in which all the herbs, and plants, and ſhrubs, with their trunks, leaves, and flowers of the natural proportion, were of maſſy gold; and in the

Bereius.

Ovalle. 1646. the houſes of recreation, there were all ſorts of animals made of precious ſtones, and ſome of feathers of various colours. They ſay beſides, that the *Ingas*, who were the emperors of *Peru*, were the richeſt princes in the world; and that they had ſo much gold, that not only the plate they eat in were of that metal, but all their houſhold ſtuff and furniture were of the ſame, to their tables, benches, cupboards, nay, to the ſtatues themſelves; a great deal of which fell to the *Spaniards* ſhare when they conquered thoſe parts; but the beſt part was hid and concealed by the *Indians*, which to this day they keep undiſcovered, being in that way of ſecret intractable and extream cloſe. Neither is it any wonder that thoſe princes ſhould uſe ſo much gold, ſince they were maſters of more of that metal than any others; being ſo beloved by their ſubjects, that whatever they had that was precious, they preſented it to them; and they were ſo inclined to hoard it, that whoever ſucceeded in the monarchy, made it a point of ſtate not to touch, but rather to increaſe the treaſure of his father; of which a great proof was the vaſt ſum which *Atabualpa* offered for his ranſom, and paid to the *Spaniards* for it, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

Amongſt other precious pieces of gold work, authors make particular mention, and admire with reaſon, that chain which the king *Guaynacapa*, the eleventh king of *Peru*, cauſed to be made at the birth of his ſon *Guaſcar*, who was to inherit his crown; for each link of it was as big as the wriſt of a man, (as is reported by *Gareilaſſo de la Vega*, who had it from an uncle of his, an *Inga* alſo, who told him, when he asked the bigneſs, as big as this, (ſhewing his wriſt,) and as long as twice the length of the great place of *Cuſco*, which in all might be above ſeven hundred foot long. And the contador, *Auguſtin de Varate*, in his firſt book, *Chap.* 14. treating of the incredible riches of that *Inga*, ſays theſe words: [Guaynacapa, *at the birth of his ſon, cauſed a great cable of gold to be made* (as is atteſted by ſeveral *Indians* yet alive) *of ſo much weight, that two hundred* Indians *could but juſt lift it up from the ground; for memory of which they gave the name of* Guaſcar Inga *to the new born prince; for* Guaſca *ſignifies a cable; and the ſirname of* Inga *was added, as that of* Auguſtus *to the* Roman *emperors.*] Thus far this author: but this name, or word *Guaſca*, not being ſo decent in its ſignification for a prince, they added the *r* to it, and nevertheleſs eterniz'd the memory of that rich chain.

The chiefeſt motive the king had to order this chain to be made, was, that the dances which were to be made at his birth, might be more ſolemn, and worthy of his royal perſon; becauſe the manner of dancing of the *Indians*, is to take one another by the hands, and make a circle; and ſo moving two ſteps forward, and one backward, draw cloſer and cloſer to the king, to make their obeiſances; and the king cauſed this chain to be made, for them to take hold of, inſtead of taking hold of one another.

A great proof likewiſe of this antiquity of the empire of *Peru*, is thoſe two highways mentioned by *Herrera*; for being of that vaſt length, and work'd with all thoſe conveniencies for travellers, they could not be made but by length of time, and with a long continued labour. This is what I find of the antiquity of the firſt inhabitants of *America*, in which we may comprehend the *Indians* of *Chile*.

CHAP. II.

Of the great Courage and Boldneſs of the Indians *of* Chile.

THE *Indians* of *Chile* are famed by all who have writ of them, for the boldeſt and moſt valiant warriors of all the vaſt extent of the new world: it were to be wiſhed by us, that this had not been confirmed by woful experience, for then the kingdom of *Chile* would have been one of the moſt flouriſhing kingdoms of the *Indies*, without the continual wars which it has maintained for about an hundred years, without ever ceaſing, or laying down its arms. This is the more conſiderable, if we reflect, that the *Spaniards* having ſubjected, in ſo little a time, thoſe vaſt empires of *Mexico* and *Peru*, have nevertheleſs not been able, in ſo great a time, to conquer the *Indians* of *Chile*, ſons of the great *Cordillera*, from whoſe rocks they ſeem to borrow their untameable ſtrength and fierceneſs. Except we ſhould ſay with fryer *Gregory* of *Leon*, That this bravery comes from the fertility of the earth, which, as he ſays, and is true, does not need any thing from abroad. To which he adds, the birth of theſe people, who all their life tread upon ſo much gold, and drink the water which runs over theſe rich minerals, by which they participate of its good and generous qualities, as it is obſerved of thoſe who live at *Potoſi*, near that vaſt mountain of ſilver, who are ſo ſtout and haughty, as has appeared in the many revolutions that have happened there. Let this be as it will all authors agree, that they are the top nation of *America*, though

though hitherto no one has treated purpoſely of this matter. There are now two hiſtories in the preſs, which will make out, the particulars, all that has been ſaid of this nation. Don *Alonzo de Ercilla* ſays enough, in his famous poem, call'd the *Araucana*; but becauſe it is in verſe, it ſeems to leſſen ſomething the real truth; and yet abſtracting from the hyperboles and enlargings of poetry, all the hiſtorical part is very conformable to truth, he being a gentleman of great quality, and an eye-witneſs of what he affirms; for what he writ, was not by hearſay, but upon the very ſpot where the things happened; ſo that he might have had as many contradictors as he had witneſſes, who were preſent as well as he at what paſs'd.

He dedicated his book to the moſt catholick king, his lord and maſter; and preſenting it to him with his own hand, when he came from *Chile* to *Spain*, 'tis to be preſum'd he would not have dared to fail in the exactneſs of truth, for fear of receiving a chaſtiſement, inſtead of a reward, which he obtain'd for it. Let any read his prologue, in which, in a very good ſtile, and in proſe, he gives a noble account of the valour of the *Indians*, and concludes his preface with theſe words: [*I have ſaid all this, as a proof and clear demonſtration of the valour of theſe nations, worthy of all the encomiums I can give them in my verſes; and beſides, there are now in* Spain *ſeveral perſons who were preſent at many of the actions which I here deſcribe, and refer to them the defence of my work on that ſide.*] Thus far this author, worthy of immortal praiſe for his incomparable book, which, though publiſhed above fifty years ago, and printed in *Spain* and *Flanders*, is yet continually reprinted; which ſhews the value the curious and the learned have for it. The *Araucanos* are indeed the chief ſubject of it; and yet what is ſaid of them may be extended to all the *Indians* of *Chile*, as we ſhall ſee in its proper place, when we ſhall treat of the wars they had with the *Spaniards*.

But before ever the *Spaniards* ſet their feet on their ground, they had given ſufficient proof of their bravery, which was invincible, to the *Ingas*, emperors of *Peru*, ſince with all their power they could never conquer them, though they endeavour'd it, as being extreamly inclin'd to enlarge their dominions; and they deſir'd it the more, for the fame of *Chile*, to which they ſent a powerful army, and which made ſome progreſs at firſt, ſubjecting ſome nations to extraordinary tributes. But as they purſued their point, and came to the valley of *Maule*, they met with the *Promocaes*, to whoſe ſuccour the *Chilenos*, who inhabited more within the country, were come, and

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forc'd the army of the *Ingas* to retire in haſte. *Gareilaſſo de la Vega* relating this more particularly, ſays,

GAR. de la Vega.

That the *Inga yn Pangue*, the tenth king of *Peru*, came to the confines of his own kingdom, to a place call'd *Atacama*, to be nearer at hand to attend the conqueſt of *Chile*; and from thence firſt ſent his ſcouts through the fourſcore leagues of uncultivated country, which was between his kingdom and *Chile*, with orders to diſpatch a man, every two leagues, with an account of what they diſcover'd; which they did, one meſſenger following another, and leaving in the way certain marks, whereby they that came laſt might guide themſelves. He firſt ſent ten thouſand men, under the command of general *Sinchiruca*, and two other colonels of his own kindred, not being willing to commit to any others care ſo great an enterprize. They came within ſight of the valley of *Copiapo*, which is the firſt inhabited valley of *Chile*; with the inhabitants of which the *Peruvians* began to skirmiſh, becauſe they had not admitted the embaſſy which they ſent them as from the *Inga*, to own him for their lord; and withal, having given notice of the reſiſtance they found to the *Inga*, he ſent them ten thouſand men more, with a new ſummons, aſſuring them, That his deſign was not to take their country from them, but only that they ſhould own him as ſon of the ſun, and lord of all that was warm'd and enlighten'd by him. Thoſe of *Copiapo* ſeeing this new relief to their enemi. , and knowing that it would not be the laſt, becauſe the *Inga yn Pangue* was preparing another ſuccour, and being convinced that this acknowledgment would coſt them leſs than the blood that muſt be ſpilt in a long reſiſtance, they agreed to own the *Inga* as he deſir'd.

This was the firſt entrance of the *Peruvians* as far as *Maule*, which is one of the rivers of *Chile*, as has been ſaid already. By this time, the army of the *Peruvians* was fifty thouſand men, and deſiring to proſecute their conqueſt, they ſent their ordinary embaſſy to the nation of the *Promocaes*, who having already been inform'd of their invading their neighbours, were in arms to defend their country. The ambaſſadors of the *Inga* deliver'd their accuſtom'd meſſage, proteſting, that their lord deſir'd nothing more, than to be acknowledg'd as ſon of the *ſun*, and honour'd accordingly by their ſubmiſſion. The *Promocaes*, who were reſolv'd to defend their liberties, made anſwer, *That the conquerors ſhould be the lords and maſters*; and ſo uniting all their forces, came on the fourth day, and preſented battle to the *Peruvians*. The *Inga's* generals, ſurpriz'd at ſuch a cou-

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ragious resolution, sent them new summons, desiring their friendship and peace, calling the sun and moon to witness, that they came not to spoil them of their lands or goods, but only to oblige them to own the sun for their God, and the *Inga* for his son and their lord. To which they receiv'd answer, That they came not to spend time in talking, or vain discourses, but to fight manfully till they should conquer or die; adding, that they might prepare themselves for battle the next day, as it happen'd; and the *Promocaes* overcame that powerful army of the *Inga's*, so that they had no mind to try their fortune any more, but made their retreat, leaving the *Promocaes* in peace, and full possession of their lands, which they had so bravely defended. *Antonio de Herrera*, in his third tome, and fifth decade, treating of the reason why those of *Chile* refus'd to submit to those monarchs the *Ingas*, says, That it was because of the great reverence with which they made their subjects treat them, as if they were Gods, and approach them as if they were of another species; which the *Chilenians* could not bear, their mind being too lofty and generous to submit to such a tyranny, which they constantly oppos'd; insomuch, that though the *Ingas* had conquer'd the best part of that continent, yet the *Chilenians* never did yield to their power. Perhaps the nearest provinces to *Peru*, such as those of *Guasco*, *Coquimbo*, and *Copiapo*, did in some measure acknowledge their power, since they paid a tribute in gold; and for that reason, these provinces alone in all the kingdom of *Chile*, do speak the common language of *Peru*, which is a very strong proof of what I here say.

For the same reason that they resisted the *Ingas*, they did not care to have any king of their own nation, the love of their liberty prevailing against all the reasons of state, which might move them to have one monarch; neither did they fall into any popular form of government, or commonwealth; for their warlike temper did not afford patience enough for the flegmatick debates, necessary for the union of so many minds. Thus every family chose one among them to govern them. From this arose the *Caciques*, who are the sovereigns among them, and by degrees had that power hereditary, and their children after them enjoy it, with all its rights.

But though every one governs independently his own district or jurisdiction, yet when the occasion offers, that the safety of all is concern'd, there is an assembly of the *Caciques*, and some of the elders of the people, who are men of experience, and are summon'd after their way by particular messengers. In these councils they resolve what they think most convenient; which, if it be a case of war, either defensive or offensive, they chuse the general, not one of the most noble of the *Caciques*, or the most powerful, but he who has the fame of most valiant, and has best behav'd himself on the like occasion against their enemies; and when he is justly chosen, all the other *Caciques* obey him punctually. 'Tis after this manner that they have preserv'd themselves so many years against all the strength that has been brought against them. To make these assemblies, they chose out some very pleasant place, field, or meadow; and thither they bring great store of provision, and strong drink, call'd *Chicha*, which is instead of wine. Being all assembled, and well warm'd with this liquor, and excited in their martial temper, there rises up some one of the most antient, to whose lot it falls, to propose the business of that meeting; who with great eloquence (for in that they are very famous) opens the matter, and brings all the reasons and motives of persuasion that he can. All are oblig'd to yield to the majority of opinion; and when the result is made, 'tis publish'd with the sound of drums and trumpets, and a mighty noise; but yet allowing every one the term of three days to reflect and consider on what has been resolv'd; after which, if they find no inconveniency, the execution is infallible, and they think of the means of bringing the business about by the most proper methods.

The state-assemblies.

Choice of a general.

Manner of these state-meetings.

CHAP. III.

The same Subject is pursued, and the Nobility of the Indians *of* Chile *examin'd.*

ANtonio de Herrera, in the place already cited in the last chapter, says, That there are some of the *Indians* reputed above the rest as gentlemen; and then he adds these words, [*Of this sort have been, and are still the* Indians *of* Chile.] In which he says well; for if valour and the glory of arms makes gentlemen, as may be seen in *Andreas Tiraquello*, in his book *de Nobilitate & jure Primogenitorum*; and if many noble families do to this day derive themselves from some great captain or famous soldier, the *Chilean Indians* having so often signalized their valour in fights, they may very justly be distinguish'd from all the other *Indians*, and reputed more noble.

In

In ſhort, they are the untam'd *Cantabri* of *America*, who, like thoſe of *Europe*, defended themſelves, when all the reſt of it was enſlaved; and repulſed the conquering monarchs of *Peru* to the extream confines of their provinces.

And there is one circumſtance more particular than under the *Cantabrians*, becauſe they had the advantage of their mountains, and the barrenneſs of their country, not ſo inviting to a conqueror; but in *Chile* it was otherwiſe: the richneſs of its mines, and its ſoil full of delicious valleys, and a clear and rich territory, having been always well known, the only valour and bravery of its inhabitants was then the defence of the country: theſe were the fortreſſes and walls of it; for without a bit of fortification of any ſort, or ſo much as one fire-arm, they oblig'd their powerful enemy to a ſhameful retreat. Indeed, this is a thing worthy of great admiration; yet not ſo much to thoſe who know how theſe *Indians* value themſelves upon being good ſoldiers, uſing themſelves to arms, even from their childhood; of which it will not be amiſs to ſpeak a little.

The education of the youth of Chile.

When a child is ſtrong enough, they make it run up the rocky ſide of a hill, giving him that does it beſt, ſome prize or reward: this makes them very nimble and light; and I have ſeen them, in their feaſts and entertainments, run two and two for wagers with wonderful ſwiftneſs; and thoſe who ſhew little diſpoſition to this exerciſe, are applied to follow day-labour, but the others they reſerve for war, not ſuffering them to take to any other employments, but mind their arms and their horſes, that they may be perfect in all their exerciſes. To theſe they aſſign their poſt upon occaſion, according as each has behav'd himſelf in thoſe which he has been in before; and they have in this no conſideration of gentility, interceſſion of others, or other motives, but that alone of a good performance, and the many proofs given by them of their courage and conduct in war.

Their arms in war.

The arms they uſe, are pikes, halberts, launces, hatchets, maces of arms, bars, darts, arrows, and clubs; as alſo ſtrong nooſes to throw upon a horſeman, and ſlings. Their horſe fight with launce and buckler, which they have learn'd from the *Spaniards*, and from them they have had their horſes; for before their time, they had neither horſe nor iron, but they have a hard wood, which grows yet harder by being turn'd in the fire, and is almoſt as uſeful as ſteel. They have hard and ſtrong corſelets, back and breaſt, and thighs, arms, bracelets, gauntlets, helmets, morions; all theſe of a hardened leather, ſo prepared when raw, that it becomes by drying as impenetrable as any ſteel; and they are ſome-thing better, becauſe more manageable, and do embarraſs the body leſs, as being lighter; and ſo the man is more at his eaſe, and better diſpos'd in fight. Among them the pikeman may not be an archer; neither can any that uſes the mace of arms, uſe other arms; ſo every one beſtirs himſelf with the arms he is us'd to.

Their armour.

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In forming their battalions, every file is of above an hundred men, and between every pikeman an archer, who are defended by the pikemen, who cloſe their ſhoulders together; and if their firſt battalion is broken, the ſecond relieves them with ſo much readineſs, that there ſeems not that any have fail'd; and ſo by the third and fourth following each other, like waves of the ſea, without any interruption; and no man forſakes his rank, but by death. They always endeavour to have ſome bog or lake not far off for a retreat; for there they are more in ſafety than in the ſtrongeſt caſtle. Their volunteers go before the battalion, trailing their pikes with ſo much ſtate, and are themſelves ſo haughty, that, like *Goliah*, they challenge their enemy to meet them body to body; and they do the ſame to the *Spaniards*, giving themſelves great airs of pride. They march to the ſound of their drums and trumpets, having their arms garniſh'd with all variety of beautiful colours, and themſelves adorn'd with great plumes of rich feathers, ſo that they appear very handſome and ſightly.

Their order of battle.

Their war-like ornaments.

Their forts.

When they make any forts for their defence, it is of great trees interwoven with each other, and leaving in the middle a place of arms; and formerly within this fort they us'd to make another of thick planks. Behind this, they make a great ditch, cover'd over with plants and flowers, but underneath them ſharp ſtakes to lame the enemy's horſes; ſome they make deeper, that the horſes may remain there ſtak'd thorough.

Many of them are ſubject to great ſuperſtitions and auguries, obſerving the omens, both before and at the time of their undertaking; but many of them laugh at thoſe obſervations, ſaying, there are no better omens than good blows, and ſtout laying about them, without fear of either ſteel, fire, or any ſort of death; and it is certainly ſo, that their firſt encounter is terrible, and as if they fear'd no one thing in the world. When they are drawn up, and ready to engage, there is ſilence made, and the general raiſing his voice, begins an harangue, ſo full of ſpirit, fill'd with ſuch warm incitations, and ſuch a lively action, that the cowardlieſt among them become like lions and tygers againſt their enemies. He lays before them the glory of victory, and

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Their military exhortations.

"Take notice, ſays he, that there is now "no medium between thoſe two extreams: "are not you the ſons and grandchildren "of thoſe brave men, who have fought "ſo many battles, and ventur'd all to de- "fend that country and liberty, for which "we now fight? Shall we own that they "exceed us in bravery, or that the ene- "mies we encounter are ſuperior to thoſe "whom they overcame? Had they leſs "motives than we have? or do we hope "for leſs glory? We muſt all die; and "in the equality of that common fate, "the only difference is dying nobly for our "dear country, and the liberty of our wives "and children; therefore rouze up that "courage which you have inherited from "your anceſtors, who never could endure "the thoughts of that infamous yoke of "ſlavery upon their necks. Courage then "brave men, as brave as any the ſun ſees; "courage, for in that lies victory."

With theſe, and other ſuch words, and calling to mind ſome of their victories, they grow ſo warm, that raiſing a cry of war, they drive away all fear, and expreſs great deſire of engaging their enemies; which they do with ſo much fury and reſolution, that a battalion that ſtands their firſt ſhock is a very firm one. But we will treat further of this when we ſhall ſpeak of the battles they have had with the *Spaniards*, whoſe valour has ſet theirs in its luſtre, obliging them to give ſuch proofs as are worthy to be recorded in hiſtory. Let us purſue now the account of their natural qualities, independently from the reſiſtance which they have made to his catholick majeſty's arms.

Their natural temper.

The warlike ſpirit of this nation proceeds from their natural temper, which is cholerick and impatient, proud, arrogant, and fierce, very cruel in their revenge, cutting their enemies (when in their power) inhumanly to pieces, and wallowing in their blood. We ſhall relate a caſe hereafter, in which ſomething of this will be ſeen. They

Their make.

are ſtrong and robuſt of body, well proportion'd, large ſhoulders, high cheſts, well ſet in their members, nimble, active, vigorous, and nervous, couragious and undertaking, enduring hunger, thirſt, heat, cold; deſpiſing all conveniencies of life, even their own ſmall ones, having little value for their very lives, when 'tis neceſſary to hazard them, either for glory or liberty; conſtant in their reſolutions, and perſiſting in a thing once begun with incredible ſteadineſs.

Good horſemen.

They are excellent horſemen, and upon a ſingle ſaddle-cloth, or without one, they are as firm as others in war-ſaddles: they'll ride down the ſide of a hill, or a precipice, as if they were goats, with their bodies as ſtreight and as firm on horſeback, as if they were nail'd to the horſe: they have no trouble with the baggage they want, for they carry but little with them; not but that when they march they have their little pack of flower of maiz, a little ſalt, ſome *Pimientos*, or *Guinea Pepper*, and dried fleſh; and this is enough to maintain them a good while. They need no other kitchen utenſils than a gourd or *calabaſh*, with which, when they come to a river or ſpring, they open their flower-bag, and wet a little with the water, and that ſerves them for drink; and for meat, when they put more of it with a little ſalt and pepper, this they call *Rubul*; and ſometimes they eat their meal dry, with ſlices of dried fleſh.

Their numbers and habitations.

The great numbers of people which that country has maintain'd, may be collected from the people that the *Spaniards* found there at their firſt coming, which was about 200000, more or leſs, according to the greatneſs of the diſtricts or territories, and their habitations, which never were in form of a city or town; for the *Indians* cannot endure any formal conſtraint, but love to live free in the fields; and every *Cacique*, or lord, govern'd his own vaſſals, who placed themſelves according to their conveniencies, ſome in one valley, and ſome in another; ſome at the foot of mountains, others on the ſide of rivers; ſome by the ſea-ſide, or on the top of mountains; but all under no other form of government, than the will of their lord, the *Cacique*, to whom they yielded a ready and prompt obedience with joy.

Their houſes.

Their houſes are generally of wood, without any ſtories, not very large, nor all of a piece, but each room fram'd by itſelf, ſo that when they have a mind to remove and chuſe another ſituation, they carry away the houſe by pieces, or rooms, which ten or twenty men can eaſily carry. When they take it up, they clear the ground about it, and then at one cry, lifting all together, they get it up, and carry it chearfully away, every one taking hold by its pillars; and when they are weary they reſt awhile, and ſo on again.

Their fidelity to one another.

Their doors are of the ſame material, and they have neither hinges, locks nor keys, nor any thing under a lock or key, their ſecurity conſiſting in each other's fidelity, which they obſerve ſacredly towards one another.

Their furniture.

Their furniture is very mean, they being a people that deſpiſe all conveniencies and ſuperfluities; inſomuch, that that which is their natural way of living, would be high penance with any *European* nations: For firſt, as to their beds, they have neither quilts, nor ſheets, nor pillows, much leſs do they need curtains, pavillions, or alcoves. The hard ground is their couch, upon which they lay ſome poor

skins;

skins; and for boulſter, they lay a ſtone, or a piece of wood, and double their cloaks to lay on it; and that is their higheſt contrivance of eaſe: they have one or two very coarſe coverlets, which they weave of a ſort of thread as thick as one's little finger. People that uſe ſo little about their perſons, may eaſily be preſumed to have no hangings, nor other ornament to their walls; they have no utenſil of gold or ſilver, though they have ſo much in their country; their plate is four or five diſhes, and ſome ſpoons of wood, or a ſhell from the ſea ſide; a calabaſh or gourd to drink in; a leaf of a tree, or of maiz, for a ſaltſeller. This is all the *apparatus* of their table, which is the ground, or at beſt a little bench, without any cloth or napkins, but only a little broom, upon which they wipe their hands.

Their food and diet.

Their meats are the moſt ſimple, and eaſily dreſt, without any incitements to gluttony, as in other nations; but yet they are taſteful enough, and ſuch as many of our *Europeans* like very well. They eat little fleſh; and before the *Spaniards* came among them, they had neither ſheep, goats, nor cows, no, nor hens: they uſe theſe only at their great feaſts. Their ordinary diet is of *maiz*, variety of fruits and herbs, and moſt commonly gourds, or a ſort of beans, which we call frizoles. They did eat fiſh; and the game they hunted, particularly a ſort of ſmall rabbits, which they call *Degus*; and ſince the coming in of the *Spaniards*, they eat beef and mutton, of which there is great abundance.

Inſtead of wheat bread, which they had not before the *Spaniards* brought it, they eat maiz boiled in water, juſt as rice in the *Eaſt Indias*. This maiz is, and always has been the general nouriſhment of the *Indians* of *America*; and is not only their meat, but their drink, which they make of the ſame maiz, toaſted and ſteeped in water, and then boiled, and ſet by; and that is their *Chicha*, or wine, which they make alſo of the fruit of other trees. OVALLE, 1646.

Maiz.

Their way of making flower is very different from ours: they firſt toaſt their maiz in great platters of earth; theſe they ſet upon the fire full of ſand, which when it is very hot, they take off; and putting the grains of maiz to it, ſtir them about very faſt with a kind of broom: it is ſoon toaſted. When done, they take it out, and put in more, till they have done enough to make flower. This they grind between two ſtones thus; They have a ſtone fixed in the ground, of about the ſhape and bigneſs of a ſheet of paper, and ſo hollowed, as another ſtone of an oval figure may play upon it: this the *Indian* woman takes with both hands, and being upon her knees, makes it play upon the other, putting, from time to time, with her left hand, the maiz between the two ſtones, ſo as to ſupply what falls away, and that the mill do not ſtand ſtill. The flower falls forward into a ſort of box, as in ours, our mills, and almoſt as faſt, comparing the ſtrength of a woman to that of a ſtream of water. She can do enough at once for the maintenance of her family; and make a proviſion too for a journey or a voyage of her huſband or ſon to the wars. This is the proper buſineſs of the women; and it would be a ſhame for a man to employ himſelf in it, or in any other houſhold buſineſs. *Their bread.* *The women make it.*

CHAP. IV.

Of the ſame Subject.

WHEN the *Indians* are ſick, they change little of their ordinary way of living, and they never have a better bed. Their way of letting blood is ſafer than ours; for it is not with a lancet, which may either fail to draw blood, or go too deep, and lame the arm, if the ſurgeon be not very ſkilful; but with a ſharp flint, fixed at the end of a little piece of wood, ſo faſt, that there is juſt enough left out to cut the vein, and no more: this they apply to the vein after they have made a bandage, as we do, and ſtriking a little ſtroke upon it, the blood never fails to come, in greater abundance than our bleedings are. This is all they need a ſurgeon or barber for, they themſelves having no beards to ſhave, and the little hair they have, every one pulls out; and they take it for an affront to look hairy. They have pinchers, which they make of cockle-ſhells, and always have them about them, uſing them from time to time in converſation; they thinking it as honourable to be without that, which other people nouriſh, comb, and take care of; which is a good conviction of the variety of opinions of mankind, about what is, and is not honourable. As for their hair, they let it grow juſt below their ears, and no lower, and ſo need no barber to cut it, but do every one help the other to keep the ends of it even. *Indian phlebotomy.*

Their manner of cloathing themſelves, (though of various, and very beautiful colours, which they give to the wooll that they weave their cloaths of,) is very plain and ſimple: they have no lining to any of their cloaths, neither do they wear one un- *Their manner of cloathing.*

Ovalle. 1646.

der another: their drawers come down to their knees, open and looſe, and it is upon their naked body; for they uſe no ſhirts: they have a ſort of waiſtcoat, which they call *Macun*, and it is made of about a yard and a half of ſome woollen ſtuff, which they leave open, ſo as to put it over their heads, and then they gird it with a girdle: they have alſo a kind of cloak or mantle, which they call *Chomi*, which they put on when they go abroad: they have their arms and legs naked, and on their feet they have a ſort of ſhoe, which they call *Ojota*, and is like the rope ſhoes the *Spaniards* wear: they wear nothing on their heads, but a kind of circle of wooll, of various colours, with its fringes hanging down like a cap; which they ſtir or pull off in ſhew of reſpect, as we do our hats.

Their feaſts.

In their feaſts, balls, and rejoicings, though they do not change the form of their cloaths, yet they have a richer ſort, of finer wooll, and richer colours: they put about their necks ſome chains of ſhells, which they gather by the ſea-ſide; theſe they call *Nancas*: others put ſnail-ſhells, ſtrung upon a ſtring, about their necks; and thoſe of the ſtreights of *Magellan* have pearls very well wrought, and of great artifice, as is affirmed by the authors already cited; and on their heads they put a kind of garland, not of flowers, but of wooll, dy'd of ſeveral beautiful colours, to which they hang fine little birds, which they eſteem, and on each ſide they have a plume of high feathers, either white, red, or blue, and about half a yard high.

Their dancing.

Their way of dancing is with little jumps, and a ſtep or two, not riſing much from ground, and without any capers, ſuch as the *Spaniards* uſe: they dance all together in a ring, round a may-pole or ſtandard, which one of them holds in the middle as an enſign; and near it are all the bottles of their wine, of which they take now and then a ſup while they dance, drinking to one another; for it is a cuſtom among them never to drink alone any thing that is given them: he that begins takes a ſup, and then he that he drinks to pledges him, and gives the cup to another, and ſo to a fourth, till it be empty; and yet one has not more than the other; for what this man does for that, that man does for this; and ſo at laſt they come to be ſo equally ſhared, that at the end of the entertainment, they are all alike drunk, and laid down; for they drink as long as they can ſtand. But this is not eaſily brought to paſs; for beſides what they drink in the day-time, they will often paſs all night at it, without leaving off, ſinging and dancing to their drums and flutes. The women, as more baſhful, do not enter into theſe dances, except ſome one or two, when the wine has got into their heads, and then too they do not enter into the ring with the men, but dance by themſelves. Few of them get drunk, ſo as to loſe their judgment; ſo they are upon their guard more, to mind that the men do not quarrel, and hurt one another in their drink. Their flutes, which they play upon in theſe dances, are made of the bones of the *Spaniards*, and other enemies, whom they have overcome in war. This they do by way of triumph and glory for their victory: they make them likewiſe of bones of other animals; but the *Indians* of war dance only to theſe of their enemies.

The women's behaviour at their feaſts.

Their care of their huſband.

Their muſical inſtruments made of their enemies bones.

Their way of ſinging is, all together raiſing their voices upon the ſame note, without any difference of parts or meaſure; and at the end of every ſong they play on their flutes, and a ſort of trumpets, juſt as we do on our guittars in the *Paſſacalles*. This they repeat ſo often, and ſo loud, that one may hear them at a great diſtance; for in theſe feaſts, they are very numerous. Thoſe who are not engaged in dancing, ſit together in ſeveral companies, talking together upon paſt occurrences, and ſtill warming themſelves with their wine; and then they begin to recollect the injuries they have received from one another, and ſo refreſhing the memory of old conteſts and enmities not revenged; and this makes them break out into new animoſities, and ſometimes kill one another upon little provocation.

Few artiſicers; all ſoldiers.

Their way of keeping account.

The women dreſs.

The women as well as the men have their arms naked, but no other part about them; for though they go barefoot, yet their cloaths, which are very long, cover them from head to foot, though in ſome places they wear them ſhorter: this is a plain ſort of mantle, cloſe to their bodies, without any linnen underneath; this they let fall to their feet, and having faſtened it on their ſhoulders, gather it in plaits and ſwath themſelves from their waſte to the breaſts with ſome fine coloured-woollen ſcarf, of about four fingers broad, and ſo long, that it takes ſo many turns about their waſte, as to keep their bodies as ſtreight as any: this is all their dreſs within doors.

The *indian* women of the better ſort, that live in towns among the *Spaniards*, have learned the uſe of ſmocks and waiſtcoats under their mantles, but of no other thing; and one cannot affront an *indian* woman more, than to offer to put her on head-cloaths, or necklaces, or ſleeves, or gloves, or any of thoſe ornaments which the *Spaniſh* women uſe; and much more if they oblige them to put any paint upon their faces; nothing of this kind could ever prevail upon them, though born and bred among the *Spaniſh* women; and to talk to them

The women's head dreſſes, and paint.

them of it, even to thoſe among them who love to be fine, would be like giving them a cut over the face, ſo great a horror they have for any thing that is ſo very contrary to their antient cuſtoms. They wear nothing on their heads but their hair plaited behind their ſhoulders, and divided handſomely upon their forehead over their eyebrows, and have locks which cover part of their cheeks; ſo their face is handſomely and ſimply adorned, without any artifice. When they go abroad, they put upon their ſhoulders another half mantle, ſquare, and faſtened before with a bodkin, or crochet, which anſwers the two others on the ſhoulders; and thus they go abroad with their eyes fixed upon the ground; for they are naturally very modeſt honeſt women.

This manner of cloathing themſelves, with ſo much ſimplicity and plainneſs, as well in the women as the men, with ſo little pride and vanity in their houſes, does not much encourage artificers, who have little to do; and by that means there are the more men of war, which is the thing in which theſe men place their honour and felicity, as other nations do in the ſumptuouſneſs of palaces and furniture, or in other riches and eminencies, either of arts or learning: of all which theſe *Indians* never had any notion; and yet they learn them eaſily, when they are taught them, and to a great perfection. They can neither read nor write among themſelves; but as to their way of remembering and keeping account, they have their *Quipoes*, which is a ſort of ſtrings of different bigneſs, in which they make knots of ſeveral colours, by which they remember, and can give an account of the things committed to their charge. With theſe they will give an account of a great flock, and tell which have died of ſickneſs or other accidents, and which have been ſpent in the family, and for the ſhepherds; and they will tell every particular that happened in ſuch and ſuch occaſions, and of what they did and ſaid. When they go to confeſs, theſe *Quipoes* ſerve them to remember their ſins, and tell them with diſtinction and clearneſs: they have beſides excellent memories of their own, and do remember things of very antient date, juſt as if they had happened but a little while before; and when they begin to talk them over, (which happens generally when they drink, and begin to be warmed with wine,) 'tis wonderful how they will repeat things paſt, with all their circumſtances, and particularly affronts and injuries that have been done them, or their anceſtors, refreſhing the memory of things that ſeemed to be quite forgotten. For proof of the care they take to keep the memory of remarkable paſſages, I muſt relate here what I learned from father *Diego Torres Bollo*, a very extraordinary man, both for holineſs of life, and skill in government. OVALLE. 1646.

Few artificers; all ſoldiers.

Their way of keeping account.

This great man returning from *Rome* (whither he had been ſent as procurator of the province of *Peru*) to found the province of *Quito*, he ſaw in a place where four ways met an *Indian*, who, to the ſound of a drum, was ſinging a great many things all alone in his own tongue: the father called one in his company, who underſtood it, and ask'd him what that *Indian* meant by that action; who told the father, that that *Indian* was, as it were, the regiſter of that country, who, to keep up the memory of what had paſſed in it from the deluge to that time, was bound every holiday to repeat it by the ſound of a drum, and ſinging, as he was then doing. He was moreover obliged to inſtruct others in the ſame way, that there might be a ſucceſſion of men to do the ſame thing after he was gone; and that which he at this time is ſinging is, That in ſuch a year there had been there a white man called *Thomas*, who did great wonders, preaching a new law, which in time was loſt and forgotten, *&c.* And thus we may ſee the manner by which the *Indians* ſupply the want of books and writings.

A ſingular way of regiſtering events.

An addition of the interpreter, or a lye of the jeſuit.

The women of *Chile* are ſo bold and manly in their courage, that when it is neceſſary, and that there is want of men, they take arms, and behave themſelves as if they were men. They play likewiſe at a very active game called *La Chueca*, wherein the men ſhew their greateſt agility and nimbleneſs, each ſide ſtriving to get a ball from the other, and carry it to the mark with crooked bandy ſticks. They are about forty or fifty on a ſide, who place themſelves in different poſts, ſo as to be uſeful one to another, and drive away the ball from the other party; and when it happens that two of different ſides are at it together, 'tis a pleaſure to ſee them run, the one to forward it with another ſtroke, and the other to get before him and hinder him from ſtriking it, that he may drive it back to his own ſide. This is a ſport much to be ſeen, and generally it has many ſpectators to ſee the end of the play, which often laſts a whole evening, and ſometimes is forced to be put off to another day, ſuch contention there is to win theſe prizes they play for.

The ſtrength and boldneſs of the women comes from the little tenderneſs they are bred with, for they avoid neither heat nor cold; and in the coldeſt winters, when birds are killed with cold, they waſh their heads in cold water, and never dry their hair, but let it remain wet, and dry itſelf in the air; and as for their children, they waſh them in the rivers, when they are very young; and when they are brought to bed,

The hard education of the women.

OVALLE. 1646.

in a very little time they are about the houſe, as if it were not they, but ſome other woman that had lain in.

The Indian *mens hardineſs againſt wet and cold.*

If the women behave themſelves thus, what may we expect from the men? 'Tis a wonderful thing how little they fear weather, though in the midſt of winter; and to ſee an *Indian*, with that ſimple habit we have deſcribed, his head bare, without hat, or any other covering. I have ſeen them in this condition endure mighty ſhowers, which wet them all over, and came out at their breeches, and yet laugh and not value that, which to others would have been inſupportable.

I remember, upon this occaſion, what was ſaid by a *Spaniſh* gentleman, of a merry humour, to one newly come from *Europe*, who, with great charity, was pitying theſe poor *Indians* for their ſufferings in winter, which in that country is very ſevere. The gentleman asked the good father what he had to keep his face from the cold? To which he anſwered, *Nothing*, becauſe every body's face was uſed to the weather. To which the gentleman replied, *Theſe Indians are all face*; for from their infancy they have no defence againſt the cold. Who is it that pities a trout, or other fiſh, for being in the water, becauſe they are bred in that element? The ſame may be ſaid of theſe *Indians*, who are like fiſhes, and are bred to all that hardſhip; and ſo we need not wonder at it. By theſe means they are ſo hardened, that a wound which the braveſt *Spaniard* would take his bed for, does give them ſo little trouble, that I have ſeen them go about without minding it. I have known them have a broken head by accident at play, and all they do is to waſh it in cold water, never leaving their employment or buſineſs; and with this, and the application of their own herbs, which, indeed, are of great virtue, they are ſoon well; but the excellency of their own conſtitution helps not a little to their cure in wounds, as well as all other diſtempers, out of which they get well with a great deal leſs time and care than the *Spaniards*.

Bear their wounds better than the Spaniards.

CHAP. V.

Of other Qualities proper to the Natives of Chile.

The people of Chile *very patient.*

FROM this ſtrong conſtitution, comes the admirable patience of their minds, and the little ſenſe they ſhew of that which amongſt us *Europeans* would be a great mortification. That which happened between an *Indian* and father *Lewis* of *Valdivia* is admirable upon this ſubject. The *Indian* came to confeſs to the father; who, to make him enter into a penance for his ſins, ordered him to wear a *Cilice*, or hair-cloth upon his ſkin: it was a very hard one, and ſuch as would have puniſhed one of us ſeverely. The *Indian* put it on, and about a year after, there was a proceſſion of the holy ſacrament, at which he danced, and ſeeing his confeſſor in the church, he left his dancing, and came to him, ſaying, *Look here how I have preſerved what thou gaveſt me a year ago*, and ſhewed it him upon his naked ſkin. The father was aſtoniſhed to ſee, that what he gave him to mortify him, was turned to an ornament; and asking him how long he had worn it, was anſwered by him, *I have never left it off one minute ſince thou gaveſt it me*; and ſo returned to his dancing, ſhewing his companions the preſent the father had made him, as pleaſed with it, as if it had been a gold or ſilver brocade; and ſo far he was from taking it for mortification, or feeling its roughneſs, that he wore it for a favour given him by his father-confeſſor.

A good ſtory.

'Tis the cuſtom in Spain *to dance at proceſſions.*

The complexion of the Chilenians.

Theſe *Indians* of *Chile* are the faireſt complexioned, and whiteſt of all *America*; and thoſe of the coldeſt countries are the whiteſt, as we ſee in *Europe*; but the very antipodes of *Flanders* never come to be ſo white as the *Flemmings*; and among all the *Chilenians*, I do not remember a red-hair'd one; for they all, both men and women, have black hair, and that very rough, and hard, and thick; inſomuch that the meſtitos, or mungrel breed of a *Spaniſh* man and *Indian* woman, are known and diſtinguiſhed by that from the children of a *Spaniſh* man and *Spaniſh* woman; and this will laſt to the ſecond and third generation before it ſoftens. There is little difference in any thing elſe, either of ſhape, feature, or diſpoſition; nor in the manner of ſpeaking, or ſound of the voice: and as for the language, not only the meſtitos, but the *Indians* bred among the *Spaniards*, are as ready at the phraſe and turn of the *Spaniſh* tongue, as any *Spaniard*. I have made experience of this often in confeſſing them; for the confeſſionary is ſo turned, as the father-confeſſor cannot ſee the woman that enters to confeſs. It happen'd to me often to have an *Indian* woman come in after a *Spaniſh* woman, and I could not find any difference, till ſhe herſelf, finding I uſed her with that diſtinction and civility due to *Spaniſh* ladies, would humbly tell me ſhe was but an *Indian*.

No red hair.

They ſpeak Spaniſh *perfectly.*

The conſtitution of theſe people is the cauſe that time does not make ſo ſtrong an impreſſion on them, as on us; and they bear their years mighty well, turning grey very late, at threeſcore, or thereabouts; and till then they look like young men. When they

They bear their years very well.

they are over white, or have any baldneſs, you may gueſs them at about a hundred: they all live long, and particularly the women; and when by age they loſe their judgment, they ſeldom falter in their memory, which laſts them to their dying day, even to remember all the particulars of their young days from their infancy. Their teeth and eyes are ſo good, that they ſeldom loſe either; and, in ſhort, all the infirmities of old men, which are the forerunners of death, come to them later than to other nations. But yet, if they happen to go out of their own country, they loſe all their vigour, as we experience daily in our priſoners of war; who being ſold to *Peru*, as ſoon as they feel the heat of the tropick, they fall ſick, and moſt of them die; and this is no more than what happens to the *Spaniards*, when they come from their own climate to *Porto Bello*, or *Panama*; nay, the *Spaniards* born in *Chile*, venture their lives that go to thoſe countries that are between the tropicks.

Live long.

Good teeth.

Cannot endure to leave their own country.

From this experience the *Indians* have of the hot countries, comes the great reluctancy they ſhew to go out of their own, and the reſentment they expreſs againſt thoſe who carry or ſend them abroad; and 'tis not to be imagin'd the ſtrange and raſh contrivances they have to make their eſcapes from *Lima*; for though they have above five hundred leagues to go to their own home from *Peru*, yet they undertake it, and moſt commonly compaſs it, through a vaſt number of dangers and inconveniencies. For firſt, they are forced to go all along by the ſea-ſide, by which one may gueſs how much they go about, ſince they fetch the compaſs of all the bays and nooks, and double all the capes.

The next inconvenience which they meet with, is want of food; for they dare not enter any town, or inhabited place; ſo they are reduc'd to feed on cockles and other ſhell-fiſh on the ſea-ſide, which is no very good nouriſhment. The third difficulty is the paſſing of ſo many, and ſuch ſwift rivers.

The fourth inconvenience is the want of water to drink; for 'tis not poſſible, that in ſo great a journey, they ſhould not ſometimes miſs of freſh water to quench their thirſt. All theſe difficulties, and many others, which are obvious to travellers, are overcome by theſe *Indians* by length of time and patience; and they get at laſt to their own country, and are out of ſlavery, not by the means of gold or ſilver, but by the bravery of their minds.

The boldneſs of ſome Chilenians to avoid ſlavery.

The boldneſs of ſome other *Indians* was yet more remarkable: theſe were carried in a ſhip to be ſold as ſlaves at *Lima*, by a *Portugueſe* gentleman of the *Habit of Chriſt*, who was going about things belonging to war, at the time that I went the ſame voyage: this navigation is made commonly in ſight of the coaſt, more or leſs, according as the winds ſerve; but ſtill they keep a good way out at ſea, for fear of the rocks. Theſe *Indians* reſolv'd among themſelves to throw themſelves into the ſea, to avoid this ſlavery; and one day, when they found the ſhip in a proportionable diſtance to the ſhoar, ſo as they durſt venture to traſt to their ſwimming, they got looſe very dexterouſly from their fetters, and ſtill, without being perceiv'd, down by the ſhip's ſide into the ſea; and when they miſs'd them they were out of ſight, and ſo it was in vain to follow them. Among theſe priſoners there was an old man, who either becauſe he was not traſted by the others, or becauſe they had not the opportunity of acquainting him with the deſign, he not being ſhut up with them, but having the liberty of the ſhip as an old man, remain'd behind after they were gone. This *Indian* began to think of the thing, and to weigh with himſelf how his companions had undertaken and perform'd an extraordinary action; he reflected how they had arrived at their own land, and among their friends, who perhaps were enquiring about him, and that every body deſpiſ'd him as a coward, and a man of little ſpirit, ſince he had not been able to overcome the adverſe fortune which the others had conquer'd, but had ſubmitted to it: he repreſented to himſelf the welcomes and joys which their friends expreſs'd, and the feaſts and entertainments made for their return, and the embraces and careſſes which they receiv'd from their relations. All this, I ſay, made ſuch an impreſſion in his mind, and rais'd ſuch an emulation, that he could not bear the reproaches he made himſelf, particularly ſeeing himſelf without a remedy. At laſt, after much thought and penſiveneſs, he came to a reſolution, which was, to do ſomething which ſhould be bolder than what his companions had perform'd, and that in the manner of doing it; for he reſolv'd to do it by day, in the ſight of all the *Spaniards*; and for a beginning, he deſign'd to kill his maſter, not in the night, and without witneſſes, as he might eaſily have done, but upon the deck, in the ſight of all thoſe in the ſhip, to get himſelf a greater name of bravery. To this end, he took one day, a great knife in his hand, and fell upon the captain; and having wounded him in ſeveral places, with as much precipitation as he could, leap'd overboard with ſo much ſuddenneſs, that he ſlipp'd away from thoſe who endeavour'd to ſeize him. 'Tis to be imagin'd, they were all wonderfully ſurpriz'd at the reſoluteneſs

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An old Indian.

A deſperate old Indian.

OVALLE 1646. of the action: they immediately brought the ſhip too, and put out the boat in all the haſte that could be to follow the *Indian*, who ſwimming like a fiſh, was already almoſt out of ſight; but they overtook him, and bid him yield himſelf a priſoner, ſince he could not eſcape; and finding him ſtill endeavour to get away, they ſtruck at him with their launces, but he dexterouſly avoided all their ſtrokes with great preſence of mind, diving and appearing again where they leaſt expected him. Upon this they fir'd upon him, and wounded him in ſeveral places; but neither then did he yield, nor would ever had a thought of it, but the loſs of blood taking away his ſtrength, had made him unable to get away, ſo they brought him almoſt expiring to the ſhip, having more valued death with the reputation of a brave man, than life with the infamy of a coward, and the loſs of reputation among his own people. This fact does not only ſhew the bravery of the nation, but likewiſe their great averſion to go out of their own country, and how heavy a yoke they think ſubjection to be; and we ſhall ſee hereafter how much they have done to defend their beloved liberty.

Their marriages. Now let us ſpeak of ſome other cuſtoms theſe *Indians* have. They ſolemnize their marriages their own way, and in a very contrary manner to that of the *Europeans*; for as to the portion, the woman does not provide it, but the man; and neither of them enjoy it, but it paſſes to the propriety and uſe of the father of the young woman; ſo that the husband has a charge upon him of maintaining his wife without any help; nay, rather with leſs ability, for he parts with ſome of his ſubſtance to purchaſe her; ſo that in this country 'tis no charge at all to have many daughters, but rather a part of their eſtate and ſubſtance.

Daughters are no burthen, but rather riches to a father.

They take many wives; and the greateſt obſtacle they have to be converted to our religion, is this vice of *Poligamy*, which they embrace with great ſenſuality, though 'tis chargeable, becauſe at the ſame time 'tis a figure of power and riches. The firſt wife has ſome preheminence over the others, and has the ordering of them, yet they all look upon themſelves as lawful wives, and their children as legitimate; yet the ſon of the firſt inherits the eſtate and the honour of *Cacique*, and has a power over his other brothers.

How they manage poligamy.

Natural obedience to their Cacique. The ſubjects obey their lord with great punctuality, love, and reſpect; and for this reaſon they have no priſons nor ſtrong places to hold them in; for their natural love and reſpect they bear their *Cacique*, is a law inviolable in their hearts, and a reward of their obedience, which they ſhew in all regards that may pleaſe him.

When a *Cacique* has a mind to make war, he need not make proviſion of money for pay, without which, amongſt us, men will not fight, even for their king: he need only give out his orders, and they all come with arms and horſes, bearing their own charges during the enterprize; and this is the reaſon that they can aſſemble ſo powerful an army in ſo little time, they all looking upon the common cauſe as their own; and as they make the good of their country the motive of their arms, every one thinks himſelf ſufficiently rewarded if they can defend that from their enemies. The ſound of the drum and trumpet is only to ſhew them the neceſſity of their meeting in arms; at which they immediately leave wife and children, and all that is dear to them, with the hazard of never ſeeing them more, as it often happens.

Their wars voluntary, without pay.

In the diſtribution of the booty and ſlaves taken in war, there is no other method, than that every one has what he can get, ſo that the braveſt and moſt diligent are the beſt provided, without any obligation of giving any part of it to their captains or general; for in this they are all equal, and valour alone makes the diſtinction, which they ſhew in an eminent degree, being very deſirous to recover ſome of our arms, ſuch as guns, ſwords, launces; for they have no iron of their own. When they return from war, and find what men they have loſt, 'tis incredible what lamentations, cries, and tears, proceed from the widows and children of thoſe who are dead; and though this be a common ſentiment of humanity, practiſed amongſt all nations who value ſociety and proximity of blood, which are the foundation of friendſhip, yet the *Indian* women ſeem to ſurpaſs all others; for they do not cry in ſecret, but ſet up their notes, ſo that when any one hears them at a diſtance, it provokes more to laughter than moves to compaſſion. When a man dies at home, the manner of their expreſſing their ſorrow is more remarkable; for the women all get about the dead body, and the eldeſt beginning, the others follow all in the ſame tone; and thus they continue a great while, ſo that they never give over as long as they can hold out; and this cuſtom they preſerve, even after they are baptiz'd, and live among chriſtians; but not that which they had of opening the dead bodies, to know of what diſeaſe they died, and to put meat, and drink, and cloaths in their graves with them, as alſo jewels and things of value; neither do they cover their graves with pyramids of ſtones, nor uſe other ceremonies practiſed by the gentiles of thoſe parts.

Very brave. *Wans iron.* *The womens manner of mourning.*

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CHAP. VI.

Of the Chilenian Indians, *who inhabit the Iſlands of* Chile.

WE divided the kingdom of *Chile* into three parts, and the *Iſlands* made one: theſe are very well peopled: thoſe who live in the fertile *Iſlands*, which are capable of producing corn, and feeding flocks, paſs their lives as the *Indians* of *terra firma* do, eating fleſh and ſeveral fruits, the product of their *Iſlands*. Thoſe who inhabit the barren or leſs fertile *Iſlands*, eat fiſh of the ſea, and ſhell-fiſh, as alſo *Potatoes*; and ſome, who cannot have any wooll, cloath themſelves with the barks of trees.

Their cloathing. Some go ſtark-naked, though their climate is mighty cold, and by cuſtom do not feel the hardneſs of the weather overmuch.

Very ſingular. Others have a ſtrange way of cloathing themſelves, which is to gather a certain earth with roots about it, to give it a conſiſtency; and others cloath themſelves with feathers, as brother *Gregory* of *Leon* reports in his map. They are all tall men, and in

Giants. ſome places there are giants, as the *Dutch* relate, who ſay, they found ſkuls that would contain within them ſome of their heads; for they us'd to put them on like helmets: they found alſo dead mens bones of ten and eleven foot long, whoſe bodies by conſequence muſt have been thirty foot high, which is a prodigious thing. Thoſe whom they ſaw alive, were generally taller by the head and ſhoulders than the *Dutch*. This appears by the relation of general *Schewten*; and from that of *George Spilberg* we learn, that when they were in the *Streights* of *Magellan*, they came to an *Iſland*, which they call'd the *Iſland* of *Patagoons*, or giants, becauſe of ſome they ſaw there, and on the *Tierra del Fuego*. Among the reſt, they ſaw one who was upon a rock, to ſee the ſhips go by, and they ſay of him, that he was *immanis admodum, & horrendæ longitudinis.*

Likewiſe we know, from the fleet commanded by *Don Fray Gareia*, *Jofre de Loaiſa*, a knight of St. *John*'s order, that at the cape of the *Eleven thouſand Virgins* they found the footſteps of men of a large ſtature, and met two *canoos* of ſavages, whom, becauſe of their ſtrength and ſtature, they

Good rowers. call'd giants: they came near the ſhips, and ſeem'd to threaten them; but thoſe of the ſhip endeavouring to follow them, they could not come up with them, for they rowed ſo ſwiftly, they ſeem'd to fly. 'Tis

Canoos of whalebone. probable theſe canoos were made of the ribs of whales, which are there in abundance; and they found one before with the ſides and ſteerage of whalebone.

In another voyage, made by *Thomas Candiſh*, an *Engliſh* gentleman, they found in a port, (in a very inacceſſible place,) a company of *Indians*, very luſty men, who notwithſtanding the prodigious cold of that country, lived in the woods like ſatyrs, and ſhewed ſo much ſtrength, that they would throw ſtones of three or four pound weight a great way. We read likewiſe in the relation of the voyage of *Magellan*, that as he winter'd in the bay and river of *St. John*, there came to the ſhip ſix *Indians* ſo tall, that the loweſt of them was taller than the talleſt *Spaniard* aboard; that having made a great kettle of the ſweepings of the biſket for them, enough for twenty men, thoſe ſix eat it up entirely, without leaving a crum of it. *Magellan* gave them a ſort of coats of red wooll, with which they were much pleas'd, never having ſeen any before; their ordinary wear being deer skins. They learn'd from them, that in the ſummer they us'd to come down to the ſea-ſide to live, but in the winter they withdrew more into the heart of the country. We know likewiſe by theſe ſame authors, that the number of the *Indians* that inhabit thoſe coaſts, is conſiderable, particularly in the port called the port of *Sbell fiſh*; where as ſoon as they landed great numbers of *Indians*, with their wives and children, came to them, and exchanged with them great quantities of pearl, ready wrought in points, like diamonds, very artfully, for ſciſſars, knives, and other baubles; as alſo for *Spaniſh* wine, which pleas'd them extreamly; but they came no more, for they were frighted with ſeeing the *Spaniards* ſhoot ſome game.

The fleet of *George Spilberg* found alſo great numbers of inhabitants in the land, on the other ſide of the *Streight*; and when the captains, call'd the *Nodales*, were by the king's order to view the *Streight* of *St. Vincent*, they found, upon a point of land of that *Streight*, great ſtore of people. The ſame is ſaid by the *Saballas*, and others, who went from *Peru* to ſearch the *Tierra del Fuego*; and all thoſe who have paſs'd the *Streights*, have conſtantly ſeen men and inhabitants on the ſhoars in ſeveral places; and at one place ſome of *Spilberg*'s men landing to purſue ſome birds of a very fine colour, which they ſaw on ſhoar, had ſcarce begun to ſhoot them, but they were environed with *Indians*, who attacked them ſo furiouſly with clubs, that happy was he that could make his eſcape to the ſhip; and many of them were knocked on the head.

The

Ovalle. 1646.

The *Nodales* likewiſe ſaw in the bay of *St. Gregory* great numbers of inhabitants, with whom the ſeamen drove a trade, by exchanging ſome *Spaniſh* trifles for gold. By all which 'tis apparent how well peopled all that coaſt and the *Iſlands* are; yet we do not know what ſort of people inhabit the fourſcore *Iſlands* diſcovered by *Pedro Sarmiento*, for no body landed out of that fleet; but we know that the *Iſlanders* of *Mocha*, are a peaceable civil nation, ſeveral ſhips having touch'd there, and at *Sancta Maria*. As for the nation call'd the *Chonos*, they are a poor people, but good natur'd, as has been ſeen by the *Chilenians*, in whom the *Spaniards* have found great docility, and a good underſtanding.

The Iſlands and Streights are well-peopled by ſavages.

In the *Iſlands* diſcovered by *Francis Drake*, in about five and fifty degrees, of which we have already made mention, they met with canoos of men and women ſtark naked, which is the more remarkable, becauſe of the exceſſive cold of thoſe parts, where there is a continual night, without any appearance of day, when the ſun coming to the tropick of *Cancer*, makes our ſummer; and on the contrary, when he draws near the tropick of *Capricorn*, there is continual day, without any ſhadow of night.

Naked people in a very cold country.

And now lately, in the year forty three, the *Dutch* having ſent a fleet under the command of *Anthony Brun*, which paſs'd the *Streights* with a deſign to ſettle at *Valdivia*, as they endeavour'd; they ſail'd afterwards into ſeventy degrees, where they diſcover'd an *Iſland*, which they call'd *Barnevelt*, in which they ſaw the footſteps of men of large ſtature, and obſerv'd great ſmoaks: this place was ſo cold, that the *Dutch* could not endure the rigour of the weather, which was nothing but froſt and ſnow, it being then *June* or *July*, which is the depth of their winter; and a perpetual night, without ſeeing the ſun one hour in a day. 'Tis a wonder how thoſe *Iſlanders* paſs their time in ſo much cold and darkneſs, without any thing to cover their nakedneſs; for wanting commerce with *Chile*, or other parts in *Europe*, they have neither ſheep, nor goats, nor any thing that produces wooll fit to make them garments. It muſt be own'd, that men are quite other creatures than the nice imagination of ſome effeminate nations takes them to be; and human nature by cuſtom accommodates itſelf to the place where 'tis bred, ſo that very often men will not leave that place for any other more full of conveniency. 'Tis for this that theſe *Indians* ſhew ſuch an averſion to leave their country where they were born and bred; and though it be a miſerable one, and thoſe they go to more delicious, yet there is no ſweetneſs in any one like that of their own country.

Mankind naturally hardy.

There is a report likewiſe, that in the *Streights* of *Magellan* there are pigmies, but I know not upon what it is founded; for all the authors that relate the voyages made into thoſe parts, ſpeak always of giants, or men of a gigantick form, who exceed us in ſtrength and ſtature; and 'tis ſaid in one of theſe relations, That the ſhip's men, in a certain place, beginning to fight with theſe *Indians*, they pull'd up great trees by the roots, to uſe them as a retrenchment, as we may ſee in a picture in *Theodore* and *Jean de Brie*; but I cannot imagine how this report of pigmies was invented; and it ſeems to me a jeſt or irony, or, perhaps, among theſe giants there are ſome dwarfs.

A report of Pigmies.

That which was ſeen by the vice-admiral of *George Spilberg*'s fleet, was a body of about two foot and a half high, which was buried with another of an ordinary ſtature in a grave of very little depth, and cover'd after the *Indian* way, with a pyramid of ſtones, in an *Iſland* call'd the *Great Iſland*, about the ſecond mouth of the *Streights*; and from hence, perhaps, or from having ſeen ſome of that littleneſs alive, this report of *Pigmies* took its riſe.

This is all the account I can give of the inhabitants of the *Streights*, and *Iſlands* about it. Time will, perhaps, enable us to be more particular, when by commerce we are better acquainted with them; and then without doubt there will not be wanting authors to write about them.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Indians *of* Cuyo, *who are on the other Side of the* Cordillera, *to the Eaſt of* Chile.

THE *Indians* of the province of *Cuyo*, though in many things they are like the inhabitants of *Chile*, yet in many others they are not ſo. For firſt, they are not ſo white, but more copper-coloured, which may be attributed to the great heat they endure in ſummer. Secondly, they are not ſo cleanly, nor do not build ſuch neat houſes to live in; but their habitations are wretched; nay, ſome, who live in the marſhes, make themſelves holes in the ſand, into which they go like wild beaſts. Thirdly, they are not ſo laborious to cultivate their land, and ſo have not ſuch variety of product as thoſe of *Chile*. Fourthly, they are not ſo brave, nor warlike as the *Indians*

The Indians of Cuyo are copper colour'd.

of *Chile*: their language is likewise different, and so different, that I do not know one word of the one, that is in the other; but yet the language of *Chile* being so universal, that it is the same all over the kingdom, to the foot of the *Cordillera*; those of *Cuyo* learn'd it too, and that very perfectly; but I never observ'd that a *Chile Indian* spoke the language of *Cuyo*, which shews the advantage that the language of *Chile* has over the other.

In return of these advantages which the *Chilenians* have, those at *Cuyo* have some over them. And the first is in the stature, which is taller, but not so strong and well-set as the *Chilenians*, but rather raw-bon'd, without flesh. I do not remember I ever saw a fat *Cuyian* among so many as I have seen. They are likewise better workmen in some things which require patience and length of time, such as basket-work of several figures, all of straw; and yet so close work'd, that they will hold water; for which reason they make their drinking vessels of them; and as they cannot break by a fall upon the ground, they are very lasting, and the curiosities of this kind, which they make, very much valued for their work and colours.

Basket-work that will hold water.

Likewise they prepare several firs of animals, which they hunt; and they are very soft and warm for winter: they hunt and catch ostriches likewise, and make many works of their feathers, with which they adorn themselves on their festivals, mingled with the feathers of other birds. They likewise hunt the wild goats and deer, and are the masters of all the *Bezoar-Stones*, which they sell to the *Spaniards* so dear, that any one who should buy them to get by them, would make but a small profit in *Europe*.

The Cuyians more hairy than the Chilenians.

These *Cuyians* are also more hairy, and have more beard than the *Chilenians*, though they pull their hair as the others do, but with more trouble; and they never look so smooth as those of *Chile*. They are all well-shap'd, and nimble, and have a good air: they have also good understandings. The women are tall and slender, and I do not know that I ever saw taller: they paint their faces green, which is so well settled in their skin, that there is no getting it out: most commonly they paint only their nostrils, some their whole faces, and the men their beards and lips. Their habit is decent in both sexes: the women let their hair grow as long as they can, but the men only below their ears. In all other things are like the *Chilenians*.

The women paint their faces green.

They are very nimble, and good travellers, without tiring. I have seen them run up the stiffest and streightest hills of the great *Cordillera*, like so many goats; and this the women will do as well as the men; nay, the little children too. The women will run with their children in a cradle fastened to their backs by a strap that comes over their forehead; and with all this weight they follow their husbands with so much ease and agility, that 'tis wonderful. OVALLE. 1646.

For a proof of the admirable disposition of these people, in walking and running, a corrigidor and captain-general of that province told me a story about their hunting their venison, which is very singular: He told me, That as soon as they find their game out, they draw near them, and follow them upon a half trot, keeping them still in sight, without leaving them so much as to eat; and in a day or two they begin to tire them so as they can come up with them, and kill them, and return home loaded with them, where they feast upon them, with their families, till they have made an end: for these *Indians* are such gluttons naturally, that a few of them will eat up a calf, or a young heifer in a meeting: but they are as good at fasting, when they have nothing to eat; for they will pass several days with a little maize and some roots, which grow wild: they are also very dexterous archers, and often kill with their arrows the game they see. *A proof of their agility.*

I shall not omit a particular favour bestowed on these *Indians* by God Almighty, which is a singular instinct of tracing and following any lost thing. Of which I shall give two examples which happened in the city of *St. Jago*. *They pretend to an instinct of finding lost things.*

Our college had a cart belonging to it, which stood at the gate of a garden, to which our *Seminarists* did use to go to refresh themselves: it was stole one night, and being miss'd in the morning by one of our lay-brothers, he immediately went to find out a *Guarpe*, (for that is the name they give those finding *Indians*;) he presently fell upon the scent or piste, and followed it, taking with him the lay-brother, till he came to a river, where it fail'd him: but he lost not the hopes of finding it; he crossed the river, and recross'd it again, once and twice, by so many different fords, (the man that stole it, as he since confess'd, had cross'd so many times to break the piste to the follower.) After this he went four leagues outright, and there he found it, when the man that had it, believ'd himself most safe from being discover'd.

Another time, a certain person having lost a parcel of oranges, he employed a *Guarpe*, who having led him through many streets and turnings, brought him at last to a house; where finding the door shut, he bid him knock, and go in, for there, said he, are thy oranges: he did so, and found them. There are every day experiments of this kind made by them to admiration:

Ovalle. 1640. they are likewiſe ſtout workers, very ſtrong, and laſting in labour.

Next to theſe *Indians* of *Cuyo*, are the *Indians Pampas*, call'd ſo becauſe they inhabit thoſe vaſt plains, which are extended for about four hundred leagues to the eaſt, and reach to the north ſea. Thoſe of the point of *Los Venados* are the neareſt the kingdom of *Chile*, and are much of the ſame kind. *Build no houſes.* Theſe *Pampas* have no houſes, in which they differ from all mankind; for the firſt thing men generally do, is to cover themſelves from the inclemency of the air: and this is the thing which theſe *Pampas* do the leaſt care for; perhaps, they are of opinion, that 'tis an injury to the author of mankind, to look for more ſhelter than he afforded men at firſt, which is the earth, with the heavens for vault or cover; and that to defend themſelves from rain, it was enough to make any little cover, which might eaſily be taken away, and ſet up in another place.

This they obſerve; and look upon it as a ſort of priſon or captivity, to be tied to one place: for this reaſon they will neither have houſe, nor gardens, nor plantations, or poſſeſſions, which are like chains to hinder their removal to other places; for they *Love independency.* judge that the greateſt of all earthly felicities is to have the abſolute, entire, and independent uſe of their own free will; to live to day in one place, to morrow in another. Sometimes, ſay they, I have a mind to enjoy the freſhneſs of a river ſide; and being weary of that, I paſs to another. Otherwhile I have a mind to live in woods and ſolitudes; and when I am weary of their ſhades, I go to the open air of plains and meadows. In one place I hunt, in another I fiſh: here I enjoy the fruits of one territory; and when they fail, I ſeek out another, where they are beginning to ripen. In ſhort, I go where I will, without leaving behind me any thing I regret or deſire, which uſes to be the torment of thoſe who are fixed. I fear no ill news, for I forſake nothing I can loſe; and with the company of my wife and children, which I always have, I want for nothing.

This is the account that theſe people give of themſelves; and thus they paſs a life without cares; here to day, to morrow in another place; making in an inſtant, with four little poſts, a hut cover'd with boughs, or ſome hide of a beaſt. Their incomes are their bow and arrows, with which they provide them with fleſh, with which they drink water; only ſometimes they make their drink, call'd *Chicha*, of fruits of the trees, as they do in *Chile*. Their cloaths are ſome leaves for decency, and a skin, which is like a cloak, to cover them in other parts. They make holes in their lips, and put ſome glaſs or braſs pendant in them, and ſometimes ſilver ones. The men let their hair grow to their ſhoulders, and the women as long as it will. There ſeems to be one thing wanting to this nation, which all other *Indian* nations have, which is the bread they make of maiz, or wheat, and ſome of rice; but yet they do not want a ſupply of this kind; for becauſe they have not theſe grains, they make bread of the cods of a tree, which we in *Spain* call *Algaroba*; and becauſe that does not laſt long, they have invented a ſtrange ſort of bread made of locuſts, (nay, *Bread of locuſts.* I have heard of *Moſquites*;) but the locuſts uſe to be in ſuch vaſt quantities in thoſe great plains call'd the *Pampas*, that as I travell'd over them, I often ſaw the ſun intercepted, and the air darkened with flights of them.

The *Indians* obſerve where they lite to reſt; and thoſe plains being here and there full of thickets, they reſt in them, and chuſe the higheſt for ſhelter. This the *Indians* know; and approaching ſoftly in the night, they ſet fire to the thicket, which, with the high winds that reign in thoſe plains, is ſoon reduc'd to aſhes, and the locuſts with them. Of theſe they make great heaps; and as they are ready roaſted, they have nothing more to do, but to grind them to powder; of the flower of which they make a ſort of bread, which maintains them. To the ſame end they uſe an herb call'd *Cibil*, which, *The Yerva Cibil, its virtues.* either by pact with the devil, or by natural virtue, affords them a ſuſtenance for ſeveral days, only by keeping it in their mouths, where it makes a white foam, which appears upon their lips: it is a very diſagreeable ſight, and made me very ſick to ſee it.

Though theſe people are not ſo warlike as the *Chile Indians*, yet they are couragious, and have ſhewed it upon ſeveral occaſions. They are very dexterous at their bows and arrows, with which they make incredible ſhots. But beſides theſe, they have a very extraordinary ſort of weapon *A ſtrange ſort of weapon.* of a new kind, which is made up of two balls; the one bigger, and is a ſtone perfectly well rounded, about the bigneſs of an ordinary orange; the other is of a bladder or hard leather, which they fill with ſome matter of leſs weight than the ſtone: theſe two balls are tied ſtrongly to each end of a ſtrong whipcord, which they twiſt of a bull's pizzle: the *Indian* ſtanding on a high ground, takes the leſſer ball in his hand, and lets the other fly, holding it like a ſling over his head to take aim, and hit his adverſary with the heavy ball, which they direct to the head, or legs of their enemy; and thus they entangle him ſo, as to bring him to the ground, and then the *Indian* leaps from the height where he was, and without giving him time to *diſembara* himſelf,

himſelf, they kill him; and this inſtrument is ſo powerful in their hands, that it not only brings a man to the ground, but a horſe or a wild bull, which are very frequent in thoſe parts, ſince the coming of the *Spaniards* among them.

At this time they have no wars with any; for though they do not own a ſubjection, yet they carry themſelves to the *Spaniards* very friendly; and the reaſon is, becauſe they ſee their towns ſo populous and ſtrong, that it would be in vain for them to ſtir, or make any attempt againſt them: they have the liberty of going in and out as they pleaſe; and when they have taken a kindneſs for a *Spaniard*, there will come a troop of them in harveſt time to help him to get it in, and when it is over, they return to their own way of living: but there are others who come in troops to the high-way, and if the *Spaniards* are not well armed, attack them in their waggons; which reaſon they ſeldom ſet out but in great many together, and well provided for an encounter; but moſt commonly they are well pleas'd with ſome little preſent, which they ask very boldly, as if they were maſters of all the goods in the waggons: they generally are content with a little biſket or wine; but if the travellers are too niggardly, they are in danger all the way, and muſt owe their ſafety to their fire-arms.

BOOK IV.

Of the firſt Entrance of the *Spaniards* into the Kingdom of CHILE.

CHAP. I.

The Introduction to this Book.

HAVING hitherto treated of thoſe three parts, into which at firſt we divided the kingdom of *Chile*; of its ſoil and climate; of its temperature and properties; of its inhabitants, and their antiquity, nobility, and cuſtoms; the order of this hiſtory requires we ſhould now treat of the entrance of the *Spaniards* into their country; ſince by that it has been changed much for the better in many things: and although what we have already mentioned about the *flocks*, *fruit*, *bread*, *wine*, *oil*, *&c.* of which they had no idea before the *Spaniards* came among them; yet this is nothing in compariſon with the advantages they receive by the light of the goſpel, which by the means of the ſame *Spaniards*, was, and is communicated to them. Upon this conſideration, we may well excuſe ſome military exceſſes of covetouſneſs in ſome of the firſt diſcoverers and their ſoldiers, who as ſuch, and men who are bred in diſorder and confuſion, and uſed to imbrue their hands in blood where they find reſiſtance, had leſs regard to the ſtrict rules of juſtice towards the *Indians*. But this was againſt all the orders of their catholick majeſties, who from the beginning recommended moſt ſtrictly the preſervation of the privileges of thoſe poor people, charging all their governors, captains, conquerors, and royal miniſters, that they ſhould always have before their eyes, in the conqueſt of this new world, not ſo much the dilatation of their royal power and monarchy, as the propagation of the goſpel, and the kind uſage of the *Indians*, their converſion being the principal motive of the undertaking, as we ſhall ſee in its proper place.

But how is it poſſible, morally ſpeaking, that human actions, though never ſo well deſign'd upon high motives, ſhould not have a mixture of the incoveniencies which paſſion, not overcome by reaſon, produces? And ſo 'tis no wonder, that in the beginning of thoſe diſcoveries ſome diſorders ſhould happen, though they never were ſo exorbitant as ſome authors make them; and particularly in *Chile* they were much leſs, becauſe the inhabitants of thoſe parts made the *Spaniards* feel their valour at their very firſt entrance, where they found their progreſs oppoſed with greater vigour than they imagined.

But

Ovalle. 1646. But since this kingdom is one of the considerable parts of *America*, it will be necessary first to say something of the discovery of the new world; for this being the remotest part of it towards the south, it was necessary to pass all the rest before it could be discovered; and therefore, though I have not a design to make any relation but of the kingdom of *Chile*, I shall nevertheless touch upon the other discoveries, and follow the steps of the conquerors in order, as the histories of them do relate; so the subject of this book will be better understood, by opening the manner of the finding them, and the order of time in which this progress was made; and so place each kingdom according to its antiquity.

CHAP. II.

Of America *in general, and what Light may be found of it among the Antient Philosophers.*

AMERICA, called otherwise the *New World*, because of its late discovery, is now as well known as it was formerly hid for so many passed ages, not only to the vulgar, but to those piercing wits among the pagans, *Aristotle*, *Parmenides*, *Pliny*; and among the christian philosophers, to St. *Austin*, *Lactantius*, and others, who judged all that climate to be inhabitable that lay between the tropicks, founding their opinion upon a point of their philosophy, which was, That the preservation of the animal demanded by its temper the just proportion of the first four qualities, which they supposed could not be found under the torrid zone; for so they called it, because of the force of the sun upon it, it being all the year almost perpendicular to it; and having observed its effects on this side the tropicks, how it dries the earth in summer, consumes the fountains, thinking that if it did not withdraw to the other tropick, it would have entirely fired the earth, though refreshed by the nights, 'tis no wonder, if they were persuaded that where its beams were continual there could be no habitation for man.

But experience, which is the touch-stone of all philosophical discourses, has discovered that not only there is a plain passage, though troublesome, from one pole to the other, but also that those regions contained under the *Zodiack* have been, and are inhabited by innumerable nations; and that there are even under the *equinoctial* line, some places, as that of *Quito*, so temperate and healthful, that they are manifestly preferrable to several in the temperate *Zone*. This new world has, by common consent, been called *America* unjustly enough, as *Herrera* complains in the first book of his fifth *Decade*, by the crafty usurpation of this discovery appropriated to *Americo Vespusio*, instead of *Columbus*, who by this means is deprived of his true glory.

Quito temperate though under the line.

It is not easy to make out what knowledge the antients have had of this new world: *Marinco Siculo* pretends, in his *Spanish Chronicles*, that the *Romans* had known it, and made some conquests in it; and his foundation is, That in one of the gold mines of *America*, there was found a medal, or antient coin, with the figure of *Augustus Cæsar*; which, he says, was sent to the pope by *Joannes Rufo*, archbishop of *Cozensa*: but this is refuted, as ridiculous, by *Pedro Bercio* in his *Geography*; and 'tis not very probable, that that coin alone, and no other, should have been found in all this length of time, since the mines are working in the *West Indies*. But, besides, if the *Romans* had been once in possession of those parts, it would not have been easy to have lost all commerce with them, considering the great riches that communication produces; for the nations would have called in one another, as we see they have done since the discovery made by their catholick majesties, and their possessing of those parts, to which there goes every year so much people from *Europe*.

As to the *Roman* coin, 'tis probable, that some who passed from *Europe* with the first conquerors of the *Indies*, and out of a humour of spreading novelties, (which though little worth, are generally applauded by the vulgar,) feign'd he had found it in the mines; or it might fall from him, and be found by another, who carried it as a rarity to the bishop, who is said to have sent it to the pope. I am not ignorant that there are many arguments and conjectures, and those not contemptible, of some knowledge that the antients had of this so principal a part of our globe, which are related by *Abraham Ortelius Gorosio*, father *Acosta* of our company, in his first book of the *History of the Indies*, *Chap.* 11, 12, & 13. *Thomas Bosius*, *Book* XX. *Chap.* 3. *Malvenda*, frier *Gregory Garcia*, in the first book of the *Origin of the Indians*, taking their hints from *Plato*, *Seneca*, *Lucian*, *Arrian*, *Clemens*, *Romanus*, *Origen*, *St. Jerom*, and others, who seem to have had some knowledge of this new world. There may be seen in father *Pineda*, of our society, in the fourth book about *Solomon's Court*, *Chap.* 16. the words of *Abraham Ortelius*, which make very much to this purpose.

Ophir *said to be* Hispaniola.

Peru *how named.*

CHAP.

OVALLE. 1646.

CHAP. III.

What Light may be had from Scripture about this New Region.

THERE is another queſtion which ſeems to be better founded, than the firſt; and that is, What light may be had from ſcripture about theſe remote regions? becauſe there are many authors, who from theſe words of the ſecond of *Chronicles*, *Chap.* iv. *The ſervants of Hiram brought, with the ſervants of Solomon, gold from* Ophir, infer, that the ſcripture here ſpeaks of the *Weſt Indies*, and interpret *Ophir* to be *Peru*, or all *America*; and as the moſt famous *Chriſtopher Columbus* was the firſt who diſcovered it, ſo he ſeems to have been the firſt that uſed that expreſſion; for they ſay, that when he was in the iſland of *Hiſpaniola*, he often ſaid, that at laſt he was come to the deſired land of *Ophir*, as is related by *Peter Martyr*, in his fifth book of the *Decade of the Ocean*. But he who firſt ſet out this opinion in form, was *Francis Vatable*, who upon the third book of *Kings*, in the ninth chapter, and ſo on, makes *Ophir* to be the iſland of *Hiſpaniola*, and the continents of *Peru* and *Mexico*. He was ſeconded in his opinion by *Poſtel Goropio*, *Arias Montano*, *Antonio Poſſevino*, *Rodrigo Yepes*, *Boſius*, *Manuel de Sa*, and other authors, reported by *Pineda*, in his treaty *de rebus Solomonis*; which makes father *Martin del Rio*, of the company of *Jeſus*, ſay, that this opinion is not without good grounds; but he who defends it moſt vigorouſly, is father *Gregory Garcia*, of the order of St. *Dominick*, in his book *De Indorum Occidentalium Origine*, where he ſtrives mightily to clear this opinion from all objections and oppoſition.

Ophir ſaid to be Hiſpaniola.

The things ſaid by theſe authors are not of ſmall weight, though thoſe who would make an inference from the word *Peru*'s having a nearneſs to *Pharvim*, which is uſed by the ſeptuagint in 2 *Chron.* iii. where ſpeaking of the gold with which *Solomon* adorned his temple, they ſay, that it was of gold of *Pharvim*, which in the vulgate is tranſlated *Aurum Probatiſſimum*, or moſt pure gold, have againſt them a powerful adverſary, to wit, *Gareilaſſo de la Vega*, who affirms, that the name *Peru* is not the name of the land, but that the *Spaniards*, endeavouring to inform themſelves of the country, took an *Indian*, whoſe name was *Beru*; and that asking him what country they were in, and he imagining they asked him his name, he anſwered *Beru*; and the *Spaniards* thought he had ſaid *Peru*, and that that was the name of the country, which ever after was called ſo. That which, in my opinion, confirms moſt the belief of *Ophir*, is, that which *Solomon* ſays of himſelf in the book of *Wiſdom*, That he *knew the diſpoſition of the earth*; with which it ſeems that ignorance was incompatible; and that he could not but be informed of that great and principal part of the world; ſo that we may conclude he knew how to ſend his fleets thither, and bring home the riches of thoſe parts: and this may be more probable, if we conſider the great deſire he had of gathering together all the precious things from ſeveral parts of the earth, and the pureſt gold, for the ornament of the temple and houſe of God; for the gold of *Valdivia* and *Carabay* being the pureſt in the world, and the precious woods of odours that are in thoſe kingdoms, and *Paraguay* and *Braſil* the fineſt, it appears hard he ſhould not uſe all diligence to have them, they making ſo much to his end, which was to gather treaſure and precious things.

Peru *how named.*

Reaſons for Solomon's *knowing the land of* America.

That he could do it, there ſeems no reaſon to doubt, ſince we know he had a great and powerful fleet; and if this fleet ſpent always three years from the time of its ſetting out in the *Red Sea*, to the time of its return, as the interpreters of the ſcripture all ſay, in what could they ſpend ſo much time, but in going to the utmoſt bounds of the eaſt and weſt? and, 'tis poſſible, went round the world, as the ſhip *Victory* did ſince, in the ſame time; in which, the great Captain *Magellan* diſcovered and paſſed the *Streights* of his name; and ſince we know, that the fleets of the catholick kings do, in our days, penetrate to the utmoſt parts of the eaſt and weſt in leſs than a year's time, why could not the ſame be done by thoſe of ſo powerful and ſo wiſe a king as *Solomon*, who may be ſuppoſed to have underſtood himſelf, and inſtructed his captains and pilots in the art of navigation? Neither is it improbable, but he might know the uſe of the loadſtone, and the ſea compaſs, as ſome authors do affirm he did. This is yet more confirmed by what we have obſerved already about the knowledge and conjectures which the ancients had of this new world, of which he likewiſe could not be ignorant, but rather have a more particular inſight into them, being himſelf ſo perfect in the ſciences of coſmography and geography, as well as hydrography; all which he had by infuſion from God Almighty, that he might ſee into the errors of thoſe who believed there were no antipodes, nor that the torrid zone could be inhabited, denying the roundneſs of the earth, and other ſuch miſtakes.

Ovalle. 1646. *The course of Solomon's fleets.*

Laſtly, we know, that his fleets came to *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Africa*, and *Europa*; and to come to thoſe coaſts, 'tis certain, that if they ſet out at the *Red Sea*, it was neceſſary for them to ſail ſouthward to double the cape of *Good Hope*, and then north, and paſs the equinoctial line a ſecond time, as the *Portugueſe* do now in their voyages from *India* to *Portugal*. This being ſuppoſed, and that *Solomon* had the knowledge of *America*, 'tis probable he was not unacquainted with the communication of the *North* and *South Seas* by the *Streights* of *Magellan* and *St. Vincent*; for *Solomon* being ſo powerful, both by ſea and land; and ſo well inſtructed in all things, 'tis probable he cauſed thoſe ſhores to be ſearched, to find the communication of both ſeas, as it was ſince done by men much inferior to him in every thing, which were *Magellan*, and *Jacob le Maire*; or, it might be diſcovered by ſome ſhips driven by ſtorms into thoſe parts, as ſome ſay it befel the firſt diſcoverers of *America*.

This once ſuppoſed, thoſe who underſtand any thing of navigation, and the art of the ſea, cannot but know how much more eaſily a fleet, being placed at the cape of *Good Hope* in thirty ſix, may ſail ſouth to the fifty fourth degree, where the *Streights* of *Magellan* lie, than to ſail to the north above ſeventy two degrees, which it muſt do from the cape to *Europe*: from whence may be inferred what I ſay, that if it was true that his fleet came to *Africa* and *Europe*, and entered the *mediterranean* ſea, it was much eaſier to go to *Chile* and *Peru*; for from the *Streights* it might run before the wind all along that coaſt; and having taken in the gold, precious woods, ſilver, and other commodities, it might return by the ſame *Streights*, as *Pedro Sarmiento*, and others, have done to the *North Sea*, and ſo to the cape of *Good Hope* and the *Red Sea*: or, the fleet being in the *South Sea*, might ſail weſt to the *Philippine* iſlands; and from thence coaſting along thoſe parts we call the *Eaſt Indies*, it might take in all the eaſtern commodities; and ſo having gone round the world, return loaden with all the riches of eaſt and weſt, with pearls, diamonds, rubies, and other fine ſtones, as alſo muſk, amber, ivory, and other valuable eaſtern commodities; and from the weſt, with gold, ſilver, odoriferous woods, pearls, emeralds, fine dyes, rich and fine woolls, amber, and other riches, which were wanting to make up the opulency of *Solomon*.

Neither ought this to be thought impracticable, ſince 'tis made out already in theſe books, how eaſy the navigation would be from *Chile* to the *Philippine* iſlands in two or three months: the conveniencies of which navigation have been ſet out in the fourth chapter of the ſecond book; and we do know how the ſhip *Victory* did return that way, and ſo have many others ſince: by all which the poſſibility of *Solomon*'s navigation is made out, and that within the compaſs of the three years, in which they uſed to return to their port in the *Red Sea*; and if it did not do this, it can hardly be imagined, how it could employ ſuch a ſpace of time.

For theſe, and many more reaſons of this nature, our moſt learned *Pineda* retracts the contrary opinion, which he had publiſhed in his commentaries upon *Job*; becauſe, when he writ them, he had not ſo well examined, the grounds of the laſt opinion, nor weighed all the authority and ſtrength of conjectures that attend it; and, indeed, ſo far every prudent man would go, as not to deſpiſe and contemn an opinion of which he believed the contrary, if it were maintained with probability, and by perſons worthy to be hearkened to. Though, to ſay truth, if I muſt ſpeak what I think, that one reaſon which I gave above againſt the *Romans* having had knowledge of thoſe parts, [which is, That it appears incredible, that having once made the diſcovery, and enjoy'd thoſe mines, not only the communication with them, but the very memory of them ſhould be loſt,] ſeems, in my opinion, to be as ſtrong an argument againſt *Solomon*'s fleet; for if that did once overcome all the difficulties of that navigation, what cauſe could interrupt that commerce in ſuch a manner, as that the total remembrance of it ſhould be aboliſhed? 'Tis true, that as to the *Jews*, they were a people who did not care to live in foreign parts, nor ſettle among other nations, nor inhabit the ſea coaſts; for God Almighty was unwilling, that by the communication with the gentiles, they ſhould contract any of their cuſtoms; and therefore we do not know, that of all the race of their kings, any more than three went about any ſuch thing, which were *Solomon*, who compaſſed it, and *Joſophat* and *Ochoſias*, whoſe undertakings had no ſucceſs. By which it may be inferr'd, that when *Solomon* died, and the temple was finiſhed, this navigation was neglected, till at laſt it was quite forgot; beſides, that it appears from the *Chronicles*, and other places of ſcripture, that in thoſe times ſilver and gold were but little valued, the covetouſneſs of mankind not being arrived to the heighth it is at now a days: they did not think it worth leaving their houſes, to endure labour in the ſearch of them, and run all thoſe hazards which the voyagers to thoſe parts do undergo. This therefore might take off the edge and deſire which we ſee in the *Europeans*,

Reaſons againſt Solomon's having diſcovered America.

The maſs of ſilver brought from America.

peans, of continuing thoſe voyages; neither would they deſire to ſettle in thoſe parts; or if they did, the memory of them might be loſt. See *Padre Pineda*, particularly in the fifth ſection of the ſixteenth chapter, where he anſwers the arguments of the negative opinion; to which he gives very handſome ſolutions; and in particular, to thoſe who ſay, that *Solomon*'s fleet could bring nothing but gold and ſilver, as if this were nothing, or like ballaſt; and that this were not motive enough for him to ſend his fleets, for a thing of which it appears he made ſuch uſe, both for the temple and his own palaces; ſo that it does not ſeem poſſible he could have it all from the eaſt, but muſt have recourſe to the weſt, where there was ſuch a maſs of it, as is made out by what we have ſaid of the mines of *Chile*, and thoſe of the *Inga*, with thoſe trees, fruits, and plants of maſſy gold, and ſtatues of the ſame metal in his gardens; beſides what they call *Guaſcas*, where to this day they keep concealed a vaſt ſtore of thoſe riches gathered together for the liberty of the *Inga*, when the *Spaniards* had him priſoner; all which may be ſeen in what has been ſaid already in ſeveral chapters. OVALLE. 1646.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Diſcovery of America: *And by what means it was performed.*

AMONG the hidden and wonderful ſecrets of nature, we may reckon the ſingular virtue of the loadſtone, which has produced ſuch wonderful effects, as they ſeem more the object of our eyes than of our faith, as men; for who, if they did not ſee it, could believe the experiments made every day, which ſurpaſs all imagination? See the curious and elaborate treatiſe of father *Athanaſius*, *Kirker*, of our company, *de arte magnetica*; for there the moſt aſpiring mind after curioſities will find all he can wiſh about this matter, as well what is ancient, as what is modern, the whole treated with ſo much erudition and clearneſs, that the ſtudy of it is not leſs delightful than profitable. The ſame ſubject is alſo treated of excellently by father *Nicholas Cabeo*, of our company, in his book of *magnetical* philoſophy.

Among all the virtues of this rare ſtone, I think that its quality of taking up iron is not ſo admirable as that which it has had of drawing gold and ſilver to *Europe* from *India*; the maſs of which has been ſo great, that ſome curious perſons having made a calculation in this matter, which they underſtood very well, and reckoning the millions brought by the galleons and flotas, from the diſcovery of the *Indies* to their time; and having alſo computed the diſtance between *Europe* and thoſe parts, have found that there might have been made, from the one to the other, of bars of ſilver, a bridge of a yard and a half wide; ſo that if all that metal could be found now a-days in any one place, it would make a mountain like that of *Potoſi*, from which the greateſt quantity has been fetched; and for that reaſon it appears hollow, and bored through in ſo many places. We may therefore ſay of the loadſtone, that gold has given it a virtue like that of faith, to tranſport mountains, not only from one place to another, but from one world to another, through thoſe immenſe ſeas which ſeparate them.

The maſs of ſilver brought from America.

Who the firſt man was that applied this virtue to facilitate navigation, it is hard to prove by authors; for though we know that this ſtone was known to the *Jews*, and to the *Egyptians*, yet who firſt made uſe of the ſea-needle and compaſs, is very hard to find out. Some ſay it came from *China* to *Europe*: others, that it was found by the inhabitants of the cape of *Good-Hope*; and that *Vaſca de Gama*, met with ſome of their veſſels, when he made the diſcovery of the cape, who uſed this inſtrument: others give the glory of it to the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe*: others to a man of the kingdom of *Naples*, called *John Goyas*, of the city of *Amalfi*, who was rather the man that perfected this invention, being himſelf an experienced ſeaman. But let every one have his opinion, it is not my buſineſs to decide; I only ſay, that to this admirable virtue of the loadſtone we owe the diſcovery of *America*: for though ſome authors ſay, that *Solomon*'s fleet ſailed by the obſervation of the ſtars, the winds, the flight of birds, and other ſigns, with which they ſupplied the want of this uſeful invention, not then known according to the common opinion, (though the contrary is not altogether improbable,) yet it muſt be owned that the uſe of this ſea-needle has been the thing that has facilitated the navigation, ſo as the firſt diſcoverers, truſting to this, durſt venture into vaſt ſeas, and paſs the gulph which leads to that remote and unknown world, ſo as to land in it; which was a performance worthy of immortal memory to the man who undertook and executed it.

The inventor of the needle at ſea.

This man was the moſt famous captain *Don Chriſtopher Columbus*, a *Genoeſe*, whom the *Spaniards* in their language call *Colon*, who, though he were not, as he was, nobly deſcended, might have given by himſelf nobility and fame to his deſcendants, and to

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to his noble and illuſtrious country; for if this commonwealth had had only this ſon, it might draw fame enough from him alone, ſince his generous and bold mind was capable of overcoming all the difficulties which he met with in the project and execution of this enterprize, the more to be eſteemed by the great advantages procured by it to both worlds: to this, by that vaſt increaſe of riches, of which a great deal is conſecrated upon the altars in churches, beſides what is employed in the furniture of princes and great men; and to the other world, the benefit of the light of the goſpel, by which it is ſo much more poliſhed and meliorated in all ſenſes.

Neither does that which *Gareilaſſo de la Vega*, and others, do relate, any ways affect the glory of this great man, when they ſay, that he undertook this deſign upon the knowledge communicated to him by a man whom he entertained, and who died in his houſe as his gueſt; for we muſt own that his chief praiſe does not come from what he knew of this new world before he undertook to find and conquer it, but from his generous mind and conſtancy in purſuing his enterprize; and this is all his own, which puts juſtly the laurels upon his head, and makes his memory immortal in ſpite of time and envy, though one would think no body ſhould have any for the common benefactor of two worlds. That which theſe authors relate about this hiſtory, is, That a pilot, an inhabitant and native of the town of *Guelva*, in the county of *Niebla*, in *Andaluſia*, called *Alonſo Sanches de Hualva*, or as others ſay, *Buxula*, uſed to trade with a ſmall veſſel to the *Canaries*; and that one time, in his return to *Spain*, he met with a mighty ſtrong *Levant*, which was ſo powerful, that in twenty days he found himſelf in one of the iſlands of the *Weſt-Indies*, one of thoſe which we call the *Iſlands* of *Barlovento*, or the *Windward Iſlands*, and 'tis judged it was *Hiſpaniola*; from whence, fearing to periſh for want of proviſion, he returned to the *Iſland* of *Madera*, having endured ſo much, that almoſt all his company died, and himſelf came in ſuch a condition, that though *Columbus*, who loved ſea-faring men, and for that reaſon had choſen that *iſland* to live in, received him, into his houſe, and took great care of him, yet he died; but before he died, being willing to make ſome return for the kindneſs received, he called *Columbus* to him, and left him, as an inheritance, the journal he had made, with the rhumbs of wind both going and coming, and all others his obſervations in the voyage, and about the place where he landed.

The ſtory of the pilot who died in the houſe of Columbus.

This is thus related by *Gareilaſſo de la Vega*, and father *Joſeph d'Acoſta*, who ſays, he does not know the name of this pilot who left this legacy to *Columbus*: and this he attributes to the particular providence of God, who would not have the honour of this diſcovery be owing to any human induſtry, but immediately and entirely to the divine majeſty, to whoſe diſpoſition we ought to attribute, ſo much as appears contingent and caſual in this ſhip's miſcarriage, from its courſe and all the other accidents attending that ſtorm, till the pilot was brought to die in the houſe of him whom God had choſen for a ſecond cauſe and chief inſtrument of this enterprize; who being of himſelf a great philoſopher and coſmographer, compared theſe notions which he had from his dying gueſt, with his own ſpeculations which he had long had upon the ſame ſubject; and this made him reſolve to undertake what he afterwards accompliſhed. In order to this he began to conſider of thoſe who were likelieſt to aſſiſt him; and firſt of all, he offered it to his own country, who took it for a dream; after this, to the kings of *Portugal*, *France*, and *England*; and at laſt he addreſſed this rich offer to their catholick majeſties, for whom it was deſigned, from the beginning, by him who had reſolved, in his providence, to amplify their monarchy by the addition of ſo many rich and powerful kingdoms, as they have acquired in this new world.

Columbus offers his diſcovery to Genoa, France, Portugal, and England, *who all refuſe it.*

Ferdinand and *Iſabella*, who are worthy of immortal glory, having examin'd the grounds *Columbus* went upon, and the honour might be done to the croſs of chriſt, and to the preaching of his goſpel, if this enterprize ſhould take effect, having ſeriouſly conſidered of it for eight years together, they commanded all neceſſary proviſions to be made, without ſparing any charge, or minding the contingency of a deſign ſo new, ſo difficult, and ſo much without example.

Ferdinand and Iſabella accept it.

CHAP. V.

Don Chriſtopher Columbus *ſails from* Spain *in ſearch of the New World.*

IN the year of the birth of our ſaviour 1492. upon the third of *Auguſt*, about half an hour before ſun-riſe, (the happieſt day that ever ſhined upon our *antipodes*, as being the beginning of their greateſt felicities,) *Don Chriſtopher Columbus*, the moſt famous *Genoeſe* that ever was, ſailed from *Spain*, with the title which he had received from

from *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, of admiral of the ſeas of all thoſe countries he ſhould diſcover and conquer; ſo leaving behind him the famous *herculean Streights*, as diſdaining their *Non-plus-ultra*, and laughing at their pillars, he launch'd into the vaſt ocean, and begun his navigation with no leſs confidence than admiration of thoſe who ſaw him leave the ſhore and ſteer a courſe never before attempted, by new rhumbs of winds. Having touch'd at the iſland of *Gran Canaria*, he again ſailed from thence the firſt of *September*, with ninety in company and proviſions for a year. After ſome days of navigation he began to find himſelf near the tropick of cancer, and under the *torrid zone*; whereupon his men who had been bred in the temperate climates of *Europe*, being impatient of heats, which they never before had experienced, and wearied with ſeeing nothing but a vaſt ocean without land, began to enter into diſtruſt of diſcovering any. At firſt they murmured only between their teeth; but at laſt, ſpeaking out boldly, they came to their captain *Columbus*, and endeavoured by all means to diſſuade him from purſuing his diſcovery, as vain and without hopes of ſucceſs; and that it would be much better to return back to *Spain*; but he with a generous mind being deaf to all their perſwaſions, purſued his voyage with conſtancy. His men perceiving ſtill how he went further from *Spain*, and that they had almoſt worn out their eyes with looking out from the top-moſt-head of the ſhip, without finding any appearance of land, renewed their inſtances and reaſons; and that the more earneſtly, by how much they perceived every day the conſumption of their water and proviſions; calling now that temerity, which before they ſaid might be conſtancy: for they alledged that the time was increaſed, their proviſions leſſened, the winds ſcarce, and calms to be feared; no land in view, its diſtance not to be known nor gueſſed at; that the danger was certain, and no avoiding to periſh, if they ſtaid any longer; therefore, ſaid they, let us ſecure our lives, except we intend to be a fable and laughing-ſtock to all mankind, and looked upon as our own murderers.

Columbus had but ninety in two ſhips.

Columbus offers his diſcovery to Genoa, France, Portugal, and England, who all refuſe it.

Ferdinand and Iſabella accept it.

To ſay truth, it cannot be denied but this was an urgent danger, and greater perhaps than can be imagined by thoſe who never were in the like trials; for when no leſs then life is at ſtake, all dangers appear great, and particularly at ſea: beſides, theſe allegations were of themſelves of great conſideration, and capable of ſhaking the greateſt conſtancy and valour; yet the courage of the great *Columbus* was ſuch, and ſo ſingular his prudence, that ſometimes diſſembling, and ſometimes taking no notice of what he heard, but talking to this man and the other in private, and then comforting them all up in general, and giving them ſome account of his well-grounded ſpeculations, he ſo fed them with hopes and expectations, (he himſelf ſhewing no diſtruſt of ſucceſs,) that he brought at laſt his project to a happy iſſue. They were following their voyage thus, through all the inconveniencies of heat, ready to ſtifle them, when on a ſudden a voice was heard crying *Land, Land*: they all flew to the prow and ſides of the ſhip, and fixed their eyes on the horizon like ſo many *Argus's*, to find out the land which ſeemed to appear like a cloud upon the ſea. The deſire of getting to it made ſome doubt, if it were land or clouds; but others were more confident: ſome aſſure it to be low land; others think they ſee rocks, and a large extended ſhore; and all was but gueſs, occaſioned by the great diſtance they were at ſea from any land; for in truth it was not land but clouds. And this was an invention of *Columbus*, their admiral, who ſeeing them almoſt ready to mutiny, made uſe of this artifice to prevent the ill effects of their deſpair, cauſing this voice to be heard to give them a ſhort joy, and amuſe them.

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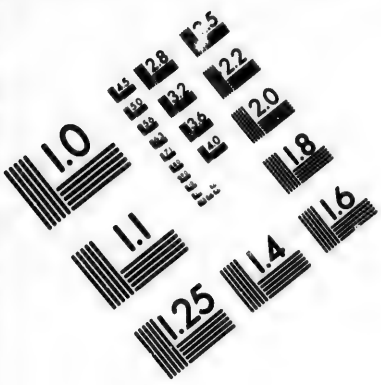
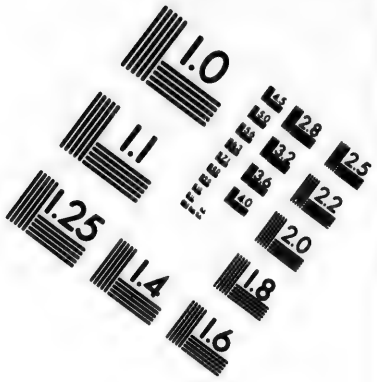
This ſucceeded well for that time: he ſteered his courſe towards this pretended land till night; and when they were aſleep he ſet his prow to the weſt, in ſearch of the true land: but in the morning when it was day, ſeeing thoſe clouds, which they took for land, vaniſhed as it often happens in long navigations, they began to afflict themſelves a-new, and remonſtrate to the admiral boldly to his face which I do not wonder at; for beſides the danger of periſhing with hunger, they found themſelves in a climate ſo ſcorching and fiery, that in the third voyage that the admiral made, they being becalmed eight days, about the ſame place, were afraid the ſun would have ſet fire to their ſhips; for all his casks flew under decks, the hoops ſmoaking as if they had been ſet on fire, and the wheat was all in a ferment; and the ſalt fleſh was, as it were, boiled again, and ſtunk ſo, that, to avoid infection, they were forced to throw it overboard.

The admiral was thus purſuing his voyage, in which patience was his moſt neceſſary habit, to endure the terrible perſecution of his own people; when on the 11th day of *October*, of the ſame year, it pleaſed God to crown all his invincible ſufferings, and the confidence he had in him, firſt, by manifeſt ſigns of land, which in ſuch occaſions do generally put a ſtop to all complaints and afflictions, and are the beginning of joy and content, which is followed with forgetting all paſt ſufferings. The

Signs of land.





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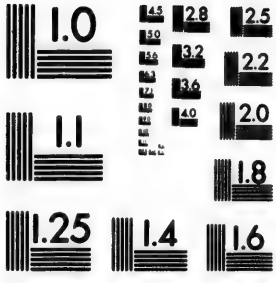

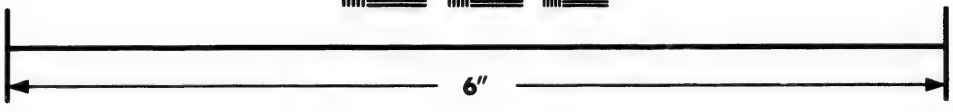

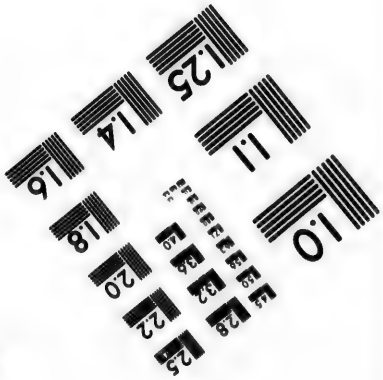

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Ovalle. 1646.

firſt thing they ſaw was a bough of a tree new cut, with its fruit on it, which though a kind of thorn, was a branch of olive to the inhabitants of this new ark; another had ſeen green fiſh, and ſome pieces of wood floating; all which were clear marks of land not far off, as to the navigators from *India* are the quantity of ſea-weeds which meet them about ten leagues from the coaſt of *Spain*. The joys which ſailors and paſſengers ſhew generally at the ſigns of land, the capers they cut, and embraces they make each other, with their congratulations to the pilot, their thanks to heaven, nay, the tears they ſhed, and devout prayers they make to God and the virgin *Mary*, in acknowledgment of their protection; all theſe are not ſo much matter for my pen, as for ſight and ſenſe. All this happened to the admiral's company, which not only forgot their ſufferings, and the hatred they bore to the author of them, but they run and threw themſelves at his feet, as admiring and congratulating his conſtancy, and begging his pardon for ſo many hard thoughts, and as hard words, they had entertained, and let fly againſt him: he received them all with embraces and marks of benignity, aſſuring them that by the end of that day they ſhould be within ſight of land, and having ſaid this, he went upon the higheſt part of the ſhip's ſtern, as being deſirous to be the firſt, that ſhould give them the good news of diſcovering land.

There was a rent of ten thouſand *Maravedies* a year for the firſt diſcoverer, which made them all look out with great attention; ſome on one ſide, and ſome on the other ſide of the ſhip, fixing their eyes where they thought it was moſt probable to find land; but it was about two hours before midnight, when admiral *Columbus* diſcover'd a light, and calling to two officers, ſhewed it them; and preſently he perceiv'd that the light chang'd *place*, for it was a light carried from one houſe to another, as was known afterwards when they landed: they ſail'd on towards that light, and about two hours after midnight they diſcover'd land, which was at the ſame time made by the other ſhips in company, whereupon there were many claims for the *Albricias*; but at laſt they agreed that the *Albricias* belong'd to the admiral, becauſe he firſt diſcover'd the light: this was confirmed by *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, king and queen of *Spain*, and ſettled upon the ſhambles of *Seville*, as the beſt fund for the admiral.

Herrera, the *chronologiſt*, makes his reflections upon this light, and moralizes upon it, that it ſignified the ſpiritual light, which thoſe nations wanted, and which was now brought to them from *Europe* by theſe diſcoverers; as a proof likewiſe of the piety of the catholick kings, who having made war upon the *Moors* for three hundred and twenty years, had hardly finiſh'd it; but they put their ſhoulders to this new conqueſt, to ſpread by their means the glory of the goſpel, and make the voice of it to be heard to the utmoſt limits of the earth, making out by this manifeſt proof, how firm ſupports they were to the faith, ſince they were conſtantly employed in propagating of it. Thus far *Herrera:* to which I may add, that the light *Columbus* ſaw in the middle of the night, was the tacit working of reaſon, which being buried in profound errors, did yet throw out ſome ſparks from under thoſe aſhes, and cry to heaven for the enlivening ſpirit to deliver it, and by the means of Chriſt revive it, ſo as to enlighten that gentiliſm, ſo long overwhelm'd in darkneſs, and for ſo many ages paſt buried, as it were, in the ſhadow of death.

Thus it was; and as ſoon as day broke they landed: the admiral carried with him the royal ſtandard ſpread, the other captains having in theirs the banners of this conqueſt, which were prepared, and had in them a green croſs crown'd, and round about the names of *Fernando* and *Iſabella*, to ſignify the hopes that thoſe princes had entertain'd to make ſubject, and lay at the feet of the crucified Jeſus, the crowns and ſcepters of thoſe powerful monarchs of that new world; they themſelves having firſt ſubmitted their own, that there might be no crown, command, nor lordſhip, but that of the exaltation of the croſs. *Columbus lands, and takes poſſeſſion.*

To this end, as ſoon as the admiral landed, kneeling down with all his company, he kiſſed it once, and twice; and lifting up his eyes to heaven, all in tears, he ador'd our Lord God of all things, who had brought him thither, thanking him for his favour, and doing homage to him in the name of thoſe people, who were to be brought to his knowledge; in ſign of all which, and the poſſeſſion he then took, he call'd that iſland *Saint Salvador:* he raiſed alſo a moſt beautiful croſs, which was a declaring war to hell, to make it renounce the poſſeſſion of that land, which for ſo many ages it had tyranniz'd over. *One of the Iſlands ſtyled Lucaick.*

The admiral being roſe up, they all approach'd, and not only embrac'd him, but carried him upon their ſhoulders in triumph, as having perform'd the greateſt work that ever man attempted, or brought to paſs. Immediately after this, the admiral, in preſence of a notary, took poſſeſſion of that land in the name of their catholick majeſties, and caus'd himſelf to be own'd as viceroy, and as ſuch they began to own him, and obey him in all things. *Cuba diſcovered.*

This

This iſland, which we ſhall call *Saint Salvador*, was about fifteen leagues in length, very woody, and having good water, with a lake of freſh water in the middle of it, and well inhabited by the *Indians*, who call'd it in their tongue *Guanaani*; and it is one of thoſe which ſince have been call'd the *Lucaicks*. It is nine hundred and fifty leagues from the *Canaries*. OVALLE. 1646.

CHAP. VI.

WHEN the *Indians* ſaw ſuch great bulks in the ſea, with great ſails, and the whole unlike their canoos, and they were drawn near the ſhore, they remain'd aſtoniſh'd and beſide themſelves, becauſe tho' by their motion they gueſs'd them to be living things, yet for their bigneſs they took them for ſome ſtrange ſea-monſters, never ſeen before on thoſe coaſts. The ſhips came to an anchor cloſe by the ſhore, and the admiration of the *Indians* increas'd ſtill ſo much the more, ſeeing white men come out of them with beards and cloaths; yet they did not run away, but drew near without fear, the rather when they ſaw that the *Spaniards* began to preſent them with bells, needles, and other things of *Europe*, which pleas'd them extremely, as being new to them: in return they gave the *Spaniards Gold*, *Proviſions*, and other things of their country: they came ſome in their canoos, and ſome ſwimming to the ſhips, where it was wonderful to ſee how they valued every thing, even to the bits of glazed diſhes, or broken earthen ware, that lay about the ſhips, which they gather'd up as jewels which they had never ſeen. And to ſay truth, moſt things borrow their value from their rarity; and for this reaſon they had as little value for gold and pearls, which were things very common among them, they exchanging whole ſtrings of pearls, and ſome of them as big as peaſe and *ſmall nuts*, for needles and bells, as happened in the *Iſlands* of the *Margarita*; ſo great is the difference in the eſtimation of things common, or rare ones. The admiral having here got an account of ſome other *Iſlands*, went out to diſcover them; and the ſecond he found he nam'd *Santa Maria de la Conception*, dedicating it to the queen of heaven: the third he call'd *Fernandina*, of the king *Don Fernando*: the fourth he nam'd *Iſabella*, in conſideration of his miſtreſs queen *Iſabella*. Of all theſe he took poſſeſſion in the name of their majeſties, by ſetting up their royal ſtandard before a publick notary, with the ſame ſolemnity and ceremonies obſerv'd in the taking poſſeſſion of the firſt *Iſland*.

Columbus *lands, and takes poſſeſſion.*

Cuba *diſcovered.*

On a *Saturday*, the 29th of *October*, they diſcover'd the famous *Iſland* of *Cuba*, where the *Havana* is: there the *Indians*, frighted to ſee the *Spaniards*, whom they thought deſcended from heaven, went to them kiſſing their hands and feet. The admiral's laſt diſcovery was of the *Iſland* call'd *Hiſpaniola*, where he met with a great deal of gold, and ſome birds and fiſhes, like thoſe of *Caſtile*. Here the cacique *Guacanagari* received him with much humanity; and in his land he made the firſt *Colony*, or ſettlement of *Spaniards*, which he nam'd the city of the *Nativity*.

The *Spaniards* generally were receiv'd in theſe and other the *Barlovento Iſlands*, and on the coaſts of *terra firma*, with much love and kindneſs, very few of the *Indians* offering to reſiſt them. On the contrary, they all were pleaſed with their coming upon their lands, furniſhing them with all that the country afforded, and preſenting them with gold, pearls, parrots; contenting themſelves with a return of a very ſmall value. Of the *European* things, thoſe they ſeem'd moſt to mind, were needles; and at firſt they could not imagine what they were good for; but being told they were to ſew, they anſwered they had nothing to ſew; but yet they kept them, becauſe they had never ſeen any thing of iron or ſteel. They were much ſurprized at the uſe of ſwords, and particularly when they had experienced their ſharpneſs; for at firſt they us'd to take hold of them by the edge with great ſimplicity.

The ſimplicity of the Indians.

The admiral, as viceroy of thoſe new kingdoms, began to govern, as he diſcover'd them; and that he might regulate them the better, by conſulting their majeſties in his doubts and difficulties, he made two voyages backwards and forwards to *Spain*, ſtill making in his returns diſcovery of ſome new *Iſlands*, and amplifying the monarchy, as hiſtorians do relate at large, to whom I refer myſelf, not to engage in matters which are far from my ſubject; but I cannot but make ſome reflection upon what happen'd to this great man. Who would not have thought, conſidering the happineſs with which he had executed all that he deſign'd, in the moſt difficult ſubject in the world, that he was eternizing his felicity, and putting fortune under his feet? But that no one may ſtrive to do it, but that all may know how conſtant is her volubility, and how perpetual the motion of her wheel, and that there is no human power, nor ſtar, can fix it, I will relate here briefly what befel him.

Let him who governs be undeceiv'd once for all, and know, That to ſit upon a throne, and take poſſeſſion of power, is to be a mark

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But he exceeding his commiſſion, and the intention of their majeſties, took all the informations againſt the admiral and his brothers, and without hearing them, made himſelf be own'd for judge and governor, giving rewards, and publiſhing, that he came to relieve the oppreſſed, and to pay their ſalaries, and put all things in good order. This drew over to him all thoſe who had any grudge to the admiral, and moſt of the common ſort ſided with him; ſo he entered into the houſes of the admiral and his brothers, ſeized their goods and their papers; all which he might ſafely do, without any reſiſtance, for the admiral was away: he ſent to ſeize him and his brothers, putting irons upon their feet, and ſo ſhipping them into a veſſel, call'd a *Caravel*, he ſent them away for *Spain*, to give an account of themſelves.

When they came to put irons upon the admiral, there was none ſo bold as to do it, out of the reſpect that all had for him; and if he had not had in his family a rogue of a cook, who was villain enough to do it, they had not found any one to execute ſo barbarous a command. When *Columbus* ſaw himſelf put in chains by his own ſervant, 'tis ſaid, that ſhaking his head, he pronounced theſe words, full of reſentment for his uſage; [*Thus the world rewards thoſe who ſerve it; this is the recompence that men give to thoſe who truſt in them. Have the utmoſt endeavours of my ſervices ended in this? Have all my dangers and ſufferings deſerv'd no more? Let me be buried with theſe irons, to ſhew that God alone knows how to reward and beſtow favours, of which he does never repent; for the world pays in words and promiſes, and at laſt deceives and lies.*]

Columbus in irons.

His ſingular expreſſions for it.

Having ſaid this, the ſhip ſet ſail; and as ſoon as he came to *Spain*, their majeſties, when they were inform'd of the priſon of the admiral, were much concern'd; for by no means, had that been their intention. They ſent for him to come before them; but his tears and ſighs were ſuch, that in a great while he could not ſpeak; at laſt he ſaid, aſſuring their majeſties of his great zeal for their royal ſervice, which had always been his guide, that if he had fail'd in any thing, it was not out of malice, nor on purpoſe, but becauſe he knew no better.

Their majeſties comforted him, and particularly the queen, who favour'd him moſt; and after ſome time, in which the truth of the matter was made out, they order'd, That all that the commander *Bobadilla* had confiſcated of the eſtate of the admiral and his brothers, ſhould be reſtor'd to them; as alſo, that the capitulation with them ſhould be obſerv'd, as to their privileges and exemptions. After this, the admiral return'd a fourth time to the *Indies*, in an honourable way; and employing himſelf in new diſcoveries, he arriv'd upon the coaſt of the *terra firma* of *America*, the ſecond of *November*, 1502. and coaſting along by *Cubija*, arriv'd at the port; which, becauſe it appear'd ſo good a one, and the country ſo beautiful, well cultivated, and full of houſes, that it look'd like a garden, he call'd *Puerto Bello*, or the *Fine Port*, having diſcover'd other iſlands in the way, and endur'd very bad ſtorms. At laſt returning back by ſome of thoſe places which he had diſcover'd, taking, as it were, his leave of them, and returning to *Spain*, to order there a better ſettlement of affairs, he died at *Valladolid*, where the court was, making a very chriſtian end, and giving great ſigns of his predeſtination.

Columbus dies at Valladolid.

CHAP. VII.

After the Death of Columbus, *the* Caſtillians *purſue the Diſcovery and Conqueſt of the new World.*

AMONG thoſe who accompanied the admiral in his firſt diſcovery, there was one *Vincent Yanes Pinzon*, who being a rich man, ſet out four veſſels at his own charge. He, at his return to *Spain*, ſet ſail from the ſame port of *Palos* upon new diſcoveries: he firſt came to the iſland of *St. Jago*, which is one of the *Cape Verd* iſlands: he ſet ſail from thence the thirteenth of *January*, in the year 1500. and was the firſt who paſs'd the *equinoctial* line, by the north ſea, and diſcover'd *Cape St. Auguſtin*,

Auguſtin, which he call'd the *Cape of Conſolation*, taking poſſeſſion of it for the crown of *Caſtile*; from thence he found the river *Maragnon*, which is thirty leagues over, and ſome ſay more at its entrance, the freſh water running forty leagues into the ſea; then coaſting towards *Paria*, he found another river very large, though not ſo broad as *Maragnon*: they took up freſh water out of it, twenty leagues at ſea. He diſcover'd in all a coaſt of ſix hundred leagues to *Paria*, and loſt two ſhips in a terrible ſtorm that he endur'd. We have ſeen alſo in the laſt chapter, that *Columbus* had diſcover'd the iſland of *Cuba*, though he could never ſail round it, being hinder'd by the ſtorms and ill weather; ſo he died without knowing whether it was an iſland, or no, for he judged it to be rather a point of ſome continent; but it is a very large iſland, with many fair ports, and mountains full of precious odoriferous woods of cedar, ebony, and many others; and there are in it ſeveral cities of *Spaniards*, and among the reſt

The Havana. the ſtrong fortreſs of the *Havana*, which is a *Scala* or rendezvous for the galleons and flotas, loaded with ſilver from the *Weſt Indies*: this is one of the beſt fortifications the king of *Spain* has in all his dominions. But, in my opinion, that which makes this iſland moſt valuable, is, the good nature and docility of thoſe who are born in it; which was a product of that ſoil before ever the *Spaniards* trod it, as they ſhewed to *Columbus*, and thoſe who came after him, receiving them with all kindneſs and humanity.

To further what the admiral *Columbus* had begun, God raiſed an inſtrument in the perſon of *Vaſco Nunnes de Balboa*, one of the firſt diſcoverers of this new world; a man of a good underſtanding, as he ſhewed upon the occaſion which I ſhall now relate. He was, with others, upon the diſcovery with general *Enciſo*, the governor: they came to a place call'd *Uraba*, and as they enter'd the port, by negligence of the ſteerſman, the governor's ſhip ſtruck upon a ſand, and was loſt, nothing being ſaved out of her but the lives of the men, who got into the boats, but naked, and in danger of periſhing for want of proviſion. *Vaſco de Nunnes* ſaid, That he remember'd there was not far off a river, the banks of which were inhabited by much people: he guided them thither; and the thing being found to be as he had ſaid, he gain'd great reputation among them all. They came thither, and found the *Indians* in arms againſt the *Caſtilians*, whoſe name was already become odious to thoſe nations: they made a vow to our lady, to dedicate to her the firſt ſettlement and church to the honour of her image, under the title of *Sancta Maria la Antigua*, or the ancient *St. Mary*, which to this day is venerated in *Seville*; and to ſend her many rich gifts of gold and ſilver, which one of them, as a pilgrim, ſhould carry in the name of the reſt. Being encourag'd by this vow, they fell upon the *Indians*, and obtain'd the victory. OVALLE. 1646.

Preſently they made a ſettlement, and built a town, dedicated to the virgin, calling it *Sancta Maria el Antigua* of *Dairen*, becauſe that was the name of that river. After this, to accompliſh their vow, they ſent the promis'd preſents to the devout image of the virgin.

The good opinion of *Vaſco de Nunnes* increaſing thus daily, and having cunningly order'd it ſo, that *Enciſo* reſign'd his government, they choſe *Vaſco Nunnes* in his room: at firſt, with an aſſociate; but he found means in time to be alone, as it was neceſſary he ſhould, in point of command, being to overcome ſuch difficulties as were to be met with at every turn: and, indeed, he knew how to make himſelf be both fear'd and belov'd, having a very good ſpirit of government. In the new diſcoveries he undertook, he came firſt to the lands of the *Cacique Ponea*, and not finding him at home, he deſtroy'd them: he paſs'd on to the lands of the *Cacique Careta*, who not caring to enter into war, receiv'd him peacefully, and treated him as a friend. This *Cacique Careta* had a kinſman, who was a lord, that liv'd further in the country, and his name was *Suran*; who perſuaded another neighbouring prince, call'd *Comagre*, to make a friendſhip with the *Caſtilians*: this prince had a very fine palace, which aſtoniſh'd them; and particularly when they ſaw, in a kind of chapel or oratory, ſome dead bodies lying cover'd with rich mantles, and many jewels of gold and pearls; and being ask'd whoſe bodies thoſe were, they anſwer'd, of their predeceſſors; and that to preſerve them from corruption, they had dried them with fire. The king careſs'd the *Caſtilians*, and gave them great preſents: he had ſeven ſons, and one of them, more liberal, gave the *Spaniards* a preſent of near four thouſand *Peſos* of fine gold, and ſome pieces of rare workmanſhip: they weigh'd it, and taking the king's fifths, they began to divide the remainder. In the diviſion, two ſoldiers fell out about their ſhare: the *Cacique*'s ſon, who had made the preſent, hearing the noiſe, could not bear it, but coming to them ſtruck the balance where the gold was weighing, and threw it all upon the ground, ſaying, "Is *A noble reproof of the Spaniards covetouſneſs.* "it poſſible you ſhould value ſo much a "thing that ſo little deſerves your eſteem? "and that you ſhould leave the repoſe of "your houſes, and paſs ſo many ſeas, ex- "poſe to ſuch dangers, to trouble thoſe "who

OVALLE. 1646. "who live quiet in their own country? "Have ſome ſhame, chriſtians, and do not "value theſe things: but if you are reſol- "ved to ſearch gold, I'll ſhew you a coun- "try where you may ſatisfy yourſelves." And pointing with his finger to the ſouth, he told them they ſhould ſee there another ſea, when they had paſs'd over certain high mountains, where they ſhould ſee other people who could go with ſails and oars as they did; and that paſſing that ſea, they ſhould meet with vaſt quantities of gold, whereof the natives made all their utenſils; and that he would be their guide, and conduct them with his father's vaſſals; but that it would be requiſite they ſhould be more in number, becauſe there were powerful kings, who could hinder their paſſage: giving them by this the firſt notice of *Peru* and its riches.

The firſt notice of the South Sea, and its riches.

This was the firſt knowledge and light which the *Spaniards* got of the *South Sea*, and of the gold and riches of its coaſts, which gave them all great joy; ſo that they were impatient to ſee the hour of breaking thorough all obſtacles, to ſee that ſea never before heard of, and enjoy the riches of it. *Vaſco Nunnes* immediately diſpoſed all things, and went out of *Dairen*, in the beginning of *September*, in the year 1513. and going along the ſea-ſide, to the habitation of the friendly *Cacique Careta*, he went towards the mountains by the lands of the *Cacique Ponea*; who, though at firſt he endeavour'd to oppoſe their paſſage, yet being adviſ'd by the *Indians* of *Careta*, who accompanied the *Caſtilians*, he preſented them with gold and proviſions, and gave them guides; they, in return, giving him looking-glaſſes, needles, knives, and other baubles, which they valued very much. Then they began to mount the mountain through the country of a *Cacique*, call'd *Quareca*, who appear'd in arms, and attack'd the *Spaniards*: he had a long robe of cotton, but all his men were naked. They began to skirmiſh, and threaten by their actions, to hinder the paſſage; but no ſooner did they hear the noiſe, and feel the effects of the muskets, and find ſome to fall, but they turn'd their backs, flying like a herd of deer, frighted to ſee the fire, and hear the ſound of the vollies, which appear'd thunder to them, and thought the *Spaniards* had thunderbolts at their command; ſo they left the paſſage free for them. The *Indians* of *Careta* had ſaid, that from their country to the top of the higheſt mountain, there was the time of ſix ſuns; for by that they meant ſo many days journey; but the ways were ſo bad, that they employed five and twenty days to get to the top. A little before they were at the higheſt, *Vaſco Nunnes de Balboa* caus'd a halt to be made, deſiring to have the glory of having himſelf been the firſt man that ever ſaw the *South Sea*. And ſo it was: he goes alone, diſcovers that vaſt ocean, and the large bays of the *South Sea*, call'd *Pacifick*; and upon his knees, with tears in his eyes, lifts up his eyes to heaven, giving thanks to the great creator of all things, for having brought him from ſuch remote parts to contemplate that which none of his anceſtors had ever ſeen: he made a ſign after this to his companions to come up, and ſo they all run in haſte, puſhing one another on; and when they were on the top, where there is a full proſpect of the ſea, 'tis not to be imagin'd the content they all receiv'd in admiring that vaſt and ſmooth liquid chryſtal, which not being animated, did not on its ſide give leaps of joy, nor go out of its bed to the tops of the mountains to welcome thoſe who came to deliver it from the tyranny the devil exercis'd over it, by infeſting it with ſtorms and tempeſts, and infecting the air with the breath of idolatry, which was breath'd in all thoſe parts, both eaſt, weſt, north, and ſouth. Oh! if all the creatures of that world could have come one by one to ſee the good that was coming to them by means of the goſpel, which dawned in thoſe mountains; or, if the predeſtinated of that new world could have viewed from their cottages, and poor habitations, or rather from the deep night of their errors and ſins, the ſun that was beginning to enlighten them from that high mountain, and the virtue and efficacy of grace, which then began to appear to reconcile them with God, and the blood of Chriſt, which like a great river was falling through thoſe precipices, till it ſhould bath the utmoſt parts of the earth, and give life to thoſe, who, being fallen and cover'd with the dark ſhadow, did not only not hope for life, but not ſo much as know it; how would the children have leap'd out of their cradles, who, to go into paradiſe, expected nothing but baptiſm, as has happened to great numbers, who juſt expired when they were made an end of baptizing? and the old men, who wanted only the knowledge of the goſpel to ſhut their eyes, and being reconciled to God, fly into his glory, how they would open them, and lying upon the ground, fly, at leaſt, with their ſpirit if they could not with their body, to receive the preachers of the goſpel, who brought peace and a general pardon for their ſins? All the other predeſtinated, every one according to his ſtate, who have by this means been ſaved, (which are infinite,) how they would melt and cry with joy, to hear this news, which is as welcome to them, as that of the coming of Chriſt to the holy fathers in *limbo*, who were expecting it with ſuch languiſhing deſires.

Vaſco Nunnes has firſt ſight of the South Sea.

The tides very rapid.

CHAP. VIII.

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Baſco Nunnes de Balboa *purſues the Diſcovery of the* South Sea, *and dies.*

Baſco Nunnes de Balboa, having perform-ed his devotion, and thanked our Lord, with all his companions, for ſo great a favour done them, as to bring them to that place, and for the favour he was about to ſhew to that new world, by the means of the preachers of the goſpel, to whom he thus opened a way to publiſh it; he then bethought himſelf of his ſecond obligation, which was to his king; in conformity to which, he took poſſeſſion, in his majeſty's name, for the crowns of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, of the place where he was, and of the ſea which he diſcover'd from thence; cutting for this purpoſe many trees, and making great croſſes, which he ſet up, and writ upon them the names of their majeſties.

After this they began to go down from the mountain, marching always prepar'd for any encounter that they might have with the *Caciques* in their way; ſo, though the *Cacique Chiapes* oppos'd them with his peo-ple, who were ſtout and many, yet by ſet-ting the dogs at them, and beginning to fire their muskets, they were ſoon routed. This made the *Cacique* offer terms of peace, and receive and make much of the *Caſti-lians*, preſenting them with gold; and he prov'd ſo good a friend, that he pacified many other *Caciques*, who were in arms, to hinder the paſſage, who likewiſe made their preſents of gold.

From the town of *Chiapes*, *Baſco Nunnes* ſent out, to diſcover the coaſts of the *South Sea*, the captains *Franciſco Pizarro*, *Juan de Eſcara*, and *Alonſo Martin*, each to a different place: this laſt found two *canoes* dry on the ſhoar, and the ſea below them above half a league: he wonder'd to ſee them ſo far from the ſea; and as he was conſidering it, he perceiv'd the ſea coming very faſt in, and did not ſtay long before it ſet the *canoes* on float: he enter'd into one of them, and took witneſs that he was the firſt *European* that had ever been upon that ſea. The tides on that coaſt ebb and flow every ſix hours, ſo as great ſhips will be left on ſhoar, the water retiring ſo faſt, that it gives great admiration when it re-turns, to ſee ſo great a ſpace cover'd ſo faſt, that it appears an inundation.

The tides very rapid.

Baſco Nunnes having advice of this, came down alſo to the coaſt; and going into the ſea up to the mid-leg, with a naked ſword in his hand, ſaid, That he took poſ-ſeſſion of it, and all the coaſts and bays of it, for the crowns of *Caſtile* and *Leon*; and that he was ready with that ſword, as of-ten as it ſhould be neceſſary, to make good that claim, againſt all that ſhould oppoſe him. The *Indians* were in great amaze at this new ceremony; and they were more ſurpriz'd, when they ſaw him, againſt their advice, and that of the *Caciques*, venture to croſs the gulph of *Pearls*, to diſcover the riches of it in that commodity; though it had like to have coſt him dear, for he was near periſhing in croſſing that arm of the ſea. Now let us ſee (in order to un-deceive thoſe who ſhall read this,) how lit-tle this courage and boldneſs avail'd this generous conqueror of the new world, and the great things his invincible mind had brought to paſs. All his military prudence and cunning, by which he made himſelf be reſpected by unknown nations, avail'd him little; for this ſo fortunate a great captain had a tragical end: he loſt his life in *Dairen* at his return, finding there the governor *Pedrarias*, who came to ſucceed him. The king in ſending this man had recommended to him the perſon of *Baſco Nunnes de Bal-boa*, and order'd him to make uſe of his council, as of one who had honour'd him by his bold undertakings, and to whom for a reward he order'd the governments of *Pa-nama* and *Coiba*, and the admiralſhip of the *South Sea*, which he had diſcover'd, and on which he had already built four ſhips, and got together three hundred men to go upon the diſcovery of *Peru*. But the ſaid *Pedrarias* commanded him on ſhoar, and there ſeizing him, caus'd him to be behead-ed publickly as a traytor. The crier went before him, crying, as is cuſtomary, that he was a traytor; which, when *Vaſco Nunnes* heard, he ſaid it was a lie, and that no man had ſerv'd the king with more zeal, nor more fidelity than he, nor more deſir'd to extend his monarchy; but all his com-plaints were like voices in the deſart, which were of no force againſt envy and emula-tion, which had prevail'd in his enemies, and which can never fail againſt thoſe who govern. His death was much reſented, and appear'd very unjuſt in *Spain*, becauſe, in-deed, the king loſt one of his braveſt cap-tains, and one who would have diſcovered *Peru* with more facility, and without all thoſe tumults, which ſince happened; for his prudence, valour, and zeal, were above the ordinary ſize.

The barba-rity of the Spaniards one to an-other.

Vaſco Nunnes be-headed.

It cannot be denied, but that the ſentence may be juſtified according to the depoſi-tions of witneſſes; but yet it was a great argument of his innocency, that which he himſelf ſaid to the governor *Pedrarias*, which was, That if he had in his heart to make himſelf maſter, and independent, as they accus'd him, he would not have obey-ed his call as he did, and leave his ſhip without any difficulty; for he had then

three

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three hundred men all at his devotion, and four veſſels, with which he might have been ſafe, and gone upon new diſcoveries, if his conſcience had accuſed him. They add here, That an aſtrologer had told him, That that year he ſhould ſee ſomething extraordinary in the heavens, he ſhould be in guard againſt ſome great misfortune that threatened him; and that if he eſcap'd from it, he ſhould be the moſt powerful and happy man in the whole *Indias*. And that accordingly he did ſee this ſign, but laughed at it, as thinking himſelf in ſo high a ſtate.

CHAP. IX.

The Diſcovery of the South Sea; *its Ports and Iſlands is continued.*

IT is a common paſſion in thoſe who govern, either to oppoſe the deſigns of their predeceſſors, or at leaſt not to execute them by their means, nor by their creatures, that their aſſiſtance may not leſſen the glory, which they pretend by making themſelves the authors of the enterprizes. As we have already ſaid, *Pedrarias* ſucceeded *Vaſco Nunnes de Balboa* in the government, juſt as he had made the diſcovery of the *South Sea*; and though the king had recommended the perſon of *Nunnes* to him, yet he could not be brought to grant him leave to follow his diſcovery, though the biſhop of *Dairen* adviſed it very earneſtly; but he had reſolved to give this good morſel to a creature of his, called captain *Gaſpar Morales*; to whom he added, as companion captain *Francisco Pizarro*, becauſe of experience he had, having been already employed in the diſcovery.

They ſet out from *Dairen*, and got to the *South Sea*, and embarking there in canoes, they came to the *Iſle of Pearls*, which the *Indians* called *Tarargui*. Theſe by this time began to endeavour to hinder the *Spaniards* from ſettling in their lands; but they were not able to do it, their forces being ſo much inferior to thoſe of the *Caſtilians*, who, paſſing from one iſland to another, came at laſt to the largeſt, where was the king of almoſt all thoſe nations, who took arms againſt the *Spaniards*, having a brave number of men, and well choſen; but they not being uſed to fire-arms, they ſoon yielded and came to compoſition: to which they were brought alſo by the fear of a famous dog, that was in the chriſtian camp, who uſed to fall upon them like a lion; and they having never ſeen an animal of that ſort, did flee him as a devil, becauſe of the miſchief he did amongſt them; for they being naked, he could faſten any where without danger. The *Chiapeſes*, our friends, preſently interpoſed; and telling the king what dangerous enemies the *Spaniards* were, and of what importance their friendſhip was, they being invincible, he at laſt was prevailed upon to grant them peace. They came to his palace, which was very ſumptuous, and, as they judged, better than any they had ſeen yet. The king received them with marks of friendſhip; and, as a token of it, cauſed a baſket of ruſhes full of pearls, which weigh'd five marks, to be given them; amongſt which, there was one which had but few fellows in the world, (for it weighed ſix and twenty carats, and was as big as a ſmall walnut,) and another as big as a muſcat-pear, perfect and oriental, and of a fine colour, weighing ten half ſcruples. The firſt came from hand to hand, till it was in the empreſs's, who valued it as it deſerved, as is told by *Antonio de Herrera* and others. They preſented the king, in return, with the uſual preſents of pins and needles, bells, knives, and other baubles of *Europe*, which the *Indians* valued much. The *Spaniards* not being able to forbear laughing, to ſee the value they put upon them, the king ſaid to them, *What do you laugh at?* And having heard what it was, he ſaid, *We might more juſtly laugh at you, for valuing things ſo much which are of no uſe in life, and for which you paſs ſo many ſeas. As for theſe knives and hatchets you give us, they are very uſeful inſtruments to men.* This was not the only return the king had for his pearls; for he had the precious pearl of faith by their means: for growing very fond of them, and being by them inſtructed, he and all his family received the chriſtian religion, which was the principal end to which the *Caſtilians* directed all their enterprizes. They made a ſolemn chriſtening; and the king, to treat his ſpiritual fathers, who had engendered him in the goſpel, carried them to ſee the pearl-fiſhing, which was in this manner: The *Indians* dived to the bottom, having about their necks a bag full of ſtones, that they may ſink the faſter; and it ſerved them for a ballaſt to keep them ſteady while they gathered the oyſters, that the water might not buoy them up. The greateſt oyſters are about ten fathom deep; for when they do not go to feed, they keep as low as they can, and ſtick ſo faſt to the rocks, and to one another, that it is very hard to looſen them; nay, it happens ſometimes, that while they ſpend too much time in doing it, their breath fails them, and they are drowned: but, generally ſpeaking, they are not in danger, becauſe, as they gather the oyſters, they

A famous dog frights the poor Indians.

Pearls of a prodigious bigneſs.

A wiſe ſaying of a parcel of Indians.

The pearl-fiſhing.

they put them in their bag, and lighten it of the ſtones, and before their breath fails they come up again with their fiſh. They open the oyſters, and take out the pearls, which uſe to be many if they are ſmall, and few if they are large. They ſay that among thoſe they preſented the *Caſtilians* at this time, were ſeveral of the bigneſs of large peaſe and hazle-nuts; with which they returned very well pleaſed to have made a diſcovery of ſo rich a treaſure, as well as of the rich one they had given in exchange to the king and his people, by making them chriſtians. OVALLE. 1646.

CHAP. X.

Of the Diſcovery of the River of Plata, *and the Coaſts of* Chile, *by the* Streights *of* Magellan.

WE have hitherto gone by the north ſea to the *terra firma*, and the diſcovery of the *South Sea*, with intent to follow the diſcoveries of this new world to its utmoſt bounds, which is the kingdom of *Chile*, to which all this narrative is directed. We ſhall follow this order by the ſame ſteps that the firſt conquerors went; but while they are diſpoſing all things for this great enterprize, it will not be amiſs to leave the *South Sea*, and follow thoſe who endeavoured to diſcover the coaſts of *Chile* by the *North Sea*. The firſt we ſhall follow is captain *Juan Dias de Solis*, who ſailing from *Spain* the eighth of *October*, 1515. run along the coaſts of *Braſil*, till he diſcovered the famous river of *Plata*, which was ſo nam'd, not from any ſilver that is found near it, or on its banks, but from ſome plates of that metal which the *Indians* gave the *Spaniards*; which ſilver they had brought from the country about *Potoſi*, with which they had communication by the means of the *Tucuman Indians*, who are the neareſt on that ſide to *Peru*. *Solis* entered that mighty river, which, if I am not miſtaken, is threeſcore or ſeventy leagues over at its firſt entrance, and is known at ſea by its freſh water, at firſt, till being further in, they can ſee the mountains and lands that bound it. This river is one of the moſt famous in the world, of ſweet and excellent water, being obſerved to clear the voice and lungs, and is good againſt all rheums and defluctions; and all the nations of the *Paraguays*, who drink this water, have admirable voices, ſo tunable, that when they ſing they appear organs; and therefore they are all inclined to muſick; and thoſe who come from abroad mend their voices by living there. I knew one who was born in *Chile*, and had naturally a good voice, which he mended extremely by living in *Paraguay*; but when he left that country, and came to *Tucuman*, he loſt his improvement, as he himſelf told me. This river has another property, which is, that it petrifies the branches of trees which fall into it. The governor *Hernan Darias*, born in *Paraguay*, a gentleman of a ſingular talent for government, had in his houſe a whole tree all of ſtone, which had been taken out of this river. Likewiſe there are formed naturally of the ſand of this river, certain veſſels of various figures, which have the property of cooling water. There are alſo certain *cocos de terra*, which contain ſtones in them, which at a certain time are, as it were, ripe, and burſt, diſcovering amethyſts within them; they burſt open with a great noiſe.

The Rio de la Plata diſcovered 1515.

Its fall.

The virtue of the waters of the Rio de la Plata.

There are alſo bred upon its banks moſt beautiful birds of ſeveral kinds; and in its ſtreams great variety of fiſhes, very dainty, and in great quantity. The river is navigable every where in *canoes*, but not with the ſame *canoes*, becauſe of the prodigious fall that is in the midſt of it, the whole river precipitating itſelf into a deep gulph, from whence it runs many leagues, till it empties itſelf into the ſea. The noiſe that this fall makes, the foam that it raiſes, the whirlpools it cauſes, by the rencounter of its waters, is not to be imagin'd. The land on both ſides this river is very fertile: on the weſt ſide, which is the *Tucuman* ſide, correſponding to *Buenos Ayres*, there are ſeveral cities, as *St. Jago de Eſtero Cordoua*, *St. Michael la Rioja*, and *Eſteco Juzuy* and *Salta*, which border upon *Peru*: theſe cities are not very populous, becauſe they are in the midſt of the land, and far from commerce with both ſeas; but they do increaſe very much, particularly *Cordoua*, which, amongſt other properties, has that of producing rare wits in the univerſity governed by the Jeſuits, who may match their profeſſors and ſcholars with thoſe of any other part, as I myſelf have experienced. There are likewiſe in this diſtrict many houſes and families of men of quality and antient nobility. Higher up the river to the weſt, are alſo the cities of the *Aſſumption*, *Santa Fee de las Corrientes del Guayta*, and others. The city of the *Aſſumption* is the chief, and was peopled by gentlemen that came firſt to the *Indies*, and is ſince much increaſed in people, but not in riches; becauſe it being ſo far within the land, cannot have ſufficient vent for its commodities,

An univerſity, and rare wits at the weſt-indian Cordoua.

Ovalle. 1646.

which are chiefly *Sugar*, and preserved fruits; among the reſt they are famous for a dried ſweat-meat, called *Ladrillos*, which are ſlices of cetron, done up in *Sugar*, in the form of a tile: but the beſt ſweet-meat they have they will give in great abundance for an apple, or any *European* fruit. In all this tract of land there are three governments, which are alſo biſhopricks, to wit, *Paraguay*, *Rio de la Plata*, and *Tucuman*.

Higher yet on the eaſt ſide are many heathen nations, who have others that anſwer them on the weſt; and among theſe are diſtributed thoſe famous miſſions which our fathers of the ſociety of Jeſus have founded.

A religious meaſon of the author's.

I am ſorry I am inſenſibly engaged in this matter; and I muſt own I have mentioned that which I cannot well explain. This is not a place for panegyricks, nor does the thread of my hiſtory admit of ſuch large digreſſions; yet I cannot but ſtop a little, and give ſome conſideration to that we may call miracles of grace, which are perform'd in thoſe deſarts, of which I myſelf have been an eye-witneſs, having lived ſome time in that holy province, to which I owe all that I am. But who can explain what thoſe apoſtolical men deſerve in the ſight of God, who ſeem to have nothing of man but what is neceſſary to make their life more admirable, which they lead like angels in human bodies?

Who would not wonder to ſee in thoſe mountains and ſolitudes men ill fed, worſe lodged, naked, painful, and in anguiſh for the ſouls of others, when they might ſave their own with leſs trouble, enjoying the good morſels and merry days, which, without ſin, and ſometimes meritoriouſly, they might have in their own country among their friends, and in the beſt of *Europe*? Who can but admire to ſee ſo many youths baniſh themſelves, and renouncing all preferment, reſolve to paſs all their lives like hermits, for the love of God, and zeal of the ſalvation of ſouls? Is this a work of nature? and can human force arrive to this of itſelf? Let us go out from this conſideration, leſt it be like a load-ſtone to draw us in further; and yet let me fly as far as I will, I cannot hinder my heart from being with them, and deſiring to end my days in this imployment. They who deſire to ſee the fruit of theſe miſſions of our company, the numbers of the gentiles which they have brought from ſolitudes to live in cities, the great progreſs of the faith, and the numbers of martyrs they have conſecrated to God, let him read the book made of all this by that apoſtolical man *Antonio Ruiz de Montoya*; and then he will be extremely edified, and admire the work, as well as the author. And ſo I return to the thread of my hiſtory.

Juan de Solis being landed here, found little reſiſtance from the *Indians*, who are not ſo cruel nor warlike as in other parts; ſo he took poſſeſſion of all that tract, in the name of their majeſties, for the crowns of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, as was always the cuſtom of the firſt diſcoverers. And he for himſelf took poſſeſſion of thoſe ſeven foot of earth which death allows to thoſe he ſeizes, let them be never ſo ambitious, though while they are alive a whole world will not ſuffice them. He lies buried there; and an end was put to his diſcoveries.

Much about the ſame time, there were at his catholick majeſty's court the two famous captains *Ferdinand Magellan* and *Ruy Falero*, offering their perſons, valour, and induſtry, for to find out, either towards the ſouth or weſt, an end to *America*, or ſome canal or ſtreight by which both ſeas might communicate with each other; and ſo the navigation from *Europe* might be made in the ſame ſhips, in which they might go round all its coaſts. They were treating upon this ſubject; and the *Portugal* embaſſador made it his buſineſs to oppoſe *Magellan*, becauſe being fallen out with his king about this diſcovery, he deſired he might not make it for the crown of *Caſtile*; but at laſt the king having heard at *Saragoſa*, in preſence of his council, the reaſons and grounds that *Magellan* and *Falero* went upon, he accepted their ſervice, and honoured them with the habits of *St. Jago*; and having ſettled the capitulation with them, his majeſty commanded the ſquadron to be made ready, and named the captains and officers of it; and having heard that there was a diſpute riſen between *Magellan* and *Falero*, about who ſhould carry the royal ſtandard or flag, and the like, he ordered *Falero*, as not yet well recovered of a diſtemper he lay under, to ſtay at home, and mind his health; and, in the mean time, that another ſquadron ſhould be got ready, in which *Falero* ſhould follow.

Magellan offers his ſervice to diſcover a ſtreight.

The firſt ſquadron being ready, his majeſty commanded the aſſiſtant of *Seville*, that he ſhould deliver the royal ſtandard to *Magellan* in the great church of *Santa Maria*, of victory of *Triana*, taking at the ſame time from him an oath of fidelity, or homage, according to the cuſtom of *Caſtile*, that he ſhould perform the voyage with all fidelity, as a good and loyal vaſſal of his majeſty. The captains took likewiſe an oath to obey *Magellan* in all things. He, after many vows, having recommended himſelf and his voyage to our lord, went on board the ſhip called the *Trinity*, and the treaſurer-general in the *Victory*, (ſo famous for being the firſt that went round the world.) The other ſhips were the *Conception*, *St. Jago*, and *St. Antony*.

They

Magellan sets sail for his discovery.

They set sail the tenth of *August*, in the year 1519. They took the isle of *Tenerif*, then made the coast of *Guinea*, and arrived at *Rio Genneiro*; from whence they sailed on *St. Stephen*'s day, and having had a great storm, they entered into the river of *Plata*: here they stay'd eight days; and then following their voyage, they had another terrible tempest, which carried away their forecastle, and forced them to cut away their poop. They made vows to our lady of *Guadalupe* and *Monserrat*, and to *St. Jago* of *Gallicia*. It pleased God to hear them, and they took shelter in the river of *St. Julian*, but not all; for one of their ships was lost: the men got on shore, but endured so much by land to port *St. Julian* by hunger, that they seemed skeletons when they came to their companions.

Magellan's people mutinie.

While they were wintering in this river, either idleness, or the great sufferings they had undergone, and those which they feared, made them mutiny against *Ferdinand Magellan*. There were some of his ships that revolted; but he with great boldness, and no less art, made himself master of them, punishing some of the guilty, and pardoning others; and for *Juan de Carthagena* and his companion in rebellion, he set them ashore when he set sail, leaving them a good provision of bread and wine. It was never known whether this were sufficient to sustain them, till they should meet with some of those giants which had been with the ships, and had been treated by *Magellan*, who perhaps received them.

Sets some mutineers on shore, and leaves them.

Passes the streight of his name in twenty days.

Magellan seeing the winter over, as he thought, set sail the seventh of *November*, which is when the summer begins in those parts; and having by land observed what he could of the *Streight*, they passed with great good fortune in twenty days, and then steering north, they coasted along *Chile*, which they left something at large, as having no knowledge of that land, *Peru* being not yet discovered. After this, they came to the *Philippine Islands*, in one of which this most courageous captain, and famous *Portuguese*, *Magellan*, died by the hands of the natives, or to say better, by his own rashness and overboldness.

Magellan killed.

1534.

Some years after, which was that of 1534. *Simon* of *Alcazova*, a *Portuguese* gentleman of the habit of *St. Jago*, and gentleman of the chamber of the king, a great cosmographer, and one very expert in navigation, having been employ'd many years for the crown of *Castile*, made an agreement with the king to discover and people two hundred leagues from the place where *Almagro*'s government should end, which was in *Chile*. He sailed from *St. Lucar* on the 21st of *September*, 1534. with five good ships, and two hundred and fifty men; and without seeing land from the *Gomera* to the *Streight* of *Magellan*, only having touched at cape *Alere Ojes*, and the *Rio de Gallegos*, about twenty five leagues from the *Streight*'s mouth, he entered them on the 17th of *January*, 1535. having endured so much thirst, that the cats and dogs were come to drink wine, and the people were ready to perish. They found a great cross erected by *Magellan*, and the wreck of the ship which he lost there. There appeared about twenty *Indians*, who gave signs of much joy to see the *Spaniards*. They followed their course, keeping still the right hand, as the safest; but yet they had so furious a storm, that it carried away half their sails: it blew so, that they thought the ships would have been carried away through the air. They took shelter into a port; and because the season was so far advanced, they perswaded their general *Alcazova* to go out of the *Streights*, which he did, and return to the port of *Lions*, or of *Wolves*, which was a very good one.

While they were wintering in those parts, they resolved to enter further into the country, and make discovery of those riches which the *Indians* told them were there; so having celebrated mass, they blessed the banners, and the captains took a new oath of fidelity and obedience; and with this they set out about 225 men, having fifty *arcabuses*, seventy *cross-bows*, four charges of powder and ball, which every one carried with his bread, which was about twenty six pound weight. Thus they marched about fourteen leagues; and there *Alcazova*, being a heavy man, could go no further, which was his ruin: he named a lieutenant, against whom the men mutined; for having gone ninety leagues, and their provision failing, they resolved to go back, as they did, though they had met with a river full of fish; and that their guides told them that a little further they should come to a great town, where there was a great deal of gold; for the inhabitants wore plates of it in their ears, and upon their arms: but nothing could move them; and as one mischief seldom comes alone, they resolved to make themselves masters of the ships at their return, and to kill all that should oppose them; and so they executed it. But God Almighty punished them immediately; for as they were going out of port, they lost their admiral; and then having but one ship, durst not venture for *Spain*, but put in at *Hispaniola*, where doctor *Saravia*, of the audience of *St. Domingo*, chastiz'd the most guilty. And thus the discovery of *Chile*, for that time, and that way, was disappointed; for God reserved that honour for another.

CHAP.

Ovalle. 1646.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Diſcovery of other Parts of America *before that of* Chile.

WHILE the ſhips are making ready to go to the diſcovery of *Peru*, it will not be amiſs to touch upon the diſcovery of ſome other parts of *America* by-the-by, that at leaſt the order of time, with which the diſcoveries proceeded each other, may be underſtood; and what we are to ſay afterwards about *Chile* will be made plainer, that being our chief deſign.

It has been ſaid already, in its proper place, how the admiral *Columbus* diſcover'd the *terra firma*, or continent of *America*, in his fourth voyage from *Spain* to the *Indies*, and found the port of *Puerto Bello* the 1502. ſecond of *November*, 1502. We have alſo ſaid how *Vaſco Nunnes de Balboa* having founded *Sancta Maria la Antigua* of *Dairen*, diſcover'd the *South Sea*, and took poſſeſſion of it in the month of *September* or 1513. *October*, in the year 1513. as alſo that in 1515. the year 1515. *Juan Dias de Solis* diſcover'd the river of *Plata* the firſt of all diſcoverers.

Now we will add what is known about the diſcovery of other lands; amongſt the which, one of the firſt was that of *Yucatan*, which was undertaken by captain *Franciſco* 1517. *Hernandes de Cordoua*, in the year 1517. and the *Adelantado* of it is at this day *Don Chriſtoval Soares de Solis*, a gentleman of an antient and noble family in *Salamanca*. This ſame year other *Caſtilians* diſcover'd the land of *Campeche*, where, in a chapel of the *Indians*, full of their idols, they found painted croſſes, of which they were not leſs aſtoniſh'd than rejoiced, ſeeing light in darkneſs, and the trophies of Chriſt by the ſide of *Belial*; which, at laſt, by the *Spaniards* arrival in thoſe parts, were better known to Panama *founded in the year 1518.* thoſe barbarous people. In the year 1518. the licentiado *Eſpinoſa*, who was nam'd deputy to the governor *Pedrarias*, founded the city of *Panama*, which is the canal by which all the treaſure of *Peru* paſſes to *Spain* in the galleons. This city has not increaſed ſo much as many others of the *Indies*, becauſe being ſituated near the equinoctial line, its temperature does not agree with thoſe born in *Europe*; but yet there are many conſtitutions that do very well there, becauſe of the great riches that are eaſily acquir'd there; and thoſe who ſeek them, think no air bad. There are a great many people of quality; for there is a biſhoprick, a royal *Audiencia*, or court of judicature; a tribunal of royal officers, and a chapter of canons, ſeculars and regulars. But that which in my judgment is moſt commendable in it, is the piety, mercy, and liberality of its inhabitants. I have this year receiv'd advice, that by the negligence of a female ſlave, the greateſt part of the city was burnt; for the houſes being of wood, if one take fire, 'tis hard to ſtop the flames: there was loſt in this a great maſs of riches, a great part of the loſs falling on the cathedral; and a little after, there being a gathering made, though this misfortune had concern'd almoſt every body, who for that reaſon were leſs in a condition to contribute by way of alms, which ſome of them wanted, yet they gave above twenty thouſand pieces of eight, and went on contributing. This was an extraordinary mark of their charity; but the ordinary ones, in which they conſtantly ſhew their generoſity, are to ſtrangers and paſſengers who paſs from *Spain* to the *Indies*, who moſt of them are at a loſs till they meet with ſome patron, or friend, or countryman, to aſſiſt them; and they would often be reduced to great extremity, if this were not, as it is, a common inn for all thoſe people; for in the college of our company alone, though it is not yet founded, but lives upon alms, I ſaw, when I was there, a cloth laid at the porters chambers, where every day they provided for, and fed about fifty or ſixty paſſengers, with bread and fleſh in abundance. The ſame is done by other convents; and the ſeculars, I ſaw, give them money and other neceſſaries. This, as to the city of *Panama*, founded in the year 1518. in which year the religious friers of St. *Dominick* and St. *Francis* paſs'd from the iſland of *Hiſpaniola*, and began to found convents in *terra firma*, and the *Pearl* coaſt; from whence theſe two holy orders purſued their miſſion through all the land, enlightening it with their doctrine and holy examples; by which they have made ſuch a progreſs among the *Indians*, that the preſent flouriſhing of the faith is owing to them, to the great ſaving of the *Indian* ſouls. The year 1519. *Ferdinand Magellan* made the diſco- 1519
very of the coaſt of *Chile*; and the ſame year *Hernando Cortes* went from the point of St. *Antonne la Havana* to *Corocha*, which is the firſt point of *Yucatan* eaſt, to begin the conqueſt of the great empire of *Mexico*; of which, and the noble actions of that great man, 'tis better to be ſilent than to touch upon them, only by-the-by, as we ſhould be forc'd to do; this being not a place to explain the ſtate and grandeur of that mighty monarch *Monteſuma*, who was

Buenos Ayres *founded in* 1538.

Carthagena *founded in* 1532.

The ſituation of Carthagena.

Well built.

ſove-

sovereignly obeyed in so many and such great provinces. Who can express in few words all this, and the felicity that accompanied *Cortes* in all his undertakings, which were such as they appear'd possible only after they were done, seeming otherwise so high and difficult, as to be inaccessible to the extreamest boldness? Indeed, it cannot be denied, but that he was assisted by heaven, whose instrument he was in planting the christian faith among those gentiles, and shewing such reverence to the preachers of it, as might serve the *Indians* for an example; a quality which will always give reputation to princes, both before God and men.

Buenos Ayres founded in 1528. In the year 1528. the king sent a colony to the *Rio de la Plata*, having agreed with the merchants of *Seville* for that purpose. The city they founded was that of *Buenos Aires*, which is on the side of that river, in that part of it where it grows narrow from its large entrance at sea; and the river there is not above nine leagues over.

Carthagena founded in 1532. In the year 1532. *Cedro de Heredia* of *Madrid* sail'd from *Spain*, and founded the city of *Carthagena*, which is the first *Scala* which the *Spanish* galleons make coming from *Spain* for the *Indies*, to fetch silver. It was so call'd, because its port was like that of *Carthagena* in *Spain*; for the old name of the *Indians* was *Calamari*. He had at first an engagement with the *Indians*; and though they shewed themselves very brave, yet he beat them, and founded the city, which is at present one of the best of the *Indies*, being wall'd with stone, and so strong, that we may name it as an impregnable fortress.

The situation of Carthagena. It is situated in an island, divided from the continent by a small arm of the sea, which ebbs and flows, and comes to the bog of *Canapote*: there is a bridge or causeway there, that goes to the *terra firma*. The port is very safe, and good ships go into it by two mouths or entrances, a greater and a less; the great is sandy; and the year that I was there, they told me it was almost shut up by the sand which a river casts up against it; and now they write me word, that it is quite fill'd up, so that there is no going in, but by the lesser entrance, which makes it so much the stronger, and it is defended by a good castle; besides which, the city is well garnished with artillery, so as not to fear an invasion. The *Well built.* plot of the city is very beautiful, all the streets being handsomely dispos'd, the houses of free-stone, high and noble; so are the churches and convents, particularly that of the jesuits, which makes a beautiful prospect to the sea. Here is a custom-house for the king, and a house call'd of the *Rigimiento*, with other publick buildings: it is very populous, and of a great trade, by reason of the coming of the galleons; and from them they have wine and oil; corn they have in their own territory: there resides a bishop, and there is a tribunal of the holy inquisition. The governor hath both the civil and military command: it increases every day in riches, being so situated, that it shares all the riches of *Peru*, *Mexico*, and *Spain*. OVALLE, 1646.

In the year 1540. captain *Francisco de Orellana* discover'd the great river of the *Amazones*, which is call'd also *Orellana*, and by a common mistake *Maragnon*; and went from it to *Spain*, where, upon the relation he gave of its greatness, the emperor *Charles* V. order'd him three ships, with people, and all things necessary to make a settlement. But this had no effect, because having lost half his men at the *Canaries* and *Cape Vert*, he was too weak when he got thither; yet he attempted to go up the river in two large boats, to which his fleet was reduc'd; but finding his wants of every thing, he came out again, and went by the coast of *Caracos* to the *Margarita*, where he and his people are said to have died. About twenty years after, the viceroy of *Peru* sent a good fleet under *Pedro de Orsua*; but this miscarried also, because he was killed treacherously by *Lopes de Aguirre*, who rebell'd with the fleet; but having miss'd the entrance of the river, he landed on the continent, near the island of *Trinidado*, where he was executed by order from court. Some years after this the serjeant general, *Vincente de los Reyes Villalobos*, *Alonso de Miranda*, and the general *Josiph de Villa Mayor Maldonado*, undertook the same design, but with the same fortune, death taking them away; so that they gave over at that time all attempts on *Peru* and *Quito* side. But still the fame of this river continuing, *Benito Maciel*, general of *Paria*, and since that governor of *Maragnon*, and *Francisco Coello de Caravallo*, governor likewise of *Maragnon* and *Paria*, attempted its discovery up the river; and though they were back'd by the king's royal commands, yet there were many cross accidents as to hinder the execution of their enterprize. *The river of the Amazones discover'd by Orellana, in 1540.*

The fathers of our company of *Jesus* attempted likewise this discovery, by the motive of saving so many souls; but beginning with a nation call'd the *Cosanes*, their progress was stopp'd by the cruel death given to father *Raphael Fernandes*, who was preaching the faith to them. Thirty years after, which was 1537. some friers of the order of St. *Francis*, mov'd by the zeal of amplifying the glory of the gospel, and by order of their superiors, went from *Quito*, in company of captain *Juan de Palacios*, and some soldiers: they began to sail down this river, and came to the *Encabellados*, or *In the year* 1507.

Ovalle. 1646.

people with long hair; but not finding the harveſt ready, they return'd to *Quito*, except only two of their lay-brethren, which were *Domingo de Brieva*, and frier *Andres de Toledo*, who with ſix ſoldiers more ſail'd down as far as the city of *Paria*, a ſettlement of the *Portugueſe*, about forty leagues from the ſea. They paſs'd by the city of *St. Luis de Maragnon*, where the governor *Jacomo Reymondo de Moronna*, by the information he had from theſe friers, caus'd ſeven and forty *canoes* to be got ready, and embark'd upon them ſeventy *Spaniards*, with 1200 *Indians*, ſome of war, and ſome to help to row, under the command of captain *Pedro Texeira*, who having ſpent a whole year in his voyage, came at laſt to the city of *Quito*, having diſcover'd and navigated the whole river of the *Amazones*, from its entrance into the ſea to its ſource or riſe.

The river of Ovella*navigated from the ſea to* Quito.

The viceroy of *Peru*, who at that time was the count *de Chinchon*, being inform'd of this voyage of captain *Pedro Texeira*, reſolv'd to ſend two perſons back with him for the crown of *Caſtile*, who might give a perfect relation of the diſcovery.

At this time the city of *Quito* was govern'd by Don *Juan Vaſques de Acunna*, as corregidor for his majeſty over both *Spaniards* and *Indians*, and who at preſent is corregidor of *Potoſi*, who very zealouſly offer'd his perſon for one, and his fortune to raiſe people at his own charges, and provide them with all neceſſaries; but the royal *Audientia*, conſidering how much he would be wanted in his office, where his prudence, experience, and zeal, had ſhewed themſelves, refus'd to let him go, and choſe a brother of his, that they might not totally deprive his illuſtrious family of that glory. This brother was a father of our company of *Jeſus*, and nam'd father *Chriſtoval de Acunna*, who was rector of the college of *Cuença*, and gave him for companion, father *Andres de Arrieda* of the ſame company, who was profeſſor of divinity in the ſame college.

They ſet out from *Quito*, in the year 1539. and having navigated the whole river, which, according to their account, is thirteen hundred and fifty ſix leagues long, (though *Orellana* makes it eighteen hundred leagues,) obſerv'd exactly the riſe of this great river, its ſituation, its courſe, latitude, and depth, the iſlands it makes, the arms into which it is divided, the rivers it receives, the riches, quantities, temperature, and climate of its ſhores, the cuſtoms and manners of that multitude of people that inhabit it, and particularly of thoſe famous *Amazones*. All which may be ſeen in a treatiſe made of it by father *Chriſtoval de Acunna*, printed in *Madrid*; and it is a relation that deſerves credit, he being an eye-witneſs, and having examin'd various nations as he went.

And back again to the ſea.

Theſe informations were well receiv'd in *Madrid*; but the revolutions which ſucceeded in thoſe kingdoms, hinder'd all further progreſs, and prevented thoſe holy deſigns for the converſion of that great part of *America*. There are infinite numbers of *Indians* that inhabit the iſlands, and other parts of this river. 'Tis ſaid they have one ſettlement, that is, a town above a league in length. And now omitting many other conqueſts, made much about the ſame time in the iſlands and coaſts of the *North Sea*, and that which was made in the *South Sea* by *Xil Gonçales de Avila*, in the land of *Nicaragua*, in the year 1522. let us attend (for it is high time) to the diſcovery of *Peru*, of which we ſhall treat more at large, becauſe it has a connexion to that of *Chile*.

CHAP. XII.

The Diſcovery of Peru *is given to Don* Franciſco Piſarro, *and Don* Diego d'Almagro, *and* Hernando Loque; *and how much they endur'd in it.*

THE captains Don *Franciſco Piſarro*, and Don *Diego Almagro*, in company with the ſcholaſtick of the cathedral church of *Dairen*, call'd *Hernando de Loque*, came to the governor *Pedrarias*, and deſir'd of him, as friends, the favour of being employed in the diſcovery and conqueſts of thoſe coaſts which run ſouth from *Panama*, where lies the powerful kingdom of *Peru*, of which at that time there was little light; and for this they propos'd their reaſons, among which, that which was of leaſt value, they relied moſt upon, and that was their experience they had attain'd under their general *Vaſco Nunnes de Balboa*. They met with little difficulty with the governor; for ſo long as they did not deſire any aſſiſtance of the king's treaſure, but ventur'd their own and their lives, they eaſily obtain'd leave to undertake what they would. They preſently bought one of the ſhips which *Balboa* had built for that deſign; and having got together threeſcore men, and four horſes, (for at that time horſes were a great rarity,) *Hernando de Loque* ſaid maſs;

The firſt diſcovery of Peru *attempted.*

mass; and when he came to consecration, he divided the *Hostia*, or sacrament of the body of Christ, into three parts, of which he took one, and gave the other two to his two companions, offering themselves to God, with intention to propagate among those people his glorious name, and plant the christian faith amongst them by the predication of the gospel. Those who were present shed tears out of devotion, and at the same time pitied these undertakers, looking upon their enterprize as a mad one.

About the middle of *November* 1524. Don *Francisco Pisarro* having left Don *Diego Almagro* behind him, to get more people together, sail'd from *Panama* to the isle of *Pearls*, to the port of *Pinnas*, (the last discovered by *Balboa*, and after him by *Pasqual de Andagoya*,) and went up the river of the *Cacique Biru*, or *Biruquete*, to the country of *Chocama*, where he stopped to wait for his companion *Almagro*. The hardships that the *Castilians* endured of hunger and other inconveniencies are not easily to be told: twenty died starved, and the rest were sick, having no other sustenance than the bitter palmetos; yet captain *Pisarro*, without shewing the least weakness, took care of them all with great affection, which made them all love him. At that time Don *Diego de Almagro*, his companion in the undertaking, came to him: he was received like an angel, for the relief he brought: he had lost one of his eyes by the shot of an arrow, in a rencounter he had with the *Indians*. They both together pursued their conquest; but provision failing them once more, and their soldiers being almost naked, and so persecuted with mosquitos, which are infinite there, that they could not live, they began to talk of returning to *Panama*, to which *Pisarro* himself was well enough inclined; but *Almagro* exhorted them rather to die than lose patience, offering to return to *Panama* for new succour, while he should leave his companion in the island of *Gallo*.

The effect that this had, was, That he found the government altered in *Panama*, and *Pedrarias* succeeded by *Pedro de los Rios*, who hearing of the miserable condition of those *Castilians*, would not suffer *Almagro* to return to them, being desirous they should give over the enterprize as impracticable. He sent for this end a gentleman of *Cordoua*, call'd *Juan Tafur*, a man of excellent parts, equal to his noble descent, with a commission to bring those people back, that they might not all perish. He came, and signified his order to *Pisarro*, at which he was out of all patience, seeing it would be the ruin of his project. *Tafur* seeing this, took a prudent *medium*, which was, That he should draw a line between him and *Pisarro*, who should be at the head of his men: and *Tafur* told them, That all those who resolved to return to *Panama*, should pass the line, and come on his side. Having said this, they began to pass the line, all to thirteen and a *Mulatto*, who said they would die with *Pisarro*: and so *Tafur* returned with all the rest to *Panama*.

Captain *Francis Pisarro* remained with his thirteen companions in an *island*, which, for the greater proof of his courage and constancy, happened to be the *Gorgona*, which is a picture of hell for the closeness of its woods, the asperity of its mountains, the infinity of its mosquitos: the sun is scarce ever seen in it for the continual rains that fall.

When *Tafur* came to *Panama*, and his two friends *Almagro* and *Loque* found that *Pisarro* stay'd behind with so few companions, 'tis not credible how much affliction they shewed: they sollicited the president, that at least another vessel might be sent to bring them away, in case they found them alive; and after many difficulties, at last a ship was ordered after them, but upon condition to be back at *Panama* in six months: the ship sail'd, and came to the place where *Pisarro* and his companions were left. Who can express the joy and surprize of those poor abandon'd wretches, when they descried at a distance the sails of the ship? At first they could not believe their own eyes; for the desire and longing for a thing makes it appear less probable to come to pass: but at last it arriv'd; and *Pisarro* seeing himself master of a good vessel, could not forbear attempting some discovery.

They sail'd as far as the country of *Tumbese*, which is very rich; though the *Tumbese Indians* said, That their riches were nothing in comparison of what they might see further. The lord of that country having heard of the arrival of the *Castilians*, he sent presently to visit them at their ship with twelve baskets of provisions, and among the rest a sheep of that country, which was presented to them by the virgins of the temple, as to men who seemed descended from heaven, and sent by God for some great thing. The ambassadors came; and wondering to see the ship with white men who had beards, they asked them who they were, whence they came, and what they pretended. They answer'd them, That they were *Castilians*, vassals of a powerful monarch, who, though so great, had yet a greater over him, whom he owned, with all other kings, and who is in heaven, and is call'd *Jesus Christ*, in whose name they came to undeceive them of their errors in worshipping gods of stone and wood, there being but one God, creator of all things, whom

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Pisarro remains with thirteen and a Mulatto in the isle of Gorgona.

A ship comes to them from Panama.

Tumbese discovered.

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whom we all ought to worſhip. They explained to them, That there was a heaven and hell, the immortality of the ſoul, and the other myſteries of our faith.

The *Indians* ſtood ſtaring and gaping, hearing this doctrine, which had never been heard of before in their country; for they believ'd, that there was no other king in the world but their king *Guayanacapa*, nor other gods but their idols. Among all the things they admir'd, there were two chiefly: the one was a negro; for they never had ſeen one, and did believe that his colour was ſome ſtrong dye; for which reaſon they beſtowed much pains in waſhing his face to get it off; but when they ſaw that he was rather blacker, and that he ſhewed at the ſame time white teeth, for he could not hold laughing to ſee their ſimplicity, they fell a laughing too, and could not but admire ſuch a ſort of men. The other thing was the crowing of a cock, which the captain ſent them with a hen of *Caſtille*: every time he crowed, they ask'd what he ſaid; for they thought his voice articulate, like the human voice; which is an argument that they had not that kind of fowl: and *Garcilaſſo de la Vega* is of that opinion, anſwering the objection of the *indian* name they give a hen, that is, *Atagualpa*, which, he ſays, was a name given by the *Indians* after the coming of the *Spaniards*. The *Spaniards* having refreſh'd themſelves well on ſhore, began to deſire of *Piſarro* to return to *Panama*, and gather a greater force, that which he then had being very diſproportioned to his undertaking: he yielded to their perſwaſions, having, for this time, made diſcovery only as far as a place called *Santa*, which is very near the equinoctial line; and having had a more certain account of *Cuſco*, its riches, and the mighty *empire* it was head of. So taking with him ſome *Indians*, and ſome patterns of the gold, as a teſtimony of the diſcovery, he return'd to *Panama*.

They wonder at the crowing of a cock.

CHAP. XIII.

Captain Franciſco Piſarro *returns to* Panama, *goes from thence to* Spain, *and purſues his Conqueſt.*

PISARRO being come to *Panama*, went with his two companions to the governor *Don Pedro de los Rios*, to repreſent to him their reaſons for continuing their diſcovery, upon the account of the riches of the country, as well as the planting the faith in the capital of ſo great a monarchy, and ſo in all its dominions: but the governor would not agree to it; and ſo they reſolved that *Piſarro* ſhould go to *Spain*, to propoſe it to the king himſelf. He undertook the voyage; and to give more credit to what he ſhould ſay, he took along with him ſeveral things proper to the country he had diſcovered, as pieces of gold and ſilver, ſome of thoſe ſheep we have mentioned, and ſome of the *Indians* themſelves clothed after the manner of their country. The king was much pleas'd with them; and *Piſarro*, in his firſt audience, began to propoſe the intent of his diſcovery, the great hardſhips he had endured, he and his companions going naked, and almoſt ſtarved, expoſed to the moſquitos and poiſon'd arrows of the *Indians*; and all this, having ſpent three years in this ſort of life, for the increaſe of the goſpel and his majeſty's royal dominions. His majeſty heard him with much attention and goodneſs, ſhewing great compaſſion for his ſufferings, and ordering a gratification for himſelf, and his two companions, as alſo the thirteen who would not forſake him: he receiv'd all his memorials, and order'd them to be diſpatched to his mind, having firſt made an agreement with him proportionably to his great merits. They did not believe in *Spain* (and that is an old diſeaſe every where) all that *Piſarro* ſaid of the riches of *Peru*, and of the palaces and houſes of ſtone which he had ſeen, till he ſhewed them the pieces of gold and ſilver which he had brought with him; and then the fame of that land began to ſpread its ſelf, and with it the covetouſneſs of ſharing thoſe treaſures, every one blaming the governor of *Panama* for not having given the neceſſary aſſiſtance to the diſcovery.

The ruin of Peru not believ'd in Spain.

Piſarro being diſpatched with the title of *Adelantado* of the firſt two hundred leagues he ſhould conquer, having alſo a new coat of arms, and other privileges granted to him; and taking with him four ſtout brothers that he had, he embark'd for the *Indies* with one hundred and twenty five *Caſtillians* more. He left *Sanlucar* in *January* 1530. and arriv'd at *Puerto Bello*, where he was received with great joy by his companions and friends, who were all pleaſed with the favours the king had beſtow'd upon them by his means: only *Don Diego de Almagro* was not ſo well pleas'd that *Piſarro* had made a better bargain for himſelf than for him, his partner in all the undertaking; he made his complaint to him, and reſolved to part company, and diſcover and conquer by himſelf: but being aſſured that as ſoon as the firſt two hundred leagues ſhould be conquer'd

1530.

quered, he would uſe his intereſt to have him made *Adelantado* of two hundred more before any of his brothers; and ſo ſuffering himſelf to be perſuaded, they agreed anew, and fell to preparing every thing for their enterprize. He remain'd at *Panama*; and the *Adelantado*, with his brothers, went from thence with a good crew of men, being to be followed by *Almagro*, as before. To make ſhort about the things performed by this great conqueror, the great riches he got, and among the reſt an emerald as big as an egg, which was preſented to him, we will ſuppoſe him at the iſland of *Pura* in war with the *Tombezinos*; and there he came to a clearer information of the riches of *Cuſco*, and the ſtate in which that monarchy was at preſent: and becauſe he had receiv'd a ſpecial command, and was himſelf inclin'd to propagate our ſacred religion, as the beſt means of furthering his own deſign, the firſt thing he did, in landing upon the continent of *Peru*, was to build a church to God, to give a beginning to the ſpiritual conqueſt of ſouls. His firſt ſettlement was at *Pura*, where was built the firſt church that was ever erected in thoſe kingdoms. While he was employ'd in this, he ſent out to diſcover more lands, to know more of the ſtate of the country. There he learnt the diviſion that was between the two brothers *Guaſcar* and *Atagualpa*, which was occaſion'd by the death of their father *Guayanacapa*, who was a moſt powerful monarch, and among other ſons had theſe two, which were now in war, and ſome of his ſubjects follow'd the one, and ſome the other. *Guaſcar* was the lawful heir, but not ſo brave and warlike as *Atagualpa*, who, though a baſtard, yet becauſe he had follow'd his father in his wars from a child, drew to himſelf a great part of the kingdom, with which he made war upon his brother, with hopes to prevail.

Peru diſcovered, and a church built.

A civil war between the heirs to the empire of Peru.

The *Adelantado Don Franciſco Piſarro* reſolved to have an interview with *Atagualpa*, who was the neareſt to the place where he was. So putting his truſt in God, he ſet out with his ſmall army, more to be valued for its bravery than its number, which nevertheleſs was feared and reſpected in its march. He came near the place where *Atagualpa* had his camp, which was near fifty thouſand men, and ſent him his ambaſſadors on horſeback, which was a new thing in that country, to give him advice of his arrival, and the reaſon of it, which was, To perſuade his majeſty, and his vaſſals, to give obedience to the true king of glory, from whom is derived all the power and command that princes have on earth. *Atagualpa* receiv'd the ambaſſadors in a ſtately tent, ſhewing in all his behaviour a ſovereign majeſty; and though his courtiers were in great admiration of the horſes, which they had never ſeen, yet he kept his countenance, and conceal'd the effects ſuch a novelty might have over him. He look'd upon them with ſome pleaſure, and not as on a ſtrange thing he had never ſeen; for the horſes beginning to corvet, ſome of his *Indians* run away, whom he preſently cauſed to be put to death, for having ſhewed cowardice in his royal preſence. He anſwered the ambaſſadors courteouſly, ſhewing the pleaſure he ſhould have to ſee and hear their general; and ſet a day for it, telling them, That they ſhould not be diſturbed, nor afraid to find him and his people in arms, for it was his cuſtom to uſe them to it.

Ovalle. 1646.

All the Indians ſurpriz'd at the ſight of the horſes.

The day came; and *Atagualpa* marching in order with his army to the place where the *Spaniards* were drawn up, he diſcover'd to his captains the mind he had to make an end with thoſe ſtrangers, who had been ſo bold as to enter into his country, and come ſo near him without having any reſpect to his royal power: but he order'd them not to kill them, but to take them alive, becauſe he would uſe them as his ſlaves; and as for the dogs and horſes, he reſolv'd to offer them in ſacrifice to his gods. The *Caſtilians*, who were not totally ignorant of this falſe appearance of peace and friendſhip, though they were ſo few that the *Indians* were four hundred to one, yet they did not loſe courage; but with confidence in God expected the encounter, taking their poſts, and preparing every thing for it, though ſecretly, that they might not be thought the *Aggreſſors*. Therefore he drawing near, the *Adelantado* ſtay'd for him with only fifteen men, the reſt being retir'd and hid, and ſent him an embaſſy by a frier, who carried the goſpel, and told him, *That in thoſe books were contained the faith, by which he and his people might be ſaved, and they brought it him from God Almighty.*

Atagualpa deſigns to ſurpriſe and deſtroy the Spaniards.

Atagualpa ſummoned by a frier.

The king heard the frier, and took the maſs-book out of his hands, looking earneſtly upon it: but not knowing how to read it, and taking it all for a jeſt and a fiction, he threw the book up into the air, making a ſign at the ſame time to his people to fall on; which they did: and then the *Adelantado* lifting up a hankerchief, which was the ſignal to our men, they play'd upon them with their muskets on one hand, and the dogs and horſemen attacked them on the other, ſo that the victory ſoon appear'd for the *Caſtilians*; God Almighty having reſolved to deſtroy that monarchy of the *Ingas*, and to remove that obſtacle to the propagating of the faith, and to put that land into hands that ſhould increaſe it, as their catholick majeſties have done. They took the king *Atagualpa* priſoner; but treated

He is taken priſoner.

Ovalle. 1646. ed him with all reſpect due to his royal perſon, as the hiſtorians relate more at large. While this happen'd, which was on a *friday*, a day dedicated to the croſs, in the month 1533. of *May*, in the year 1533. the army which *Atagualpa* had ſent againſt his brother *Guaſcar*, near *Cuſco*, overcame him and took him Guaſcar taken priſoner also. priſoner, and were bringing him to *Atagualpa*, without knowing any thing of what had happened between him and the *Caſtilians*; but on the way *Guaſcar* learned that his enemy was a priſoner too; and *Atagualpa* was at the ſame time informed of the victory he had obtained; he hearing it, ſhook his head, and cried, *O fortune! what is this, that I am this day a conqueror, and conquered? Guaſcar* moderated his grief with the news of his enemy's misfortune, thinking that the *Caſtilians* would revenge him on the tyrant, who pretended to take from him his lawful inheritance.

Atagualpa, though a priſoner, began to make reflections in this manner: If I cauſe my brother to be put to death, how do I know how the *Caſtilians* will take it? and whether they will not put me to death for this, and remain lords of the land. If I let him come on, and he ſpeaks with them, the juſtice of his cauſe will ſpeak for him, and I muſt periſh; for I cannot expect mercy from any. What remedy? He found it cunningly, as he thought: he feigned a great ſadneſs, with a deſign that the *Piſarros*, who viſited him every day, ſhould ask him what was the matter. They did accordingly; and ſeeing him ſo afflicted, deſired to know the cauſe of that extraordinary grief. He anſwer'd deceitfully, That having received the news that his generals had put to death his brother *Guaſcar*, it gave him an exceeding grief, of which he was not to be comforted; becauſe though they were enemies, yet he was his brother; and he could not but be much concerned at his death. All this was feigned, to ſee how the *Spaniards* would take it; and finding they did not ſeem offended at the thing, he ſent orders immediately to his generals, who were coming on with his brother, that they Guaſcar put to death by the order of Atagualpa. ſhould put him to death preſently by the way; which they did, by drowning of him in a river, which amongſt them is an infamous death. His cries to heaven to revenge his unjuſt death were uſeleſs at that time.

But let no man give it to another to ſave his own life; for there is not a ſhorter, nor a more certain way for him to loſe it: let him not ſtrive by politick maxims, which an unjuſt and ambitious paſſion ſuggeſts; for though that may be an appearance of ſtability, yet divine juſtice breaks thorough it all like cobwebs, and at length leaves no crime without its chaſtiſement. *Atagualpa* proved himſelf a great example of this truth, all his artifices ſerving only to afford his enemies a pretext to take away his life. He had promiſed to fill the room where they kept him priſoner, which was a very large one, with gold and ſilver, beſides ten thouſand bars of gold, and ſome heaps of jewels, as an earneſt, for his ranſom. And though this was accepted; and that he performed it according to his promiſe, yet he did not obtain what he pretended; for inſtead of his liberty they pronounced to him a ſentence of death, which he juſtly deſerved for having put his brother to it, and tyranniz'd over that which was none of his own; and becauſe of the advice the *Spaniards* had every day of the army that was gathering together, which if it were true, and *Atagualpa*, at liberty at the head of them, there would have been good reaſon to fear from his ſubtilty, great and irremediable inconveniences; which they thought they could no ways avoid ſo well as by taking his life, though with ſome hopes of his exchanging it for a better and eternal one, if it be true, that before he died he was inſtructed, and received baptiſm, as ſome ſay he did.

A prodigious ranſom.

The Spaniards take the ranſom, and perfidiouſly put Atagualpa to death.

About this time, which was in the year 1533. *Don Diego d'Almagro* being made marſhal, came from *Panama* to *Tombez* with a good body of men and arms; and from thence he went on to help his good friend, the *Adelantado Piſarro* in his conqueſts, not letting his men do any injury to his *Indians* as he went. There were a hundred thouſand pieces of eight given them upon their arrival; for though they were not at the battel, yet their preſence confirmed the victory, and helped to keep *Atagualpa* priſoner. The remainder of the treaſure, which was above a million, was divided among *Piſarro*'s men; and they being few, were all made rich, and in a condition to make diſcoveries of their own. The *Adelantado* ſent his brother *Hernando Piſarro* to *Caſtile*, with the news of this happy progreſs of their diſcoveries, and of the propagating the chriſtian faith in the converſion of the *Indians*; and he alſo carried with him the claim of *Don Diago d'Almagro* to two hundred leagues of land beyond his brother's, of which he was likewiſe to be *Adelantado*. All this he negotiated very much to the content of all; and in the year 1534. there was granted, in *Toledo*, to *Don Diego d'Almagro* the government of that which they called the new kingdom of *Toledo*, which began at a place called *Las Chinchas*, where the territory of *Piſarro* ended, and extended itſelf to the *Streights* of *Magellan*. 1533. 1534.

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CHAP. XIV.

The News of the Government of Don Diego de Almagro *is brought to him; and he goes upon the Diſcovery of that of* Chile.

DON *Franciſco Piſarro* had given commiſſion to Don *Diego d'Almagro*, to to take poſſeſſion of *Cuſco*, when the news came of the government of two hundred leagues given him by his majeſty, to begin from the *Chinchas*. This cauſed great diſturbance; for it was believed that *Cuſco* would fall into this diviſion; and the friends of Don *Franciſco Piſarro*, judging this of great prejudice to *Piſarro*, that the marſhal, even by his commiſſion, ſhould find himſelf in poſſeſſion of *Cuſco*, they adviſed him immediately to revoke the powers he had given, which he did; and this was the firſt cauſe of the diſturbance in *Peru*, which made afterwards ſo great a noiſe, and for which they both loſt their lives. But I being to write the hiſtory of *Chile*, and not of *Peru*, ſhall leave the reader to thoſe hiſtorians who treat of it at large. This news being known in *Truxillo*, one *Diego de Aguero* ſet out to carry it to *Almagro*, who was upon his march to take poſſeſſion of *Cuſco*. He overtook him at the bridge of *Acambay*; and he having received it with great moderation, ſhewed himſelf above the greatneſs of his fortune, and gave him as an *albricias*, or preſent for his good news, ſeven thouſand *Caſtilians*, which are near twenty thouſand ducats; and by this news he was moved to change his deſign of conquering a people called the *Chiriguænaes*, and treated of that of *Chile*; for he ſuppoſed it would fall into the government he was to have, and (as *Herrera* ſays) moved by the informations he had of the great riches of *Chile*.

To prepare himſelf for this enterprize, which was like to be very chargeable, he cauſed a great deal of ſilver to be melted in *Cuſco*, to draw out the king's fifths. Amongſt other things, there was a man's burden of gold rings to be melted down; and one *Juan de Lepe* being by, and taking a fancy for one of them, begged it of marſhal *Almagro*, who ſhewed himſelf ſo much a gentleman, and ſo liberal, that he ſaid preſently, that he ſhould not only take that ring, but that he ſhould open both his hands, and take as many as could lie in them; and hearing he was married, he ordered him beſides four hundred crowns as a preſent for his wife. He ſhewed another piece of liberality to one *Bartholomew Peres*, for having preſented him with a ſhield, which was, to order him likewiſe four hundred pieces of eight, and a ſilver pot weighing forty marks of ſilver, and had for handles two lions of gold, which weighed three hundred and forty pieces of eight; and to one *Montenegro*, who preſented him with the firſt *Spaniſh* cat that ever came to the *Indies*, he ordered ſix hundred pieces of eight. There are a great many ſtories more of his liberality and charity too, he being very generous and noble minded. Having diſpoſed all for his enterprize of *Chile*, he cauſed proclamation to be made, That all thoſe who had not ſome particular employment to ſtay them at *Cuſco*, ſhould make themſelves ready to go along with him. They were all overjoy'd at this, he being extreamly beloved for his liberality and courteſy; and that they might furniſh themſelves with arms and horſes, he cauſed one hundred and eighty load of ſilver to be brought out of his houſe, (in thoſe days a load of ſilver was as much as a man could carry,) and twenty more of gold: this he diſtributed among them all. Thoſe who were willing, gave him bonds to pay him out of what they ſhould conquer in the land they were to diſcover; for this was the way of theſe conquerors in gaining to his majeſty this new world, having no other pay but what they could purchaſe.

A cat no Indian animal.

The vaſt riches of the firſt conquerors in India.

The *Inga Mango*, who was brother to *Guaſcar* and *Atagualpa*, had ſucceeded them in the government, as the ſon of *Guayanacapa*, who had alſo many others. This *Inga* had taken a great kindneſs for marſhal *Almagro*; ſo he gave him, as a companion in his entrprize, a brother of his, called the *Inga Paullo Topo*, and the high prieſt *Villacumu*; the *Spaniards* call him *Villaoma*, or *Vileboma*, that they might by their authority not only keep all his vaſſals from falling upon them in the way, but rather ſhould receive him, and make him preſents. The marſhal deſired theſe two perſons to go before, in company with three *Caſtilians*, and make a ſettlement or habitation at the end of two hundred leagues. The other people, and *Juan de Savedra*, went by another way; and when they had gone one hundred and thirty leagues from *Cuſco*, they founded the town of *Paria*. Here the marſhal overtook them; and he was likewiſe aſſured of the title of *Adelantado* granted him by his majeſty, with the government of the new kingdom of *Toledo*, which was to begin from the borders of *new Caſtile*; for ſo they called *Piſarro*'s government. His friends adviſ'd him to return immediately,

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diately, wherever this expreſs overtook him, becauſe there was one come to the city of *Los Reyes*, with a commiſſion from the king to regulate limits of both governments to each of the *Adelantadoes*: but *Almagro* was ſo poſſeſs'd with the ambition of conquering ſo great and rich a kingdom as that of *Chile*, that he did not value the land he had diſcovered, in compariſon of what he was to diſcover, out of which he deſign'd to reward his friends, and the many gentlemen that accompanied him; ſo he purſued his journey; where it will not be amiſs to leave him engaged with the ſnows, and ill paſſages of the *Cordillera*, while we give a viſit to the great city of *Lima*, called otherwiſe *de los Reyes*, becauſe it being the head of thoſe kingdoms, we cannot well paſs it by.

Lima founded by Francisco Piſarro in the year 1555. Its ſituation.

This city was founded by the *Adelantado* Don *Franciſco Piſarro* in the year 1555. in a very pleaſant plain, about two leagues from the ſea, upon a fine quiet river; which being derived by drains and cuts all over the plain, fertilize it ſo copiouſly, that it is all covered with ſeveral ſorts of products, as vineyards, ſugar-works, flax, garden product, and other delightful plants: and if there be any thing they want from abroad, 'tis brought them ſo punctually, that all their markets are ſupplied with all manner of delicacies that can be wiſhed for.

A delicious place.

For this and many other delights of this city, it happens to moſt people who live there, that they cannot endure to think of leaving it for any other place; ſo that it ſeems an enchanted place, where the entrance is eaſy, and the getting out difficult. I myſelf heard the *Spaniſh* merchants, who, the year I was there, had ſold their goods themſelves at *Lima*, whereas they uſed to ſell them at *Puerto Bello*, ſo enamoured of it, though they ſtay'd but a little while there, that during our whole navigation, they could talk of nothing elſe; and to ſay truth, it deſerves their praiſes; for though it cannot be denied, that ſome cities I have ſeen in *Europe* do out-do it in ſome things, yet few come near it, take it altogether: and, firſt, for riches, it is the fountain from whence all the reſt of the world drinks; its bravery in cloaths, and magnificency of the court, out-does all others: 'tis extraordinary populous; for a father of our company, who had the care of catechiſing the negroes, told me, they were at leaſt ſixty thouſand, and more, that came to confeſſion. They have ſumptuous buildings, though outwardly they make no ſhew, having no tiles; for it never rains all the year round: all the furniture, as pictures, beds, *&c.* are mighty rich. There are great numbers of coaches, and abundance of gentry; all the inhabitants very rich, merchants of great ſtocks, tradeſmen and handicraftſmen of all profeſſions. But that which is to me moſt conſiderable, is, what belongs to the worſhip of God, and cult of religion; for the cathedral church, and all the pariſh churches are very ſumptuous, and provided of admirable learned men, which come out of that univerſity; of which thoſe of the country are not the leaſt to be valued, having furniſhed ſo many preachers and other ſubjects for all other dignities, even to the higheſt government. What ſhall I ſay of the orders of friers and nuns? I ſcarce know one order that has not two or three convents in the city, beautiful cloiſters, great buildings, and yet greater churches; ſome after the old faſhion; all with burniſhed gold from top to bottom, as are thoſe of St. *Auguſtin*, and St. *Dominick*: others after the modern way, with curious well-wrought ceilings; as is that of the *Jeſuits*, and of our lady of *Mercede*, which are of a very fine architecture. There are eight nunneries, ſome of which have above two hundred nuns in them. There are beſides many oratories, confraternities, hoſpitals, and congregations. In our convent alone of the jeſuits, I remember there were eight foundations of ſeveral kinds, and for people of as many different ranks and eſtates in the world. The great congregation has few in the world equal to it: the chappel of it is very large, and of a very rich material, covered with ſilk and gold, and rare pictures, with other rich ornaments belonging to it. There is here great frequentation of the ſacraments by monthly communions: the body of Chriſt is expoſed, and the church ſo adorned with muſick and ſweet ſmells, that it is a paradiſe upon earth. And amongſt other pieces of devotion performed by this congregation, there is a great entertainment or treat given once a year at an hoſpital, which is ſo magnificent, that it is worth ſeeing: the ſame is done in proportion by the other congregations.

Its magnificence.

It never rains at Lima.

This city is the ſeat of a viceroy, who indeed is a king in greatneſs and authority, diſpoſing of a vaſt number of places, commands, and poſts of honour and profit. There is likewiſe a rich archbiſhoprick of great authority; three courts, or royal audiencias; a merchant court, which decides all matters of trade; a famous univerſity, in which are profeſſors very learned in their profeſſions; three colleges or ſchools for youth, under the care of the fathers of our company of *Jeſus*, in which are about one hundred and thirty profeſſors or maſters: there are every day new foundations for orphans, widows, and to retire women from lewdneſs: there is the famous hoſpital of St. *Andrew* for the *Spaniards*, and St. *Anne* for the *Indians*; all which would require a relation by themſelves.

This

This is what I could not avoid ſaying about this great capital of *Peru*; and if it continues increaſing as it has done for this firſt age, it will not have its fellow in the world. The ſame may be ſaid of *Cuſco*, *Arequipa*, *Chuquizaga*, and the great town of *Potoſi*, which increaſe ſo, that he who is abſent a few years, does not know them when he ſees them again; and the reaſon is, that the veins and mines of gold and ſilver, which like a loadſtone, have drawn ſo many people thither, are ſo far from leſſening, that new ones are diſcover'd every day, and thoſe richer than the old ones; for which reaſon there comes yearly more people, and among them much gentry, as well as tradeſmen of all arts and profeſſions, who moſt of them ſettle and increaſe there.

The beſt cities in Peru *next to* Lima.

OVALLE 1646.

CHAP. XV.

The Adelantado Almagro *enters into* Chile, *having ſuffered extremely by the Way.*

WE left the *Adelantado Don Diego de Almagro* in a place call'd *Paria*, from whence he was to purſue his journey to *Chile*, as he did in the beginning of the year 1535. He himſelf going before, order'd *Juan de Savedra* to follow with twelve horſe by the royal highway thorough the province of *Las Chichas*, the chief place of which was *Topiſa*, where he found the *Inga Paulo*, and the prieſt *Villacumu*, who preſented him with ninety thouſand peſos of very fine gold, it being the tribute they us'd to ſend the *Inga* from *Chile*, and which they were now ſending, without being inform'd of the tragical accidents that had befallen the family; and there he ſent back a great many *Caciques* of the countries he left behind him, and who had waited upon him thither.

1535.

The three *Spaniards*, whom he had ſent with the *Inga Paulo*, and two more who joined themſelves to them, being deſirous of making new diſcoveries, and acquiring honour, and withal making their court to the marſhal, went before, till they came to a place call'd *Jujuy*, which is a place or country where the people are very warlike, and eat human fleſh, and who kept the *Ingas* always in great awe. This boldneſs coſt three of the *Spaniards* their lives, though they ſold them dear. The *Adelantado* being reſolv'd to revenge their deaths ſent captain *Salſedo*, with ſixty horſe and foot, to chaſtiſe thoſe *Indians*; but they, being alarm'd, had call'd together their friends, and made a fort to defend themſelves in, and many pits with ſharp ſtakes in them, that the horſes might fall into them; with which, and many ſacrifices and invocations made to their gods, they had reſolv'd to expect their enemies. Captain *Salſedo* found them thus fortified, and being himſelf inferior in ſtrength, ſent to the *Adelantado* for relief, who ſent it him under the command of Don *Franciſco de Chares*; but the *Indians* then avoided engaging, and reſolved to abandon their fort; though, not to loſe all their pains, they reſolv'd firſt to attack Don *Franciſco de Chares*, where they kill'd a great many, and particularly of the *Indians Yanaconas*, and carrying off the ſpoils, they made a ſafe retreat: the *Spaniards* return'd back to their chief body. Since we mention'd the *Yanaconas*, it will not be amiſs to explain the ſignification of that word, for the better underſtanding of what follows.

What the Yanaconas *were.*

The *Yanaconas* were, among the *Indians*, a people ſubject to perpetual ſlavery; and to be known, were bound to wear a ſort of habit different from the reſt. Theſe ſeeing the bravery of the *Spaniards*, and how much they made themſelves be fear'd and reſpected, began to riſe againſt their maſters, and adhered to the *Spaniards*, hoping thereby to ſhake off the yoke of ſlavery; and became cruel enemies to the other *Indians*. That which this word *Yanacona* now ſignifies in *Chile*, is, thoſe *Indians* who do not belong to any particular lord; for as to freedom, there is no difference, the king having made them all free alike.

From *Jujuy* the *Adelantado* march'd with the vanguard, purſuing his journey, leaving the rear to the care and command of *Nogaral de Ulloa*. He came to a place call'd *Chaquana*, where he found the *Indians* in arms; for though at firſt they were frighted with the ſwiftneſs of the horſes, yet at laſt they grew ſo little afraid of them, that they took a ſolemn oath by the great ſun, either to die or kill them all. The *Adelantado* attack'd them, and was in great danger, for they kill'd his horſe under him in the engagement; but he continuing ſtill to fight them, they reſolv'd at laſt to retire: then he purſued his journey, with his whole army, which was of two hundred horſe, and ſomething above three hundred foot; with a great many *Indians*, as well *Yanaconas*, as others, who aſſiſted the *Inga Paulo*. The army being thus numerous, they began to want proviſions; and which was worſe, they were without hopes of finding any, there being no place thereabouts that could afford it, the country being a deſart,

The reſolution of the Indians *of* Chile.

Ovalle. 1646.

which laſted ſeven days, all barren ground, and full of ſalt nitre; and for their comfort, as they deſcended a hill or precipice, after which they hop'd for ſome relief, they met with the ſnows of the *Cordillera*, which was a ſight able to freeze the boldeſt undertaker, conſidering the dangers and ſufferings they were threatened with. *Herrera*, when he comes to this paſſage, ſays, ſpeaking of the bravery of the *Spaniards*, and their patience in ſuffering a great deal, which I ſhall not relate, that I may not be thought to praiſe my own countrymen with affectation; but I cannot omit ſome part of it: He ſays then, That to overcome ſuch difficulties, none could have attempted it, but ſuch as were us'd to endure hunger and thirſt, and to enter into a country without guides, through foreſts, and over great torrents, fighting at the ſame time with their enemies and the elements, and ſhewing invincible minds; marching both day and night, enduring cold and heat, loaded with their arms and proviſion; being all of them ready to put a hand to all things, even the moſt noble among them being the firſt, when a bridge or any thing was to be made, to turn pioneers and carpenters, and cut down trees, by which they were fit for the greateſt enterprizes.

The hardſhips the Spaniards *endured;*

The *Adelantado* ſeeing the new, and, in all appearance, the inſuperable difficulty that attended this journey, did not loſe courage, but made a bold exhortation to his men, telling them, That theſe were accidents that us'd to befal ſoldiers, without which no great honour could be gain'd, nor any of thoſe riches which they ſought after; that they ſhould put their truſt in God, who would not fail to aſſiſt them, ſince the planting of his faith depended upon their preſervation. They all anſwer'd chearfully, that they were ready to follow him to death; and becauſe example is the beſt rhetorick, he firſt began to enter into the *Cordillera*, or ſnowy mountains, with a detachment of horſe going before, that if he found any proviſions, he might ſend a ſhare to the army, which began to faint for want of it. But the more he advanc'd, he met with nothing but vaſt deſarts, with a wind ſo cold, that it ſtruck them through; and the paſſage grew ſtraiter and ſtraiter, till at laſt, it pleaſed God, that from a high hill, they diſcover'd the valley of *Copiapo*, where the kingdom of *Chile* begins, where they were receiv'd very kindly by the *Indians*, out of the reſpect they bore to the *Inga Paulo*, and afforded them proviſions enough to ſend ſome to the army which follow'd. 'Tis not poſſible to imagine how much they were preſs'd both by cold and hunger, both *Spaniards* and *Indians*; here one would fall into the ſnow, and be buried before he was dead; another would lean againſt a rock, and remain frozen, juſt as if he had been alive. If any did but ſtop to take breath, immediately a blaſt of cold air left him fix'd and immoveable, as if he had been of iron; and a *Negroe*, who had a led horſe in his hand, did but turn his head, and ſtop to ſee who call'd him, as ſome body did, and both he and the horſe remain'd like two ſtatues; ſo that there was no remedy but to keep moving, for it was a certain death to ſtop a little; but it could not be, but people ſo weary and ſo weak, muſt ſtand ſtill ſometimes; and therefore they loſt a great many men, ſtrowed up and down the mountain.

Particularly in paſſing the Cordillera.

A remarkable inſtance of exceſſive cold.

Garcilaſſo ſays, there died ten thouſand *Indians* and *Negroes*; of the fifteen thouſand which went with the *Inga Paulo*, only five thouſand eſcaped; for being all natives of *Peru*, and not having ever felt ſuch cold, for which they were totally unprovided with cloaths, they died apace; the *Spaniards* being better provided, endur'd leſs; and yet *Garcilaſſo* ſays, they loſt above a hundred and fifty men, and thirty horſes, which was a great loſs; others loſt their fingers and toes, without feeling it. Their greateſt ſufferings were in the night-time; for they had no wood to make fire, and the *Indians* eat the very dead bodies out of hunger. The *Spaniards* with all their hearts would have eat the dead horſes, but they could not ſtop to flea them. At laſt the proviſions, ſent them by the *Adelantado*, met them; ſo they paſs'd the reſt of the way pretty well. When they came to the valley, the *Indians* made much of them, where we will leave them, to ſee how others, that came after the *Adelantado*, paſs the mountain.

CHAP. XVI.

Others paſs the Cordillera. *What happened to the* Adelantado *in* Copiapo. *His Return from* Chile. *His Misfortune and Death.*

The vaſt riches of Chile.

I DO not find clearly the time of the year in which this army paſs'd the *Cordillera*: 'tis certain it could not be in the midſt of ſummer, nor in the heart of winter, becauſe not one of them would have eſcaped, ſince the firſt high wind would have overwhelm'd them in the ſnow; therefore they paſs'd it, either in the beginning, or the end of the winter;

winter; and moſt probably it was at the entrance of the winter; for if it had been at the going out of the winter, thoſe who followed would not have run ſo great a hazard.

The firſt of theſe was one *Rodrigo Orgonnes*, who was left by the *Adelantado* in *Cuſco*, to raiſe men and follow him, as he did. He loſt his nails, and would have loſt his fingers, if he had not taken his hand off the pole that held his tent up: others loſt their eyes, their ears, and many their lives; particularly all thoſe who were in one tent, which a ſtorm riſing carried up, and in the morning they were found all dead in the ſnow: they loſt alſo ſix and twenty horſes.

The next who paſſed after *Rodrigo Orgonnes*, was one *Juan de Arrada*, who brought the *Adelantado* the king's diſpatches, and his commiſſion for his government, whom we left in *Copiapo*; and it will not be amiſs to ſee what befel him there, before he receiv'd his commiſſion, and ſaw his friends. The firſt thing he did in this valley, was a work of charity and juſtice, in favour of the true lord of that land, who was not in poſſeſſion of the government, becauſe he was left a minor, under the guardianſhip of his uncle, who not only did not think of putting him in poſſeſſion, but contriv'd to take his life, which he would have effected, if he could have got him into his hands; but the ſubjects, more loyal than he, had hid him out of the way. The *Adelantado* being inform'd of the truth of this matter, and being entreated by the wrong'd prince, reſtor'd him to the poſſeſſion of his government, putting the tyrant to death.

Before this happened, at their firſt arrival at *Copiapo*, the *Inga Paulo* took care to look out for ſome gold in that little province; and in one day having got together the value of above two hundred thouſand ducats, he preſented the *Adelantado* with it, in the name of his brother, the *Inga Mango*; which gave the *Spaniards* great cauſe of admiration, ſeeing that in one village, and in ſo little time, ſo much gold had been found, gathering from this, how prodigious rich the country muſt be; and therefore *Almagro* was content to think all his pains well taken, that he had been at to come into it.

The vaſt riches of Chile.

The *Inga Paulo* finding his preſent ſo well received, being deſirous to make his court, got from the neighbouring parts three hundred thouſand ducats of gold more, which he preſented to the *Adelantado*; which gave him ſuch joy, to ſee that ſo rich a country was fallen to his lot, that he caus'd all his people to be aſſembled, and pulling out all the bonds and obligations made to him in *Cuſco*, for the gold and ſilver which he had there lent them, he cancell'd them all, one by one, declaring to his debtors, That he freely forgave them their debts, and was ſorry they were not greater: and not only ſo, but opening his bags of gold, he began to uſe great liberalities; which ſo pleaſed them, that they forgot the dangers they had gone thorough, every one promiſing himſelf vaſt riches from ſuch a conqueſt. *Franciſco Lopes de Gomara*, who writes this hiſtory, ſays, That it was a liberality becoming a great prince, rather than a private ſoldier: but he adds, as a conſideration of the little ſtability of human affairs, and the proſperity of this world, that when he died, he had no body to give a pall to cover his coffin. OVALLE. 1646.

But let us not afflict the reader ſo ſoon with the memory of that lamentable tragedy; let us rather follow this great captain in his good fortune. As he went further into the country, he was reſpected and treated as if he had been the *Inga* himſelf, in all the places he came to; but when he came to a nation called the *Promocaes*, which was the limits, beyond which the kings of *Peru* could never extend their empire, he found the ſame reſiſtance as they had done. The *Adelantado* perceiving this, demanded ſuccour from the *Inga Paulo*, who gave it him, by calling in the *Inga*'s garriſons of the neighbouring frontier; and ſo the war began.

Great oppoſition by the Indians.

Here the *Spaniards* met with their match, and began to experience that the conqueſt of this part of *America* would not be compaſs'd by their bare appearing with their horſes, dogs, and guns; or that a kingdom might be got by taking a king priſoner, and ſeparating his army to their purpoſes, and ſo remain abſolute maſters of the field; for here they met with a nation, who though they admir'd their horſes, and were ſurpriz'd to ſee them, yet the greatneſs of their courage overcame that ſurprize; ſo they met and engaged them with great valour, and many were kill'd on both ſides. The *Spaniſh* blood, which uſed to be ſo little ſpilt, was here ſhed in abundance; and from that time to this, the ſlaughter of them has not ceaſed, ſo as to make either ſide ſafe.

However, the valour of the *Spaniards*, and the advantage they had over them by horſes and guns, was ſuch, as they might well depend upon, which made them conceive the conqueſt of *Chile* to be a work of about two years at moſt; as 'tis probable it would have been, if the diviſions between *Almagro* and *Piſarro*, and his brothers, had not cut the thread of that enterprize, as it did that of their own lives; for they periſhed by one another's hands, upon points of conteſt about juriſdiction.

About

OVALLE. 1646. About this time the *Adelantado* being engaged with the *Indians* in a bloody war, *Rodrigo Orgonnes* arriv'd with his *Spaniards*, and ſo did *Juan de Arrado*, with the king's royal patents, and a commiſſion for the government of a hundred leagues of the country; which was juſt as if a deluge of water had been poured upon the fire already lighted of the war with the *Promocaes*, *Cauquenes*, and *Pencos*, who were the nations that had withſtood this invaſion. As for the *Indians* they pretended to no more than to defend their country, and their liberty, from foreign invaders; and the *Spaniards* found themſelves call'd away by more earneſt motives of intereſt, and ſo turned another way. Not but that there were different opinions about what was to be done; ſome thought that it was better to ſettle where they were, the heavens and earth being both the beſt that they had yet diſcovered, and its riches ſuch as they were witneſſes of; others were of opinion to be content with what they had diſcovered, without expoſing themſelves to new dangers, and the accidents of war. But thoſe who brought the king's commiſſion, inſiſted extreamly, that the *Adelantado* ſhould go to enjoy the effect of the king's favour to him; and above all, that which mov'd *Almagro* moſt, was the jealouſy of ſeeing the *Piſarros* maſters of *Peru*: to which might be added, that if he did not take poſſeſſion of *Cuſco*, by virtue of the king's patent, he might be in danger of remaining, at laſt, without any title to any thing he had. In this confuſion of motives, the *Adelantado* ſtuck to the worſt, as it happened, ſince he loſt his life: he had it ſeems arriv'd to the top of fortune's wheel; and 'tis the ſame thing with her to ſtand ſtill, and to begin to go down; which he did, till he tumbled quite to the ground, and had his head ſeparated from his ſhoulders.

The world ſeldom performs its promiſes; otherwiſe who could have told this great and generous man, that he ſhould fall by thoſe hands, to which he had lent his? The *Piſarro* [illegible] not have been at that height, [illegible] frankneſs and friendſhip of *Almagro* [illegible] aſſiſted them from the beginning with his fortune and good counſel; but nothing of all this was ſufficient to ſave him from death by their procurement. The differences between them grew to that height, that they engaged in a battle againſt each other; in which the *Piſarros* were conquerors, and *Hernando Piſarro*, the chief of them, order'd *Almagro* to be beheaded, being no ways touch'd with their antient friendſhip, nor the ſubmiſſions and tears of *Almagro* himſelf, though a venerable old man, begging his compaſſion with a body full of honourable wounds; but as if he had been a ſtatue of marble or braſs, he ſhewed no ſigns of compaſſion. 'Tis granted that *Almagro* did ill, to leave the conqueſt of *Chile*, ſo well begun, and where he might have ſettled himſelf and his friends to ſuch advantage, to go back to *Cuſco*, to govern there by force, in caſe the *Piſarros* ſhould oppoſe him; but they alſo were much to be blam'd, in not coming to ſome agreement with their antient friend and companion; but they are inexcuſable in ſhewing ſo much cruelty, as to put him to death: accordingly all their own proſperity ſeem'd to end with his, and to turn to a lamentable tragedy, in which they died by one another's hands, as may be ſeen more at large in the already-cited authors. For me, it is my buſineſs to purſue the conqueſt and ſettlement of *Chile*, which is my theme.

Almagro is beheaded by order of the Piſarros.

BOOK

BOOK V.

Of the Conqueſt and Foundation of the Kingdom of CHILE.

CHAP. I.

The Governor Pedro Valdivia *enters* Chile: *He conquers and ſettles that Kingdom, and is the firſt that enters as far as* Mapocho.

THE more I draw near to the relating the ſettlement made in *Chile* by its firſt founders and captains, who reduced that kingdom to the obedience of their catholick majeſties, and to the knowledge of God, the more I miſs thoſe papers and records, which being ſo far off, I cannot have the help of in deſcribing the particulars of the events which were very memorable at the firſt entrance of the *Spaniards*. I muſt therefore make uſe of ſuch paſſages as I ſhall find up and down in the general hiſtories of the *Indies*; and this will refreſh in me the memory of what I have ſeen or learn'd by others; and yet I muſt own the knowledge and information the reader will have from hence, will be but ſcanty and ſhort, ſuch as I ſhould have hardly attempted to publiſh without this apology; and deſiring my readers to accept of this collection for the preſent, till the compleat hiſtory of *Chile* does come out, I having left men moſt eminent in their profeſſion imploy'd in it when I left thoſe parts.

1537. The *Adelantado Almagro* being returned in the year 1537. to *Cuſco*, colonel *Pedro Valdivia* deſir'd from the *Adelantado Franciſco Piſarro* leave to purſue the conqueſt of *Chile*, ſince he had power and commiſſion from the king to grant it. He promiſed not to return till he ſhould have compleated the ſubjection of it, and reduced it to the obedience of the crown and God Almighty. The *Adelantado*, who had it in his thoughts, becauſe of the fame of its great riches, to follow the conqueſt of *Chile*, conſidering this gentleman to be one of the braveſt captains that had come to the *Indies*, having born arms in *Italy* and *Peru*, and given a very good account of all that he had undertaken, choſe him for this enterprize in the year 1539. giving him a year's time to prepare all things, that he might ſet out, as he did in the year 1540. I do not ſay any thing of the particulars of his journey, nor of the people he carried with him, becauſe I am not where I can have a diſtinct information; only that in which all agree, is, That he got together a good body of men, both *Spaniards* and *Indians*; for theſe laſt relating what riches the *Ingas* uſed to draw from people who owned his *empire* in thoſe parts, animated every body to this enterprize; and *Valdivia* ſeconding with addreſs theſe impreſſions, made a good army, with which he ſet out from *Peru*.

Valdivia undertakes the further conqueſt of Chile, in the year 1539.

Ovalle. 1646. 1540.

They had almoſt periſh'd with cold, hunger, and other inconveniencies; yet at laſt they arriv'd, and advanc'd at firſt with little difficulty; but as they went, engaging further in the country, ſtill they found more oppoſition: they firſt came to the valley of *Copiapo*, which ſignifies the *Seed of Torquoiſes*; for there is a rock of them, of ſo great a quantity, that they are grown leſs valuable upon it, as *Herrera* ſays: it is a blue ſtone, which makes a very good ſhew. And ſince now we enter this kingdom with more advantage, and upon a ſteady foot of ſettlement, it will not be amiſs to deſcribe the valleys and places where the cities were firſt founded, and the other ſettlements, that we may not be oblig'd to look back with uſeleſs repetition.

A torquoiſe rock in the valley of Copiapo.

The valley of [illegible] the firſt of the inhabited valleys of *Chile*, though the beſt part of the people are *Indians*, with a few *Spaniards*, out of which one is the *Corregidor*, who is named by the governor of *Chile*. The land is of it ſelf very fruitful, and is made more ſo by a pleaſant river, which runs about twenty leagues in it be-

Deſcription of the valley of Copiapo.

Ovalle. 1646.

fore it empties its self into the sea in a bay which makes its harbour. Here grow all sorts of the natural fruits and grains of the country, and of *Europe*; the maiz yields above three hundred for one, and the ears of it are almost half a yard long, as *Herrera* and other authors relate. Though I am not inform'd as to the particular of *Valdivia*'s reception here by the *Indians*, yet I suppose it was without much contradiction; because these people were already accustomed to the foreign yoke of the *Ingas*, and had already seen and received the *Spaniards* out of respect to the *Inga Paulo*, who accompanied *Almagro*, who gave them their lawful *Cacique*, or prince, as we have seen. They had the same facility in the valleys of *Guasco*, which is about five and twenty or thirty leagues from *Copiapo*, and that of *Coquimbo Limari*, and as far as *Quillota*. Here the *Indians* took arms, and oppos'd the *Castilians* vigorously; engaging them almost daily, as people that came to conquer and subdue their country. The governor *Valdivia* penetrated as far as the valley of *Mapocho*, though with the loss of many of his men. He found this valley extreamly well peopled, because of its breadth, fertility, and pleasantness, being thoroughly water'd by the river of that name, which, after having run some leagues, sinks under ground, does not lose itself entirely, but appears more nobly, and comes out with a more powerful stream two or three leagues further, being much bettered in its waters, which from muddy are turn'd clear as chrystal.

Mapocho a rich valley, well peopled.

CHAP. II.

The Foundation of the City of St. Jago *in* Mapocho. *The Description of its Situation.*

TOwards the east, the great *Cordillera*, or snowy mountain, is a wall to this valley of *Mapocho*, and is in winter all over white, but in summer by spots here and there: to the west it has the ragged rocks of *Poüangue*, *Caren*, and *Lampa*, whose foot we may say is shod with gold (for that which is found in it mines is so fine, that a great deal was got out of them.) Neither is this valley uncovered on the sides; for to the north and south it is environed by other mountains, which, though they do not approach the *Cordillera* in height, yet are high enough to make a circle about this valley, which in several of its rocks produces gold: it is, in its diameter from the *Cordillera* to the hills of *Poüangue* and *Caren*, five or six good leagues, and from north to south, which is from the river *Colima* to that of *Maypo*, seven or eight leagues more; so that its circumference is between 26 and 28 leagues or more, if we go down as far as *Francisco del monte*, which is a place of most pleasant shady woods, where all the timber is cut for the building of the houses.

The valley of Mapocho *described.*

In this valley, two leagues from the great *Cordillera*, by the side of the river *Mapocho*, God has planted a mountain of a beautiful aspect and proportion, which is like a watch-tower, upon which the whole plain is discovered at once with the variety of its culture in arable and meadow; and in other places woods of a sort of oak upon the hills, which afford all the fewel necessary for the uses of life. At the foot of this mountain, which may be two miles about, the *Castilians* found many habitations of the *Indians*, to the number of eighty thousand, as authors report; which *Pedro de Valdivia* observing, and guessing from thence, that it was the best part of the whole valley, he resolved to found here the city of *St. Jago*, which he began the 24th of *February* in the year 1641. It stands in 34 degrees of altitude, and longitude 77. distant from the *Meridian* of *Toledo* 1980 leagues. The form and ground-plot of this city yields to few others, and is superior to most of the old cities of *Europe*; for it is regular, like a chess-board, and in that shape, and that which we call the squares for the men, of black and white, are in the city called *Isles*, with this difference, that some of them are triangular, some oval, some round; but the square ones are all of the same make and bigness, and are perfectly square: from whence it follows, that wheresoever a man stands at any corner he sees four streets, according to the four parts of the heavens. These squares at first were but of four large houses, which were distributed to the first founders; but now, by time and succession of inheritance, they have been divided into lesser, and are every day more and more divided; so that in every square there are many houses.

Inhabited by 80000 Indians.

Description of the situation of the city of St. Jago, capital of Chile. 1641.

Towards the north, the city is watered by a pleasant river, till it swells sometimes in winter, when it rains eight, nay twelve and fourteen days together without ceasing; for then it overflows, and does great mischief in the city, carrying away whole houses, of which the ruins may be yet seen in some places; for this reason they have rais'd a strong wall on that side; against which the river losing its strength, is thrown on the other side, and the city thereby freed from this inundation.

From

The conveniencies of the city.

From this river is drawn an arm on the east-side, which being ſubdivided into as many ſtreams as there are ſquares, enters into every one of them, and runs thorough all the tranſverſal ſtreets by a conduit, or canal; and bridges are every where, as neceſſity requires, for the paſſage of carts: ſo that all the houſes have a ſtream of water, which cleanſes and carries with it all the filth of the city: and from this diſpoſition of water, 'tis eaſy to water or overflow all the ſtreets in the heat of ſummer, without the trouble of carts or other conveniencies, and that without any charge. All theſe rivulets empty themſelves to the weſt, and are let into the grounds without the city, to water the gardens and vineyards that are there: which being done, 'tis let into other fields, ſowed with all ſorts of grain, and then returns to the great river. The inhabitants do not drink of this water, though pretty good; but it ſerves to water horſes and other animals; therefore they fetch water from the river for their own drinking, or draw it from wells, which yield very good, and very cool: thoſe who are yet nicer ſend to the ſprings and fountains, of which there are many in the neighbourhood, which yield moſt excellent ſweet water. The ſtreets of this city are all of the ſame bigneſs and proportion, broad enough for three coaches to go a-breaſt eaſily: they are paved on each ſide near the houſes, and the middle is unpav'd for the paſſage of carts. There is one ſtreet that is of an extraordinary breadth, and in it fifteen or ſixteen coaches may go a-breaſt; this is to the ſouth, and runs eaſt and weſt the whole length of the city: this is call'd *La Cannada*; and though at firſt it did not extend beyond the city, yet now it does, and has many buildings and gardens; and there is the church of *St. Lazarus*: but there are ſeveral ſquares built further which encloſe in again, and ſo it is in a good ſituation. OVALLE. 1646. *A noble ſtreet.*

This *Cannada* is the beſt ſituation of the whole place, where there is always an air ſtirring, ſo as the inhabitants in the greateſt heats of ſummer can ſit at their doors, and enjoy the cool; to which may be added the agreeable proſpect it affords, as well becauſe of the buſtle of carts and coaches, as of a grove of willows which is watered by a little rivulet from one end of the ſtreet to the other: it is beſides adorned with a famous convent of *St. Francis*, the church of which is all of a white free-ſtone, all ſquare ſtone finely cut, and a ſteeple of the ſame at one end of it, ſo high, that it is ſeen a great way off by thoſe who came from other parts. It is divided into three parts, and has its galleries; the upppermoſt is a piramid: from it one may diſcover on all ſides lovely proſpects, which delight the eye extreamly, and recreate the mind.

CHAP. III.

Of the other Edifices and Churches of the City of St. Jago.

The city of St. Jago further deſcrib'd.

THIS city has (beſide this ſtreet, called the *Cannada*, which might afford many places, ſuch as are in great cities) another very large one, named of *St. Saturnino*; it has likewiſe the place of *Sancta Anna*, where has been lately built a church dedicated to that glorious ſaint. There is alſo a place called *La Placera de la Compania de Jeſus*, where the front of their church makes a figure, and is a retreat or tabernacle upon the day of the proceſſion of *Corpus Chriſti*. Moſt of the other religious houſes have their places before the great porticos or entrance of their churches: but above all, is the place called the principal place, where all the buſineſs of law and commerce is driven. The two ſides of the place that are eaſt and ſouth have buildings after the old way, though they have made very good new balconies to them, and large windows, to ſee the bull-feaſts and other publick diverſions which are made there. The north-ſide is all upon arches of brick; underneath which are the ſcriveners and publick notaries, as alſo the ſecretariſhips of the royal *Audiencia*, and the town-houſe: and overhead are the royal lodgings, with balconies to the place, with the great halls for the meeting of the town-houſe officers; and in the middle are the audience-rooms of the royal chancery, with their galleries to the place: and, laſtly, the royal apartments, where the royal officers are lodged; and the rooms neceſſary for the treaſury and chamber of accounts, and lodgings for the officers. *Town-houſe.*

The ſide that lies to the weſt has in it, firſt, the cathedral church, which is of three iſles, beſides its chapels, which it has on each ſide: it is all of a fine white ſtone; the chief iſle, or that of the middle, being upon arches and pillars of an airy and gallant architecture. The remainder of this ſide to the corner is taken up with the epiſcopal palace, which has a very fine garden, and noble apartments both high and low, with

Ovalle. 1646. with a gallery ſupported by pillars, which anſwer the place; which, if it were equally built on the eaſt and ſouth ſides, would be one of the moſt beautiful and agreeable places that can be; for it is perfectly ſquare, and very large, with a due regard to the whole plot of the city. I doubt not but in time the two old-faſhion'd ſides will be pulled down, and others built on pillars and arches proportionably to the other ſides.

The greateſt part of the buildings, (except the publick ones, which are of a rough ſtone, but very hard, which the mountain of *Santa Lucia* affords, and is within the city, and ſome great gates and windows which are of mouldings of ſtone or brick,) that is to ſay, the ordinary buildings, are of earth and ſtraw well beaten together, which is ſo ſtrong, that I have ſeen great openings made in a wall, to make great gates after the modern way, and yet the wall, though a very high one, not feel it, though the houſe was none of the neweſt, but almoſt as ancient as the city; for the ſun bakes and hardens the earth and ſtraw ſo well together, that I have ſeen a piece of thoſe walls fall from a high place, and not break in pieces, though ſo big that a man could not carry it. At preſent the houſes that are built are of a better form, higher, and lighter than at firſt, becauſe the firſt conquerors were more intent upon getting gold, and ſpending it in ſumptuous treats, and high living, with ſplendor and liberality, than in building palaces, as they might have done, by reaſon they had many hands, and the ſtone hard by.

In matter of buildings, this city, as moſt others of the *Indies*, may brag, that it imitated *Solomon*, who began with building the temple and houſe of God before he built his own palace. So the *Spaniards* have done all over the *Indies*, in this new world, inheriting this cuſtom from their anceſtors of *Old Spain*; for I remember, that travelling in *Caſtella*, I made this obſervation, that let the place or village be never ſo ſmall, yet it has a good church; and even where the houſes were poor, and like dove-coats, the churches were of free-ſtone, with a ſteeple of the ſame; which gave me matter of edification, conſidering the piety of the faithful on this occaſion.

Juſt ſo the *Spaniards* of the *Indies* began firſt to erect churches, with ſo much application, that they do not ſeem buildings made within theſe hundred years; but rather ſuch as one would think they had inherited from their anceſtors, or had been built by the gentiles; and yet there is not a church in all the *Indies*, which they have not raiſed from its foundation. We have already ſpoke of the cathedral of *St. Jago*; and much more might have been ſaid of its ſtrength and beauty, and the ornament of its altars and ſacriſty. There are beſides ſeveral other fine churches. That of *St. Domingo*, though not of ſtone, is built upon arches of brick, with a great many fine chapels on each ſide, particularly that of *Nueſtra Senora del Roſario*, which is all painted and gilt, and is frequented with much devotion. The covering of this church is of wood, and finely wrought, as well as the choir, which is alſo painted and gilded, with handſome knots and feſtoons. The ſacriſty is full of ornaments of brocade of gold and ſilver, and embroidered ſilks of the ſame; a great deal of plate for the altar, and mouldings of the altar-piece all gilded. But this is nothing to the cloyſter, which by this time is made an end of, and is of a fine architecture, two ſtories high; and the lower, where the proceſſion goes, is adorned with exquiſite paintings in the four corners, where are four altars all gilded, and light as a bright flame: the apartment at the entrance is alſo finely ſet off with pictures of ſaints of the order, of excellent hands. *Deſcription of the church of St. Domingo.*

The convent of *St. Francis* may be called a town for its largeneſs: it has two cloyſters for the proceſſions; the firſt is upon arches of brick; and the ſecond, which is the largeſt, very finely painted, with the ſtory of the life of the ſaint compared with paſſages of our ſaviour Jeſus Chriſt's life; and over, are all the ſaints of the order; and at each corner four great pictures, with four altars, which ſerve for the proceſſions and ceremonies of holidays. *The convent of St. Francis deſcribed.*

The church is of free-ſtone, and all its altars gilded on the inſide; but above all, the ſeats of the choir are a piece of rare workmanſhip: it is all of cypreſs, by which means there is always an admirable ſmell. The firſt row of ſeats reaches, with its crowning or ornaments, to the very roof, all of excellent architecture, with its mouldings, baſes, corniſhes, and other proportions.

The church of our lady of the *Mercede*, is alſo built upon brick arches. The great chapel is admirable for the thickneſs of its wall, and the beauty of ceiling, which is all of cypreſs wood, in the form of a *duomo*, or *cupola*. The great cloyſter is begun upon ſo fine a model, that to finiſh it ſo, will require the care and application of thoſe who have the government of that convent. The ſituation of this convent is the fineſt and nobleſt of any, except that of *St. Francis*: it has the advantage of receiving the river firſt, whereby water is ſo plentiful in the convent, that they have been able to make two mills to grind corn enough for the convent, and to give away.

The

The convent of *St. Auguſtin* is but newly begun; but its church, all of free-ſtone, will out-do all the others for beauty: it is of three iſles, and in the midſt of all the hurry and buſineſs of the town.

'Tis not many years that the ſacred order of the bleſſed *Juan de Dios* has been ſettled in this kingdom; and in a little time thoſe fathers have done a great deal; for having taken upon them the care of the royal hoſpitals, they have reformed them, aſſiſting the ſick with all neatneſs, care, and diligence, and have added ſeveral large buildings. They are much helped in this by the devotion the people have for their founder, to whom they addreſs their prayers and vows in their wants and neceſſities, and not in vain, for they feel great relief by his interceſſion.

The college of the company of *Jeſus* has not been able to build the inſide of the houſe, becauſe from their firſt foundation the fathers have attended only the finiſhing of the church; which is now compaſſed, and is without diſpute the fineſt next to the cathedral. It is all of a white ſtone, the front of an excellent architecture, and over the corniſh a figure in *relievo* of a *Jeſus*. The great chapel has its cupola and lanthorn all adorn'd with feſtoons and knots of two ſorts of wood, white and red, which makes a beautiful ſhew. OVALLE. 1646. *Deſcription of the jeſuits church.*

The covering or roof is all of cypreſs, inlaid with all ſorts of flower-work, and divided into five parts; the middlemoſt is a compoſure of all ſorts of figures, which ſeem a labyrinth to thoſe who ſee it from the ground, and with a noble corniſh that runs round, gives a delightful proſpect.

The architecture of the altar, and the tabernacle for keeping the holy ſacrament, are valued at a prodigious ſum. The altar riſes to the top of the church; and becauſe, according to art, it ought to have reached from wall to wall, which it does not, the empty places are filled up with two reliquaries on each ſide, which join to the altar: this being all gilded, ſeems, when one firſt comes in, to be one plate of gold.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Civil Government, both eccleſiaſtical and ſecular, of the City of St. Jago; *and of the Nature and Properties of its Inhabitants.*

Government of St. Jago.

GOVERNMENT is the ſoul of the body-politick; and therefore, at the ſame time that the city of *St. Jago* was founded, the corporation was ſettled to adminiſter juſtice, without which no government can ſtand. The corporation conſiſts of two ordinary alcaldes, an alferes royal, an alguazil mayor, a general depoſitarius, ſix councellors, or aldermen, choſen every year, half out of the gentlemen called encomenderos, and half out of the inhabitants of the place, who have bought that privilege for themſelves and their deſcendants. Of the two alcaldes, he that is of the encomenderos has the precedence and firſt vote, and the inhabitant the other: they divide the year between them by ſix months. There is a preſident to the aſſembly, who is always corrigedor, and lieutenant to the captain-general; and it is a place of great honour: and though it be of more charge than profit, by reaſon of the expence belonging to it unavoidable, yet it never fails of pretenders, becauſe of its authority, and the reſpect paid to the office. They are choſen yearly, with the two alcaldes, two others of the holy fraternity, or hermandad, whoſe juriſdiction is without the bounds of the city, as is practiſed in other parts. About thirty years ago there was founded a royal chancery in this city, which conſiſts of a preſident, four oydores, or counſellors, and two fiſcals; one who is the ordinary, and another, who has been added within theſe four years, and has the ſame honours, who has the protection of the *Indians*, and the matters belonging to the holy cruzada. After theſe is the alguazil mayor de corte, who has alſo the magiſtrate's habit, and a chair of ſtate: then are the officers called the chancellor, ſecretaries, referendaries, and others, as in ſuch courts. There is no appeal from the ſentence of review given in this court, but to the royal council of the *Indies*; and then there is a certain ſum, below which there is no appeal neither. It cannot be denied but the majeſty of this tribunal has very much adorned the city; though there want not thoſe who lament the hindrance it has given to its riches and increaſe, which would have been more conſiderable, if the inhabitants had continued in their firſt ſimplicity, cloathing themſelves with the manufactures of the country, and avoiding all thoſe pompous liveries which are now in uſe; for thoſe who before might walk in the publick place in a plain dreſs of the country, and be honoured and reſpected, muſt now appear in ſilk, or *Spaniſh* cloth, which yet is dearer than ſilk, for a yard of it coſts ſometimes twenty pieces of eight. Any gentleman of eſtate cannot now appear decently in publick, without many ſervants

The court of the royal audiencia.

Ovalle. 1646. in rich liveries; and within a few years they have brought up a vanity of rich parasols, or umbrellos, which at first were only used by the people of the greatest quality; and now no body is without them, but those who cannot compass them; and though it is a thing of great gravity, and very useful to preserve health, yet it increases those forced expences used in great cities: for this, and some other reasons, some were of opinion, that it would have been better for the city and kingdom, that they had continued to govern themselves without this court of a *royal audiencia*, as they did formerly: but, to say truth, they are in the wrong; for, first, there are many cities in the *Indies*, where, without a court of this nature, I have seen vanity thrive in liveries and superfluous expences as much as any where. Secondly, because, abstracting from passion and interest, which commonly do mislead men in the administration of justice, it cannot be denied but that the sovereign authority of this tribunal is of great weight to maintain the quiet of the kingdom, by keeping an even hand in the administration of justice, and not suffering that the tyranny some affect, either by reason of their preferments or riches, should stifle right reason, or oppress innocency, which has not learn'd to court and flatter.

The audiencia of great advantage to the city.

Thus a *royal audiencia* is a bridle to vice, a reward to virtue, a protection to the poor, and a maintenance of right and reason; and this was the intention of our catholick monarch: for this reason did he erect this court, which is the more necessary, because it is at that distance from the royal presence, and so hard that the cries of the poor should reach his ears; for if sometimes they do arrive to his court, 'tis so faintly, that they can scarce be heard: for this reason, those who have the chusing and sending the king's officers into such remote parts, ought to be the more careful to provide men of christian principles, and well intentioned, as indeed they have been, and are still in that kingdom; and it is no more than is necessary, for a good example to those new christians the *Indians*.

This *royal audiencia* is the cause likewise, that much gentry comes from *Europe* to the *Indies*, and so help to people them, and to continue the good intercourse between *Spain* and that country, which is good for both. It cannot likewise be denied, (though that be but as an accessory,) that the presence and assistance of this royal tribunal at all publick feasts and exercises, is of great countenance to them, and particularly to the literary acts and commencements, whereby learning is encouraged; and those who employ themselves in that honourable study have a reward before their eyes, hoping to attain to be advocates, referendaries, fiscals, and counsellors: for in the *West Indies* those places are all very honourable, and particularly in *Chile*, where the salaries are larger than in other parts, and yet provisions are cheaper; so that 'tis easy to lay up a good part of one's revenue. Besides these tribunals, there are others, as that of the chamber of accounts, or treasury, for the management and administration of the king's revenue: these officers do likewise visit the ships that come in and out at the port of *Valparisо*: their offices are very honourable, and of great profit, and they are in the king's gift, as those of the *royal audiencia* are.

The affairs of justice, and things belonging to good government, are under the *audiencia*; but those of war and preferments belong to the governor, of whom we shall speak in a proper place.

The bishop supream in all ecclesiastical affairs.

The bishop is absolute lord of all the church government; and though the bishoprick of *St. Jago* is none of the richest of the *Indies*, because all the product of the earth is so cheap, and by consequence the tithes do not rise high, yet this very abundance is part of the riches of the bishoprick; for by this means the bishop's family and expences are the easier supplied, and he may keep more attendance, and yet lay up a good part of his revenue; whereas other bishopricks, though richer, have enough to do to keep up the decency of their dignity. There is a numerous clergy, who make a great *cortege* to the bishop upon certain publick days; and when he is received the first time, and takes possession, the ceremony is very great; for part of the *royal audiencia*, the chapters, all the militia, horse and foot, with the people, go out to meet him; so that 'tis a day of great pomp.

Chapter chosen by the king.

The chapter of the cathedral is a venerable body of men, in which the king alone provides the vacancies by virtue of his royal patronage, and the concession of the popes; so that there is not, as in *Spain*, the bishop or the pope's month; but in the *Indies* all dignities of cathedrals, even to the very parish priests, are all at the king's nomination, but with some differences; for the dignities are bestowed in *Spain* itself by the advice of the council of the *Indies*; but the cures or livings of parish priests, the king does bestow them by his governor or president, who exposes a publick edict, that all opposers for the vacancy of such a benefice may come and oppose the examination; and of these, the bishop presents three to the governor-general, to chuse in the king's name.

The holy tribunal of the inquisition, which is in *Lima*, serves for all the whole south

south *America*; ſo that in *Chile* there is only a commiſſary, with his officers and familiars, who accompany him in all publick acts, and form a tribunal with great authority. There is likewiſe an officer of the *Cruzada*, called a commiſſary, which is likewiſe a poſt of great authority; and the day that the bull is publiſhed, all the orders of the religious are bound to be at the proceſſion.

Character of the natives.

Let us conclude this chapter by ſaying ſomething of the natives who are born and bred in this city: They are generally ingenious, and of good parts; and thoſe whoſe inclination is to learning, ſucceed very well; but they naturally are more inclined to war, very few of them taking to other employments, either of trade or buſineſs; and they who, from their infancy, or by a ſtrong inclination, do not take to learning, ſeldom ſucceed, and eaſily leave it, if put upon it, to follow the ſound of a drum or a trumpet, and never are quiet till they get to be enrolled as ſoldiers being much better pleaſed with the liberty of a ſoldier's life, than with the diſcipline of the ſchools. OVALLE. 1646.

They are much addicted to horſemanſhip: and I have often ſeen, that to ſtrengthen a child that can hardly go, the beſt way is to ſet him on horſeback: this makes them prove dexterous horſemen, and bold. And 'tis a common opinion, and a known experience, that for horſe, one of the country is better than four from abroad: this has been ſufficiently proved in the courſe of ſo long a war as that which has buſied that kingdom.

They are naturally liberal, good natured, and friendly, particularly if they are treated honourably, with due regard: they are pretty ſtubborn and wilful; to be led only by fair means, and then they are docile and tractable; but if force is uſed, they do worſe and worſe. This we the fathers of the ſociety do often experience in our colleges: ſo we are obliged to lead them by ſweetneſs and emulation, rather than by rigour and harſhneſs.

CHAP. V.

Of the Riches, Militia, Studies, and Increaſe of the City of St. Jago.

THIS city, to which the king has given the title of moſt noble and loyal, is the capital city of *Chile*, and one of the beſt in the *Indies*, next to thoſe two royal ones of *Lima* and *Mexico*, who do exceed it in ſumptuous edifices, in people and trade, becauſe they are more antient and nearer *Spain*, and of a greater paſſage for the people that come from *Europe*, and free from the tumults of war; which is a canker that eats deepeſt into great cities and kingdoms; and 'tis no ſmall proof of their force, to be able to maintain ſo long a war.

Foundation of the city.

This city was founded one hundred and four years ago; and it has all that while ſuſtained the heavy load of a long and ſtubborn war, which the native *Indians* have made upon the *Spaniards* without any interminſion; in which its inhabitants have either always been in arms, or ſending many horſes and proviſion to the camp; a calamity, which, far from letting it grow to what it is, ought to have kept it down from the beginning: nor is it of a ſmall conſideration, for the growth of other cities in the *Indies* to reflect, that they being in the way, and, as it were, upon the paſſage of other places, many newcomers have ſettled there, who perhaps at firſt were bound for other countries, or at leaſt were indifferent where they ſtay'd, and took up with them. 'Tis otherwiſe with the city of *St. Jago*, becauſe the kingdom of *Chile* being ſo remote, and the laſt of all the *Spaniſh* dominions, it is the *non-plus-ultra* of the world; ſo that no body goes thither by chance, but on purpoſe, and upon ſome deſign or particular intereſt; for which reaſon the number of ſtrangers is little.

The riches.

But the city is ſo good and convenient to paſs away life with eaſe, that notwithſtanding theſe diſadvantages, it is ſo increaſed, that it aſtoniſhes all who ſee it, few cities of the *Indies* outdoing it in finery, particularly as to the women, (it were to be wiſhed it were not to that exceſs;) for all things coming from *Europe* are there prodigious dear; and this cauſes many families to run behind hand. Who ſhould ſee the place of *St. Jago*, and that of *Madrid*, could ſee no difference as to this point, nay, as to the women, the finery exceeds that of *Madrid*; for the *Spaniſh* women, ſcorning to go to *ſervice*, are all ladies, and love to appear as ſuch, as much as they can; and the emulation between them about fine cloaths, jewels, and other ornaments, for themſelves and their ſervants, is ſuch, that let their husbands be never ſo rich they want all they have, particularly if they are of the nobility, to ſatisfy the pride of the women.

Militia.

As to the militia of the city, the firſt part of it is the company of inhabitants, encomenderos, and reformed captains, who have no other commander but the governor himſelf, or his deputy; after that, there are two or three troops of horſe, and three or four companies of foot, all *Spaniards*. Theſe often muſter on holidays, and are exerciſed in the uſe of their arms; and ſometimes there

Ovalle. 1646. there are general muſters before the oydores and royal officers, where their arms are examin'd; who alſo note them down, to know what ſtrength they can raiſe upon occaſion, puniſhing ſuch as do not keep their arms and horſes fit for ſervice. By this diligence they are very ready at their arms, and the exerciſing of them proves an entertainment for them and the whole city; for very often, in the publick proceſſions, one or two of theſe companies uſe to come out, and make a ſalvo for them; and in the holy week there always attend a troop of horſe, and a company of foot, who guard the ſtreet, where the proceſſions of the whippers go to keep the peace, becauſe of the *Indians*, who uſe to take that time to make ſome riſings, the *Spaniards* being wholly taken up with their devotions.

The days in which this militia makes the beſt ſhew, are, when the biſhops come to be receiv'd, becauſe they make a lane from the entrance of the city to the great place of it, where they form their battalion; and the concourſe of the people uſes to be ſo great, that though the place is very large, there is ſcarce room for them.

The vaſt increaſe of the city.

And ſince we are upon that ſubject, we cannot omit to obſerve that which is worthy of admiration, and that is, to ſee how it is increas'd in the number of *Spaniards* within theſe forty years. 'Tis probable, the ſame has happened to the other cities of the *Indies*; but this has had a continual drain, by ſupplying ſoldiers for the war with the *Indians*, where many periſh, and few return. I remember that I have heard ſay, that one of our fathers, newly come from *Europe*, and coming to our college, where he ſaw but few people in the ſtreet, cried out,

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vaſto.

By which he meant to ſignify, the diſproportion of the inhabitants to the bigneſs of the city; but now that very ſtreet is ſo full of people, that all hours of the day, and ſome of the night, it is extremely frequented; for there have been built many houſes for handicraftſmen and ſhopkeepers on both ſides of it, becauſe trade is conſiderably increas'd.

I can myſelf affirm, that I obſerv'd as great an alteration in a much leſs time, as well in people as in building; for having been abſent but eight years, I confeſs, that at my return, I ſcarce knew the place again; for I found ſeveral ground ſpots where there was not a houſe built upon, with very good buildings; and thoſe which I had left built were alter'd to the better, with more and higher apartments; and the courts which were very large, were conſiderably ſtreightened by other buildings; and yet the plot of the city was larger too; ſo that being at firſt built at the foot of the mountain we have ſpoken of, to the weſt of it, I found it extended as much to the eaſt, and the ſame proportionably to the ſouth and north, and it increaſes daily towards the river, and the *Cannada*.

Increaſe of trade.

There was, when I left the place, about a dozen ſhops of good retailers, and at my return there were above fifty; and the ſame proportionably as to the ſhops of ſhoe-makers, taylors, carpenters, ſmiths, goldſmiths, and other handicraftſmen, whom I found alſo more curious and exact in their profeſſions; and emulation has produced very good pieces of workmanſhip in gold and ſilver, and carvings in wood, gildings, paintings, which have adorn'd the churches, with thoſe which have been brought from *Europe*, and the particular houſes; ſo that in ſome houſes alone, there are more things of that kind now, than there were in all the city formerly. Some complain, that there are not now ſuch rich and powerful men as there were at firſt; and that is true: but it does not follow, that the generality is the worſe for that, but rather otherwiſe; for the lands and houſes which belong now to ten families, were antiently in one; it being certain, that ſeveral of the heirs of that man have attain'd to as great riches as he himſelf had; or at leaſt 'tis apparent, that the ſtock of all thoſe who have ſhar'd the inheritance, far exceeds what was left them; ſo that ſuppoſing, that ſome were formerly richer, yet the riches are more in the land; which is alſo clear to any that ſhall conſider the houſes, poſſeſſions, and other improvements made ſince that time; for now there is ſcarce room for the people, whereas before there was not half people for the room that was for them; which is alſo viſible in the country round about, where farms that could hardly find purchaſers, and were little worth, are now ſo riſen in their value, that the ſmalleſt coſt great ſums; and this rage of purchaſing is ſuch, that moſt of the cauſes in the *royal audiencia* are about titles; for the antients, who took poſſeſſion of the land, thought, that if they had a little footing in a valley, it was all theirs; but thoſe who have come ſince, have purchaſed by virtue of new titles, and taken new poſſeſſion; which makes ſo many law-ſuits.

There is not a form'd regular univerſity in this city, becauſe that of *Lima* ſerv'd for all the neighbouring kingdoms and provinces to take the degrees; but when in time the going to *Lima* was found ſo chargeable, and the journey, which is of three or four hundred leagues, ſo troubleſome, there were bulls obtain'd of the pope, for the

The pope's bulls obtain'd for the dominicans and jeſuits to confer degrees.

the orders of *St. Dominick* and the *jeſuits*, to have the privilege of conferring the degrees of batchelor, licentiate of arts, as alſo doctors in divinity, in the kingdoms of *Chile*, *Granada*, *Ruito*, *Cbuquizaga*, *Tucuman*, and *Paraguay*.

OVALLE. 1646.

The effect has ſhewed how neceſſary this favour, and how important this privilege has been; for this incitement to honour has caus'd a general application to learning; for the prieſts and curates are already great proficients in ſtudy, and ſo more capable of taking upon them the cure of ſouls; and thoſe who betake themſelves to a religious life, are better qualified to ſerve their orders, and be an honour to them, as many of them are; and it does not a little contribute to the value of them, to ſee the great ſolemnity us'd at the reception of the ſeveral graduates. And in this, as well as the reſt, I think our city of *St. Jago* is not inferior to any: for, firſt, all the acts are held with great concourſe of all the learned, and very often the biſhop honours them with his preſence, and ſo do the preſident of the *audiencia*, and the chief of the town-government, to whom are dedicated the ſubjects of the extempory readings, according to the conſtitution of the univerſity, which are given out with great fidelity, dividing the ſubject into three parts, for the graduate to diſpute upon in preſence of a great concourſe of people; and the ſeverity is indiſpenſable in this and all other examinations, for the different degrees which are given by the biſhop, by virtue of an approbation firſt given him by the father rector and the profeſſors, as the bull directs; according to which there is no obligation of giving any treat; but yet that the doctors may aſſiſt with more pleaſure and diligence, there has been introduced a cuſtom of giving ſome moderate ones, beſides gloves, which were allowed inſtead of it; but ſome out of oſtentation, give both treat and gloves. Beſides this, there has been introduc'd a cuſtom of inviting the horſe of the city to honour the proceſſion, which makes the ſolemnity the more conſpicuous; and they very willingly accept of the invitation, for they are very ready to mount on horſeback to honour any, much more thoſe who diſtinguiſh themſelves by the exerciſes of virtue and learning.

Increaſe of trade.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Worſhip of God, and the Church Ceremonies in the City of St. Jago.

Religious worſhip very ſtately and expenſive.

IF we were to make a judgment of this city by the worſhip of God that is perform'd in it, and the appearance of the clergy, we ſhould judge it to be much bigger than it is; for the ſtate and expence with which the holidays are kept, in the charge of muſick, perfumes, wax, and other ornaments, are very great: let us give ſome particular inſtances, and begin with the cathedral. I cannot but commend the piety of thoſe eminent perſons, the biſhop, preſident, and counſellors of the *royal audiencia*, who taking each of them a day during the *octave* of the holy ſacrament, are at the whole expence of that day, and that is very conſiderable; for all the wax and perfumes are very dear, as coming from *Europe*; and the holy emulation that is between them, increaſes the ſplendor of the day; ſo that during that *octave*, the church is ſo perfum'd, that its fragrancy is ſmelt ſome diſtance from it. The proceſſion of the firſt and eighth day are upon the account of the chapter, as the hanging of the ſtreets, and erecting of altars for repoſitories, are at the charge of the inhabitants where the proceſſion paſſes: this proceſſion is attended by all the convents, and all the companies of trades, with their banners and flags, ſo that it reaches a great way. After this of the cathedral come every day new ones of all the convents, ſo that they laſt a month, every one endeavouring to have theirs the beſt; by which means there are great variety of ornamental inventions and machines. The *Indians* of the neighbourhood, that live in the *Chagras*, that is, little cottages, within ſome miles of the city, attend likewiſe with their banners; and they chuſe for this purpoſe a leader who makes the expence, and treats thoſe of his company: their numbers are ſo great, and the noiſe they make ſo loud, with their flutes, and their hollowing and ſinging, that they are placed in the front, or elſe there would be no hearing the church muſick, nor any means of underſtanding one another about the government of the proceſſion. The other feaſts and holidays in the year are proportionably ſolemniz'd with the ſame decency by all the orders of friers, who all of them have ſome devout perſons who help to bear the charge. But the nuns exceed all the reſt in ornaments; and theſe nunneries are ſo populous, that in that of *St. Auſtin* alone there are above five hundred perſons, whereof three hundred are veiled nuns, the reſt are lay-ſiſters; and becauſe the nunnery being full, there can be no more receiv'd, but with great difficulty, the other nunnery of *Sancta Clara* receives ſo many every day, that in a little time it

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They are not content with this; for I have ſometimes ſeen the whole grate of the choir, and the joiners work, and beams of the church, all cover'd with preſerv'd citron, in form of ſuns or angels of *mezzo relievo*, and a thouſand other inventions, which I ſhould never have done, if I ſhould report them all. I muſt only ſay, that the generoſity of thoſe ladies is ſuch, that though this coſts very much, yet I have often ſeen them at the end of a maſs diſtribute all thoſe things to thoſe who happen to be in the church, without keeping it for themſelves: they do not only do this within the church, but the altars which are ſet up in their cloyſters, and ſtreets near them; for the proceſſions are adorn'd, after the ſame manner, with fruits and flowers of the ſame materials, ſo well imitated, that they appear new-gather'd.

The monaſteries of men not ſo populous as the nunneries.

The monaſteries of men are not ſo well fill'd as thoſe of the nuns, though ſome have a hundred, others ſixty or ſeventy friers. The ſecular clergy is alſo very numerous, very virtuous, and learned. Since I came away, there has been founded another nunnery of about thirty nuns, who will need no portion, being provided for by a gentleman who left all his eſtate to that foundation; it was captain *Alonſo del Campo Lantadilla*, alguazil mayor of that city, which will be of great ſervice to help the providing for poor maids, who, perhaps, elſe would not find it eaſy any other way.

CHAP. VII.

In which is treated of the Proceſſions of the Holy Week in the City of St. Jago.

LET us conclude this matter of religion and pious exerciſes with ſaying ſomething of the moſt remarkable practice of it in the holy week, by the ſtateline's of the proceſſions at that time; which is ſuch, that all ſtrangers confeſs, that if they had not ſeen it, they ſhould hardly have believ'd it. Theſe proceſſions begin on the *tueſday* in the holy week, to which the company of the *Morenos*, which is founded in our college, give a beginning, (of which we ſhall ſpeak more when we treat of its employments, as alſo of the brotherhood or confrary of *Indians*, on the morning of *Eaſter-day*.) The proceſſion that follows next, is that which comes out of the convent of *St. Auſtin*, in which is founded the confrary of the *Mulattos*: they go all cover'd with black frocks, and have many paſſages of the paſſion ſung very devoutly, with the beſt muſick of the place, and many lighted torches. The *Wedneſday* the famous proceſſion of the confrary of the *Nazarenos* ſets out, which is all of natural *Spaniards*, of ſeveral arts and profeſſions, and is founded in the royal convent of *Nueſtra Sennora de la Mercede*; and it is one of the richeſt and moſt adorn'd proceſſions. This proceſſion is divided into three troops: the firſt of which carries *La Veronica* to the cathedral, where it ſtays to meet the ſecond, in which comes the *Redeemer* with his croſs, ſo heavy, that he is forced to kneel often.

The ſtateline's of the proceſſions.

When this ſecond, which is the largeſt, comes to the great place, that which ſtay'd at the cathedral goes to meet them; and at a certain diſtance, in ſight of a vaſt multitude of people, the *Veronica* comes, and kneeling down to the image of Chriſt, which is a very large one, ſeemingly wipes his face, and then ſhews the people the repreſentation of it remaining in the handkerchief; and then as they begin to march, there appears the third proceſſion, in which comes St. *John*, ſhewing the *Virgin Mary* that ſolorous ſpectacle: ſo that by all theſe there is form'd a mighty proceſſion, with many lighted torches, and all the brothers are cloathed in their red frocks, marching with great ſilence and devotion. There is another repreſentation of great piety, which is perform'd in the convent of *St. Francis*, and in this convent; which is the parting of Chriſt and his mother, which uſes to cauſe great paſſion and many tears, becauſe of the naturalneſs with which it is acted.

On the *Thurſday* there are very curious ſepulchres erected, and many alms given to the poor; and though in the foregoing proceſſions, and on the *Fridays* in *Lent*, there are to be ſeen ſome people whipping themſelves, with

with divers ſorts of penances, which every one performs according to his own devotion, yet the proceſſions, which by excellency are called the bloody proceſſions, are performed this night. One of them ſets out from the chapel of the true croſs, which is in the convent and chapel of *Nueſtra Sennora de la Mercede*, and is only of the inhabitants and gentlemen, who go all covered over with black frocks; and he who carries the croſs is obliged (beſides the collation which he provides for the preacher and the muſick, and which uſes to be very magnificent) to provide alſo men to attend the proceſſion, and relieve the whippers, who often draw ſo much blood that they faint away; and others take care to cut off of the diſciplines ſome of the ſpurs of them, for they uſe to have ſo many on, that they almoſt kill themſelves, nay, I have ſeen ſome of ſo indiſcreet a zeal, that they uſed certain buttons with points ſo ſharp, that if they were let alone, 'tis a diſpute whether they would not die before the end of the proceſſion. Before this go alſo two others, both of them bloody proceſſions; one of the *Indians*, and it is that has moſt whippers; the other comes from *St. Domingo*, and is of the *Morenos*: they both have muſick; and the communities of all the convents go to meet them when they come near their churches with torches in their hands. They ſpend a great deal of time in their proceſſion, and are accompanied by an infinite number of people.

On the holy *friday* there are two proceſſions more that go out of *St. Domingo* and *St. Franciſco*, both of natural *Spaniards*. That of *Sancto Domingo* is called the proceſſion of pity, and has been begun but lately; but it has made ſuch progreſs, that it equals the moſt ancient: they carry all the marks of the paſſion by ſo many dreſs'd up like angels very richly, and each of them is attended by two brothers of the proceſſion with lights, and their coats of yellow. The other proceſſion, which comes from *St. Franciſco*, is the antienteſt, and has always been the beſt: it is mightily commended for the great ſilence and devotion with which it is performed; for there is not a word ſpoke in it from its going out to its returning. Before it goes there is performed the deſcent of the croſs before a great concourſe of people. This has always been an action of great piety, and very moving. The enſigns, or marks of the paſſion, go out in order; and when they come, there is another repreſentation very tenderly made in the *Cannada*: there is a great croſs ſet up; and when the image of the virgin comes up to it, it lifts up its eyes, as one who miſſes the ſovereign good that hung on it, and drawing out a white handkerchief applies it to the eyes, as crying, and then opening the arms, embraces the croſs, and kneeling kiſſes the foot of it once or twice: all this it does ſo dexterouſly, and becomingly, that one would ſwear it were a living creature: and this action being accompanied with the muſick of the day proportioned to the grief of the myſtery, 'tis incredible what effects it has upon the people, who croud one upon another to ſee it.

On the *Saturday*, and on *Eaſter-day* in the morning, there are other proceſſions. The firſt comes out of *St. Domingo*, and is of the gentlemen and citizens, who in this are cloathed in white, of moſt rich cloth of ſilver or ſilk, finely garniſhed with jewels and chains of gold. The ceremony of the reſurrection is celebrated by night in the cloyſter; and for that end there is ſuch an illumination, that it ſeems day. The proceſſion goes out very noble and gay, and in it are many lights, muſick, and dances, the ſtreets being all adorned with triumphal arches, and hung with tapeſtries; and while this proceſſion is in the cathedral, celebrating the maſs, and communicating the hoſt to the brothers, there comes another to the great place to meet it, another from the college of the jeſuits, which is a confrary of *Indians*, the moſt ancient of the city, conſiſting of a company of *Indians* of both ſexes, who, with torches in their hands, accompany the child *Jeſus* dreſs'd up after the *indian* faſhion, (which cauſes great concern and devotion:) they have alſo many colours, enſigns, and other ornaments, very rich and gay. At the ſame time two other proceſſions of *Indians* likewiſe ſet out from the convents of *St. Francis*, and *Nueſtra Sennora de la Mercede*, and another of *Morenos* from *St. Domingo*, all with a great *apparatus* of drums, trumpets, colours, hautboys, dances, which make that morning appear very gay and merry; and that it may be ſo to our ſaviour reſuſcitated, they all communicate, and give a happy *Eaſter* to the divine majeſty and all heaven, to which the earth can never pay a greater tribute than by the converſion of ſinners, particularly of theſe new chriſtians, whoſe anceſtors adored but the other day their idols; and now they acknowledge, and kneel before the true God, and ſit with him at his table, as grandees of his court; they, who not long before were ſlaves of the devil,

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CHAP. VIII.

Of ſome other Holidays of the City of St. Jago.

ONE of the things in which the greatneſs of a city ſhews itſelf moſt, is, in its feaſt, holidays, and publick entertainments: we will touch a little on thoſe of *St. Jago*; and, beſides the ſecular ones of bull-feaſts, running at the ring, *Juego de Cannas*, tournaments, illuminations, and other diverſions in which this city ſhines, it is wonderful how well there are celebrated the publick rejoicings for the birth or marriage of their prince, in univerſal canonizations of ſaints, and in all other ſolemnities, but particularly thoſe ordered by his majeſty, as that was about thirty years ago, when his majeſty, out of his great piety, ordered, in honour of the queen of angels, that the myſtery of her holy immaculate conception ſhould be celebrated in all his kingdoms, as well by the ſeculars, as by the churchmen; and the firſt indeed need no incitement in this matter, every one being ready to ſhew their acknowledgements to this ſovereign queen of heaven, who has favoured more particularly the kingdom of *Chile* with her protection from the beginning.

Let us now ſay what the city of *St. Jago* did upon this occaſion, that the affection with which the inhabitants correſpond to what they owe to this illuſtrious queen of heaven may be manifeſted, and ſome proof given of what they can do on ſuch occaſions; and letting alone what was done by all the convents and monaſteries, I come to other particulars, to which three poetical conteſts gave riſe: theſe were publiſhed ſolemnly on horſeback through the town, with the company of the town magiſtrates, and all the gentry, without exception. The firſt of theſe troops were defrayed by the cathedral, the ſecond by the celebrated monaſtery of the conception, the third by the congregation of ſtudents founded in our college; and in all theſe there were prizes propos'd of great value for the poets; and thoſe who obtained them, had them given to them with great ſolemnity; and there were ſeveral repreſentations, with other diverſions according to the cuſtom of that country.

And ſince we are ſpeaking of what happened in thoſe holy feaſts, let us not forget as remarkable a paſſage as any: the day which it fell to the lot of our college to celebrate its feaſt, the father provincial, who was to preach before maſs, felt himſelf ſo mov'd with love and devotion to the ſovereign virgin, that in a fit of extraordinary zeal he invited the people to come after dinner to the proceſſion of our church, and to ſing before the image of our lady that ballad which was in thoſe days ſo famous, and begins:

All the world in general
Says ſo, choſen queen of heaven,
That you are conceiv'd even
Without ſin original.

The auditory was much edified with the piety of the good father, but ſmiled at his propoſal as impracticable; yet they all came at the hour, moſt out of curioſity to ſee the event of this novelty: they all took olive-branches in their hands, and began the proceſſion while our fathers ſung the ſtanzas. It was wonderful that the ſame ſpirit which moved the father to ſuch an extraordinary invitation, moved alſo all the people to ſing before the image of our lady, which they carried thus to the cathedral; out of which the clergy coming to meet, and ſinging the church-hymns, the noiſe of the others ſinging was ſo great, that the canons were forced to give over, and accompany the people in their ſtanzas, ſinging altogether like ſo many children. They looked one another in the face, admiring at what they were doing, being ſcarce able to believe; and if I my ſelf had not ſeen it, knowing, as I do, the natural gravity of that people, I ſhould not have believed it neither; but the inward force of devotion can do any thing, when the lord of hearts makes uſe of it to exalt the immaculate pureneſs of his mother.

A ſtrange inſpiration on the clergy as well as laity to ſinging.

The rejoicings and entertainments upon this occaſion laſted many days; one of them fell to the lot of the congregation of natural *Spaniards* founded in our college, who made a very ingenious and coſtly maſquerade, repreſenting all the nations of the world, with their kings and princes all cloth'd after their own faſhion, with their attendants, and laſt of all the pope, to whom each nation came, with its king, to deſire his holineſs to favour this myſtery. The liveries were very coſtly, and there was a triumphal chariot, a great machine, in which was repreſented the church: but that which was moſt chargable was the wax, which is very dear there; and this entertainment was given by night.

A very expenſive maſquerade.

The other days were divided among the *Negroes* and *Indians* of all arts and profeſſions, who having a pious emulation to each other, made many rare inventions; but the merchants carried the bell in a tournament

nament, which they perform'd in the great place, each adventurer coming either out of a ſea, or a wood, or an enchanted caſtle, with his paper or challenge, acting their parts very well: they broke their lances, and receiv'd their prizes, which were things of great value. The gentlemen of the city crown'd the feaſt with their uſual diverſions of bull-feaſts, running at the ring *Juego de Cannas*, &c. There are generally about twenty or thirty horſemen to attack the bulls, and throw the *rejons* or lances at them, beſides him who ſtrikes the bull dead. The illuminations of torches, with which they uſe to run about all night, are alſo of great diverſion; and upon this occaſion they did it with rich liveries, and other chargeable expences, for the greater ſolemnity of the time.

The ordinary and annual rejoicings which are obſerv'd on *Midſummer*, on *St. John's-day*, *St. James's*, and the *Nativity of our Lady*, are alſo worth ſeeing, particularly on the day of St. *Jago*, who is the patron of the city; for then the royal enſign of the crown brings out the great ſtandard of the conqueſt, with the king's arms, and is accompanied by all the gentry, who are oblig'd to appear on that occaſion, which they do very glorioufly.

Marriages and chriſtenings celebrated with great pomp and expence.

There happen likewiſe ſome marriages or chriſtenings of the people of beſt faſhion, in which they make as good a ſhew as their eſtates will let them, and often above their abilities. In the bull-feaſts, thoſe who undertake them uſe to treat the *royal audiencia*, and other bodies corporate; but in marriages they are profuſe, for the preſents to the bride have been brought in faſhion to be very rich, ſuch as ſlaves, carpets, ſcrutores fill'd with gold and jewels, and other curioſities of great value. There is not leſs ſpent in treats and banquets, particularly of late years, that they have taken to counterfeiting natural fruits, and other things, which ſerve for the ſideboard; ſo that after a man has given a treat of all ſorts of birds and fiſhes, his entertainment is not gallant enough, if he does not add a deſert of preſerv'd citrons in all figures of love-knots, &c. and the other fruits imitated after nature: theſe they mingle on the cloth, with the figures of ewers, ſaltſellers, jars, ſalvers, diſhes, ſpoons, forks, knives, all made of citron, cover'd with leaves of gold and ſilver; and the firſt thing the gueſts do, when they ſit down, is to plunder the table of theſe, for there are real ones of gold and ſilver for the banquet.

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All this coſts extreamly, becauſe the ſugar comes from *Peru*, and the manufacture of all theſe curioſities is very dear; many are the gueſts; and beſides the wedding-dinner, the fathers give another the next day as ſumptuous. This is what no body of faſhion can help doing. I have heard formerly, that at firſt there were gentlemen, who, upon any of theſe publick rejoicings, would do it all at their own charges, giving them all liveries of velvet, at the running of the ring for example; and yet then velvet was twice as dear as it is now. But at preſent that is left off, though they make expences equivalent in collations, bonefires, and other contrivances of great ſhew; for upon theſe occaſions they all think themſelves rich enough, which is a great ruin to families, every one ſtraining out of vanity to equal another, though the difference in riches be very great.

And now let us leave *St. Jago*, which has detain'd us more than ordinary, to ſatisfy the curioſity of thoſe who are deſirous to know the increaſe and progreſs of the cities and colonies of that new world, and how the chriſtian cuſtoms and government have begun to flouriſh in it; and by this eſſay a judgment may be made of thoſe ſettlements. I paſs on to the particulars of the conqueſt of that kingdom, that I may afterwards give an account of the progreſs of the chriſtian faith, and the great hopes there is of its greater propagation. And becauſe ſome curious perſons do deſire to know ſome particulars of the colonies and ſettlements of that new world; and that it may be agreeable to the reader to know the form given by the firſt founders to their cities, I have thought convenient to give here the ground-plot of the city of *St. Jago*, with all its ſtreets, houſes, and publick place, with the names of the churches and convents, and the ſtreets that anſwer them, they being the principal buildings of a chriſtian commonwealth; by which it may be known how other towns and cities in thoſe parts are contriv'd, for they moſt of them follow this plot or model. And becauſe ſome judgment may be made of the buildings, I have likewiſe given the city in perſpective, as it looks to thoſe who come from the *Peru* ſide, and enter by the great ſtreet call'd the *Cannada*; though the cupola of the jeſuits, and the tower of the convent of *St. Francis*, with other high buildings, are diſcern'd many leagues off.

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CHAP. IX.

The Governor **Pedro de Valdivia** ***purſues his Conqueſt. The Gold Mines are begun to be wrought. He ſends Proofs of their Richneſs to*** **Peru**; ***from whence the General*** **Juan Baptiſte Paſtene** ***brings him the firſt Succours.***

THE governor *Pedro de Valdivia* having founded the city of *St. Jago*, began to think of fortifying himſelf in that poſt, to defend himſelf againſt the fury of the *Indians*, with whom he was every day engag'd; and many men were loſt on both ſides, ſo that his men began to be uneaſy, and talk of going back to *Peru*, as *Almagro* had done: for though they ſaw the richneſs of the country, yet it appear'd to them dearly bought, ſince they could not get any of it without running great hazards by the many engagements they had with the enemy; ſo that they gave their lives for gone. The governor *Pedro de Valdivia* was not ignorant of the difficulty of his enterprize; but yet encourag'd by the hopes of ſucceſs at laſt, he reſolv'd rather to die than give it over; and being an experienced ſoldier, bred in the wars of *Europe*, he reſolv'd to raiſe a fort for the defence of his men, being convinc'd of the bravery of the enemy he had to do with; and though he was inform'd of a general riſing, which the *Indians* deſign'd, he ſent ſeventy men to make an incurſion towards the river of *Cachapoal*. The *Indians* taking the opportunity of the abſence of theſe men, attack'd the fort, and had gain'd it if the *Spaniards* had not ſhewed incredible valour in the defence of it till the other men return'd; and by their aſſiſtance they repulſed the *Indians*, and remain'd conquerors.

The governor made good uſe of this advantage, both with the *Indians* and his own men; ſo that having quieted them, he began to work upon the mines of *Quillota*, which were of great fame: they prov'd ſo rich, and yielded ſuch a quantity of gold, that he thought it adviſable to make a fort there for the ſecurity of his men; but finding want of hands, by the loſſes he had had, he reſolv'd to ſend to *Peru* for relief. This he put in execution, giving at the ſame time an account of the richneſs and fruitfulneſs of the country, to incite people; and becauſe ocular teſtimony perſuades more than what we only hear of, he truſted ſix men, whom he ſent along with thirty others, to have a great deal of gold with them, cauſing beſides the ſtirrups of their horſes, and all that is employed of iron work about the bridles and ſaddles, to be made of maſſy gold, making the ſtirrups very great and large on purpoſe. But all this deſign was diſappointed; for theſe men, who were thus gilded like ſuns, were, when they came to the valley of *Copiapo*, fallen upon by the *Indians*, and all periſh'd but two, who were *Pedro de Miranda*, and *Monroy*, officers, who got away by the help of their horſes; but being purſued by the *Indians* through mountainous ways, and their horſes tiring, they were taken by an *Indian* captain, call'd *Cateo*, who had a company of archers: they tied their hands behind them, and carried them to their cacique, who deſign'd to put them to death.

A demonſtrative proof of the riches of Chile *intended.*

The deſign miſcarries.

This cacique was married to the heireſs of all this valley, (for their inheritances follow the women, for greater ſecurity of the right line,) and when theſe two were expecting nothing but the blow of death, it pleas'd God to inſpire the cacica, or cacique's lady, with compaſſion; and ſo ſhe went herſelf, and with her own hands untied theirs, commanding their wounds to be dreſs'd, and treating them with ſome of their drinks, which ſhe herſelf preſented to them, having drunk firſt herſelf, according to their cuſtom, and bid them take courage, for they ſhould not die. They ſeeing themſelves brought, as it were, from death to life, threw themſelves at her feet, and dedicated themſelves to her as voluntary ſlaves, ſince by her favour they enjoyed a life which they gave for loſt.

A wonderful preſervation.

The captain, who had taken them, ſeeing his princeſs and ſovereign ſhew them ſo much favour, came to them, and bid them be confident of their lives, for that their lady having commanded they ſhould not be killed, there was not any one bold enough to look awry upon them: they were kept ſix months in this captivity; and though it was ſo gentle, by the kind uſage they met with, yet the natural deſire of liberty, and the hopes of returning to their friends, ſtill worked with them.

Let no man think himſelf ſecure that has his enemy within his own doors, nor let him truſt his priſoner, though yielded up to his diſcretion; for let him be us'd as well as can be, yet there is no happineſs like being his own man, and enjoying his liberty. This thought continually took up the minds of theſe two captains, ſo they laid a plot how to make their eſcape. They had obſerv'd in the cacique a curioſity for horſes, which were a creature ſo new in thoſe *Indian* countries; they perſuaded him to learn to ride, and manage a horſe.

He

horſe. He liked the propoſal, and began to exerciſe himſelf in this genteel amuſement, carrying with him nevertheleſs always his guard of archers, with an *Indian* before with a lance upon his ſhoulder, and another behind, with a naked ſword in his hand, more out of grandeur than diſtruſt; for he had no ſuſpicion of their plot, which was, to take an opportunity when he rid out to fall upon him, and kill him, as they did; for captain *Monroy*, with an extraordinary intrepidity, without reflecting on the guard that attended him, attacked the *Cacique*, and captain *Miranda* the reſt, with ſo much ſuddenneſs, that they made themſelves maſters of the lance and ſword; and beſtirring themſelves courageouſly, they wounded and diſmounted the *Cacique*; ſo that he died of his wounds in ſome months. Having gained their horſes, they ſaved themſelves upon them; and not being purſued in that diſorder, they overcame all the difficulties of thoſe ſolitudes, and arrived at *Peru* ſafe; where at that time they found the government in the hands of the *Licenciado Vaca de Caſtro*.

An ungrateful return.

Theſe two captains were gentlemen of great families; and to this day the *Mirandas* in *Chile* are of the flower of the nobility of that kingdom. As for the *Monroys*, they are ſo known in *Caſtile*, particularly about *Salamanca*, that it is needleſs to ſay more of them. They were very well received by his excellency, for the good news they brought of that diſcovery and conqueſt, of the pleaſantneſs of the country, and richneſs of its mines; and upon this relation, as *Antonio de Herrera*, and other authors ſay, it was reſolved to further this conqueſt, which ſeemed to be of ſuch high importance, and to chuſe out ſome fit perſon, and accompany him with ſoldiers, arms, ammunition, and cloathing for the ſoldiers, who were almoſt naked.

A wonderful preſervation.

Paſtene *ſent with the firſt*

He choſe for this employment captain *John Baptiſte Paſtene*, a gentleman of the moſt antient and illuſtrious houſe of *Paſtenes* in *Genoa*; which family is at preſent extinct in that republick, and remains only in its records, where many of that name are in the books of the nobility, and among the greateſt dignities of the ſtate. This gentleman engaged in the conqueſt of the new world by the ſame deſire of glory which moved others, and to mend his fortune. He happening then to be in *Peru*, the viceroy took hold of the occaſion to employ him for the king's ſervice; which this gentleman accepted, and performed, going for *Chile*, where he arrived with the ſuccours which that kingdom ſtood in ſo great need of.

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His joyful reception.

This relief was received with great joy, as being in the beginning of the enterprize, and extreamly wanted, the ſoldiers being much fatigued and weakened with the continual aſſaults of their enemies, without any other defence than their fort of *St. Jago*, where they had enough to do to ſhelter themſelves from their valour and fierce attacks; but the arrival of theſe ſuccours gave them new courage, and reſolution to proſecute their enterprize. To undertake it with more regularity, and prevent what accidents might happen from the ſea, the governor ſent *Paſtene* with the title of lieutenant-general in his own ſhip, to diſcover the coaſt as far as the *Streights* of *Magellan*, as he did; and it appears by the letters of their catholick majeſties, *Philip* II. and his ſon *Philip* III. how agreeable this piece of ſervice was to them. About this time the mines of *Quillota* being working with great profit, and Don *Gonçales de los Rios* being captain-governor of the work, the *Indians* brought him a full pot of great grains of gold, for a ſhew of a great deal which they ſaid they had found in a certain place. There they had laid an ambuſcade of ſeveral of their beſt men, to fall upon ſuch as blinded with covetouſneſs ſhould go to ſeek this treaſure. This happened accordingly, for they all run preſently to the place; for there is no alarm never ſo warm, that rouzes better than this deſire of growing rich at once did them: but they were much miſtaken; for inſtead of gold, they met with the iron of their enemies lances, who killed them all but their captain and a *Negro*, who eſcaped by the ſwiftneſs of their horſes: ſo the *Indians* remained victorious, and by the way of triumph, ſet fire to a frigate which the *Spaniards* had almoſt finiſhed to keep up their correſpondency with *Peru*.

The Spaniards *drawn into an ambuſcade thro' covetouſneſs.*

CHAP. X.

The City of the Serena *is peopled.* John Baptiſte Paſtene *goes for more Succours to* Peru, *from whence he returns to* Chile; *and with* Valdivia *and other captains, goes to help the Royal Army againſt* Piſarro.

Valdivia *purſues his conqueſt.*

HERRERA ſays, that with this relief which *Valdivia* received, he purſued his conqueſt on the people called the *Promocaes*; and that he was met by ſeveral *Indians* in the valley *Quillocma*, whom he overcame courageouſly, though with the loſs of ſome horſes; and at that time horſes were a thouſand crowns a-piece. Having diſcovered

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diſcovered large provinces, and being ſatisfied of the great number of inhabitants in them, he returned to *St. Jago*. 'Tis ſuppos'd the governor did all this in haſte, ſince he return'd without making any fort or ſettlement: ſo it is probable he went this time only to diſcover, in order to form a force proportionable of an army: therefore the general *John Baptiſte Paſtene* being returned from diſcovering of the ſea-coaſts, he ſent him back to *Peru* to endeavour to bring more ſuccours, as he had done the firſt, and ſo form an army capable of enlarging his conqueſts upon ſuch powerful enemies, as he found the natives of *Chile* to be. Judging therefore that it was not yet time to leave any thing behind him unfortified, he founded in the valley of *Coquimbo* the city generally call'd by that name, but by him call'd *La Serena*, to ſerve for a reſting-place or ſcala for the people who came from *Peru* to *Chile*; for being in great want of ſuch ſupplies, he did endeavour to facilitate by all means their paſſage, and draw as many people as poſſible to preſerve his conqueſt; for acting otherwiſe would only be to have ſo much the more to loſe; as indeed it happened, and ſhall be related in its due place.

The city of La Serena, *or* Coquimbo *founded in the year* 1544.

The city of *La Serena* was the ſecond that was founded in *Chile* in the year 1544. in a very pleaſant and fruitful valley, watered by a very fine river, not of the biggeſt, but of clear and admirable water, with which the fields are all ſo plentifully refreſh'd, that their product is ſo various, that the inhabitants want almoſt nothing from abroad that is neceſſary for human life; for they have corn, wine, fleſh, all ſorts of other grain, and pulſe-fruits, even more than in *St. Jago*; for beſides all thoſe of *Europe*, and thoſe of *Chile*, they have two ſorts very extraordinary: The firſt is a ſort of cucumbers, which are very ſweet, and do not need paring, for the outſide is a very thin skin, ſmooth, of a delicate colour between white and yellow, all ſtreaked with a very fine purple; the other fruit is that which they call *Lucumas*, and is a fruit, as I remember, I have ſeen in *Peru*: it is a very wholeſome well-taſted fruit, the ſtone is ſmooth, and of a purple colour. The oil of this place is abſolutely the beſt in the whole kingdom, as clear and bright as one's eyes, and of a rare ſmell and taſte: they make great quantities, ſo that they ſend a great deal abroad. They have great flocks of cattle, though not ſo many as about *St. Jago*, becauſe it rains leſs, and ſo the paſturages are leaner.

Abounds in rich metals.

But that which is moſt particular, and of greateſt value in this country, is the great abundance of rich metals, as gold, copper, and lead; ſo that though they have given over gathering of gold in all the other parts of *Chile*, becauſe other products are of greater advantage, yet in this place they go on gathering it more or leſs, according as the winter is more or leſs rainy; for when it rains much, the mountains are diſſolv'd, and the earth open'd, and ſo the gold is eaſier found. And the copper too that is melted down there, ſerves for all the kingdom, and *Peru* beſides. The climate of this city is abſolutely the moſt temperate of all the kingdom; becauſe the winter, which in other parts is very ſharp, particularly nearer the *pole*, is here ſo gentle, that it is hardly perceiv'd, it being within five or ſix degrees of the *tropick*, and being in the 29th degree of latitude, enjoys a moderate climate, the longeſt day being of fourteen hours, and is upon the 11th of *December*, as the ſhorteſt is on the 11th of *June*, and the night is of fourteen hours.

But the accidental ſituation of the city helps much towards the mildneſs of the climate: it is within two leagues of the ſea, having a plain before it all covered with myrtles: it ſtands on a riſing ground, having a proſpect to the ſea, which makes a beautiful bay, abounding in fiſh of all ſorts; by which it is an excellent place to paſs the lent in, fiſh being very cheap: but the good cheer is alſo as well out of *Lent*; for beſides the mutton, which is excellent, and very nouriſhing, there is plenty of tame fowl, partridge, turkeys, and all ſorts of wild fowl. This city begun to be inhabited by many noble families, the founders being men of the beſt quality that came to *Chile*; and their deſcendants have remain'd, and do maintain the luſtre of their anceſtors. The governor-general appoints the place of *Corrigedor*, or mayor of the [illegible], and it is one of the moſt profitable places that are, becauſe of the mines which are wrought in its territory: but notwithſtanding all theſe good qualities which we have mention'd, this city does not increaſe ſo faſt as that of *St. Jago*; for this laſt may be compared to the clove-tree, which ſucks to itſelf all the ſubſtance of the earth round about it, a thing which is proper enough to capital cities every where.

The air of the country.

About this time the general *John Baptiſte Paſtene* arriv'd at *Peru* for a ſecond ſupply of men, which *Pedro de Valdivia* deſired of the viceroy, to carry on his conqueſt; but he found the whole country in confuſion, cauſed by the ſtubborn diſobedience of *Gonçalo Piſarro*, ſo that the government wanted relief itſelf, inſtead of being in a condition to relieve others. This was ſo true, that *Paſtene* was forced to return to *Chile*, to bring a force from thence to join with the royal army. This reſolution 'tis probable came to the knowledge of the tyrant

Paſtene diſpatched from Chile to Peru.

Valdivia marches to Peru to aſſiſt the king's forces.

rant *Piſarro*; for he found means to ſeize his ſhip and his perſon by cunning. *Paſtene*, though much preſs'd by *Piſarro* both by promiſes and threats to join with him, as very well knowing how much he might aſſiſt him as his friend, or injure him as his enemy, yet perſever'd in his loyalty to the king, and found means to make his eſcape out of the hands of the tyrant, and to recover his ſhip too; which having new fitted with neceſſaries, he returned to *Chile*, to bring from thence ſome of the beſt officers to encourage the royal army, which was preparing to engage *Piſarro*, who on his ſide had ſuch a force, that he had put to death the viceroy *Blaſco Nunnes Vela*. In *Chile* they were waiting for his return, and the ſuccours he ſhould bring with him; but when they ſaw him without any, they were much troubled; for they found themſelves oblig'd at leaſt to ſuſpend all their projects upon *Chile*, to go and relieve thoſe upon whom their own preſervation depended.

Valdivia marches to Peru to aſſiſt the king's forces.

The governor *Pedro de Valdivia*, as ſoon as he heard what paſs'd in *Peru*, reſolv'd to go thither in perſon with ſome of his beſt officers and ſoldiers to join and help the king's forces. He left in *Chile* for his lieutenant captain *Franciſco de Villagra*, a gentleman of great courage and good parts, that he might govern and preſerve what we had already in that kingdom, it being impoſſible to do more, or make any further progreſs, till the times ſhould alter, and he provide more forces. He got together what gold he could, and went aboard with his captains and ſoldiers in the ſame ſhip, under the conduct of the ſame general *Paſtene*. His arrival at *Peru* gave great courage to the king's forces, by reaſon of the gold and men which he brought, the valour and experience of which was ſo great, that in the battle they perform'd extraordinary things, being the chief cauſe of the victory obtain'd over *Piſarro* in the valley of *Quiraguana*. He himſelf was taken, and chaſtis'd with his guilty aſſiſtants as his folly deſerved, and his diſloyalty to his prince. The preſident of *Peru*, *Gaſca*, always adviſ'd with the governor *Valdivia* in all his moſt important affairs, whom he made of his council, with ſix more, for the ſecreteſt affairs and of moſt importance, making great eſteem of his prudence and experience, as well as of the valour of his companions. OVALLE. 1646.

He is victorious, and returns to Chile with a ſupply.

This victory being obtain'd, the governor return'd to *Chile*, with a good ſuccour of men and arms, and the ſame officers and ſoldiers who accompanied him to *Peru*, with which, and other ſuccours which came afterwards, he was in a condition to purſue his enterprize vigorouſly, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. But all was little enough againſt the reſiſtance of the *Indians*, who not only kept them from advancing, but for ſix years together, that their ſtubborn oppoſition laſted, they reduc'd the *Spaniards* to great extremities of nakedneſs and hunger; ſo that they were forc'd to eat herbs and roots, and rats and mice, and ſuch things; and if the heart and courage of the governor *Valdivia* had not been invincible, it would have been impoſſible to have made the conqueſt.

CHAP. XI.

What happened in Chile *during the Abſence of the Governor* Valdivia, *and after his Return; and of the new Succours he receiv'd.*

PEdro *Sanches de Hoz* was a ſoldier, to whom the king was pleas'd to grant a patent for the diſcovery and conqueſt of certain lands, to begin from the juriſdiction of the marquis *Francis Piſarro*; and he pretending that part of the kingdom of *Chile* was in his grant, oppos'd the governor *Valdivia*, to whom *Piſarro* by a royal commiſſion had given the conqueſt and government of *Chile*; but the marquis perſuaded him to deſiſt, and go along with *Valdivia* to *Chile*, recommending his perſon to the governor, to uſe him with regard, and give him a ſhare in the beſt part of his conqueſt. *Valdivia* did ſo, beſtowing on him the richeſt lands of the *Indians*; but the ambition of commanding is always very contentious, and ſubject to complain till it gets the upper hand. This appear'd in *Pedro Sanches de Hoz*, in the abſence of the governor from *Chile*; for being vex'd that he was not left with the authority of lieutenant in his room, he plotted to take away the life of him who had it, which was *Franciſco de Villagra*, who having notice of his deſigns, ſeiz'd upon *Pedro Sanches de Hoz*, and cut off his head, by which he aſſur'd his own; and *Valdivia* approv'd of the thing as well done, when he was inform'd of it; becauſe he was a friend to juſtice, and becauſe a competitor is never ſorry to have his competitor remov'd.

The Copiapo Indians revenge the death of their cacique.

About this time, the *Indians* of *Copiapo*, who had begun to imbrue their hands in the blood of the *Spaniards*, in purſuance of the revenge of their prince's death, whom the captains *Miranda* and *Monroy* had killed, as we have related in the ninth chapter, lay in wait, and ſurpriz'd *Juan Bon* with forty ſoldiers more of ſome companies which were coming from *Peru*, and marching through their country; theſe they put all to death. After their example the *Coquimbeſes* attack'd the ſoldiers and inhabitants of the city of *La Serena*, whom they kill'd without ſpa-

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ring one, and set fire to the city, which they ruin'd utterly, not leaving one stone upon another.

Are overcome by captain Francis de Aguirre.

All this being understood by the governor at his return from *Peru*, he sent captain *Francis de Aguirre* with a good force, to follow them to their retiring-place, where in several rencounters, in the valley of *Copiapo*, he overcame the *Indians:* all which was as much owing to his great valour as conduct, without which the force he had would have prov'd insufficient, (as *Herrera* observes.) He did the same in the valley of *Coquimbo*, and rebuilt the city of *La Serena*, in the place and situation where it now stands. For which reason he was look'd upon as the true founder of it; and his descendants, who are of the best nobility of the kingdom, have preserv'd that prerogative, and are the chiefest in that government, or rather the masters of it; for they are so numerous and so powerful, that they yield to none in reputation, and are accordingly respected by all.

Let us now treat of that which 'tis not reasonable to forget; which is, of those captains, who in those early times entered *Chile* with succours of men to help to conquer it, since it is just their memory should live for ever in those who enjoy the fruits of their labours, and are now masters of what they gain'd with their blood and sweat, and the loss of many lives, and danger of their own, which they expos'd in so many battles and encounters they had with the enemy. I am only sorry, that I cannot speak of them all, and describe in particular their good qualities and great merits, because I am in a place where I want memoirs and informations for such a work; but I will say what I can of their noble actions, as I find them recorded in other histories; though to say truth, that which they say about *Chile* is so little, that it is almost next to nothing. I am not surpriz'd at it, for it is a place much out of the way, and its conquerors were busier with their swords than with their pens; for their enemies press'd them continually with so much vigour, that they had but little of that leisure which histories and relations require.

A recital of those captains who were instrumental in the conquest of Chile.

We shall begin with the governor *Pedro de Valdivia*, who was the first that entered the kingdom with a force, as has been related; then that which general *Pastene* brought afterwards with arms and cloaths. The succours brought by captain *Monroy* prov'd of great importance; as *Herrera* says, it was of threescore men, which in those days was as much as six hundred now: these he had hir'd in *Peru*, being much assisted by the *viceroy*, who, upon the relations of *Monroy* and *Miranda*, was resolv'd to encourage the enterprize.

I am not certain, whether it was before this, or after, that arriv'd the succours so opportunely brought by captain *Christoval de Escobar Villaroel*; for I do not find it mention'd in any of the historians, which I have read here; but in *Chile* the memory of it is very fresh, and will never be forgot; not only for his coming in a time when they extremely wanted supplies, but also for that circumstance of this noble captain's having brought these succours upon his own charges, (and I think they were seventy men,) and made his way by land to *Chile*, either by the wilderness of *Aracama*, or by the *Cordillera*, either of which must cost a great sum of money, for it is above five hundred leagues.

This action alone was sufficient to shew the nobleness of this gentleman, if that of his family had not been so well known as it is in *Spain*; but he continued to give proofs of his zeal for the king's service, by serving in person, and employing also his son captain *Alonso de Escobar Villaroel*, whom he had brought with him from *Spain*, that they might both give an example to their posterity, as they have; not yielding to any, but have produc'd many noble persons, both in arms and other civil employments of the government.

When I reflect upon those I have known of the descendants of this famous head and conqueror, I find, that between sons, grandsons, and great grandsons, they come up to eighty seven; and if they had not been so many, there was enough to honour this family in the seven or eight sons of the general *Luis de las Cucuas*, grandsons of this gentleman, with whom he presented himself to the royal army, all arm'd capa-pee, in which they serv'd many years at their own charges; for in those days the inhabitants that were gentlemen, had no other reward but their loyalty, and the glory of serving their prince. *Antonio de Herrera* makes mention of another supply, of one hundred and eighty men, conducted by captain *Francisco Villagra*, who was afterwards governor of *Chile*, and to whom that kingdom owes a great deal of its being, for the hazards he ran, and the noble actions he perform'd in its conquest, as we shall see hereafter, and may be read in the general history, to which I appeal. The nobility of his family was always notorious, and the gentlemen of his name have shewed themselves worthy of it, in the great services they have and do perform every day for the king, worthy of all sorts of acknowledgment and reward.

Valdivia *pursues his conquest.*

After this, in the time of the viceroy *Don Antonio Hurtado de Mendoça*, his excellency, as *Herrera* says, sent captain *Don Martin de Avendano* by land, with good succours

courſ of men, and three hundred and fifty mares and horſes, which were of as much importance for the war as ſo many men. The deſcendants of this gentleman are ſtill carrying on the luſtre of his family, ſo known in *Salamanca* and other parts. I was acquainted with two brothers of that name, who alone might preſerve and increaſe the reputation of their family; the one was colonel *Don Antonio de Avendano*, who was colonel of the regiment of *Arauco*, who ſignaliz'd himſelf at the head of that regiment in many rencounters with the enemy, and particularly in one, where our camp was defeated, and where to preſerve the reputation he had gain'd in ſo many noble actions and eminent dangers, he choſe to die, being wounded in a great many places, and almoſt cut in pieces by the furious enemy. The other was *Don Franciſco de Avendano*, likewiſe colonel, and who came to *Spain*; where his majeſty, in conſideration of his own and his anceſtors merit, honour'd him with the habit of *St. Jago*, and the government of *Tucuman*, where he died.

I do not mention thoſe companies out of which, as they paſſed by *Copiapo*, forty were killed, with their leader *Juan Bon*; becauſe *Herrera*, who ſpeaks of this, does not ſay who was the captain of them. Perhaps there were alſo other commanders, who in thoſe ſix years time entered into *Chile* with men; and I ſhould be glad to be where I might have particular information of them, to do them at leaſt that ſmall honour of putting their names in print, and giving ſome glory to actions which, perhaps, deſerv'd to be grav'd in braſs. OVALLE. 1646.

I do not likewiſe ſet down here, that famous ſupply of men brought by the ſecond governor of *Chile*, *Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoça*, marquis of *Cannete*, for this ſhall be ſpoke of in its proper place, after the death of the governor *Pedro de Valdivia*; and thus we ſhall conclude thoſe who entered by the way of *Peru*. For though, ſince that time, there have been ſeveral ſupplies, and are every day ſtill more, yet they have not been remarkable enough, as not having come at firſt, but after the ſettlements were made; and beſides, it would carry me too far to report them all. But I ſhall add here thoſe which have come from *Spain* by the way of *Buenos Ayres*, as well becauſe they were the moſt numerous, ſome having been of five hundred or a thouſand men, as having come in dangerous times, when the kingdom was ready to be loſt, the enemy having, as it were, beſieg'd it; and ſo 'tis juſt to preſerve the memory of ſuch famous benefactors, who have been, as it were, fathers of their country. This we ſhall perform at the end of this book, in a treatiſe by itſelf, where we will likewiſe put the pictures of all the governors of *Chile*, as well as may be, conſidering how long they have been dead, that their deſcendants may preſerve the memory of men who ſeem to deſerve eternity by their heroical actions.

CHAP. XII.

The Governor Pedro de Valdivia *purſues his Conqueſt, and peoples the City call'd the* Conception, *where he had like to have been deſtroyed in a Battle.*

Valdivia *purſues his conqueſt.*

THE governor *Pedro de Valdivia* ſeeing himſelf with a good force, and the greatneſs of his mind perſuading him that he had wherewithal to put an end to his enterprize, *Herrera* ſays he ſent to the other ſide of the *Cordillera*, from *St. Jago*, captain *Franciſco Aguirre* with a good number of men, with which he paſs'd thoſe terrible mountains, and founded among the *Diaguitas* and *Juries*.

Herrera ſays no more; nor do I know any thing of thoſe individual places and cities which he founded. The governor *Valdivia* on his ſide ſet out of *St. Jago* with a powerful army, and paſſing the furious rivers of *Maypo*, *Cachapoal*, *Tinguiritica*, *Peteroa*, *Teno*, and *Mataquito*, he conquer'd the *Promocaes*, a warlike people, who had reſiſted *Almagro*, and before that had repuls'd an army of fifty thouſand men, which the *Inga* ſent againſt them when he endeavour'd to conquer *Chile*; but the good fortune and great valour of *Valdivia* and his men overcame that which ſeem'd invincible, though I am perſuaded that it was not without blood: but I refer myſelf to the general hiſtory of *Chile*, which has deſcrib'd the particular encounters and battles on both ſides.

The army paſs'd the deep river of *Maule*, and the wide *Itata*, and coming to that of *Audalien*, quarter'd by the ſea-ſide; and for the conveniency of ſituation, he founded there the city of the *Conception* in the year 1550. But the natives aſtoniſh'd and enrag'd at this boldneſs of ſtrangers to enter thus into the heart of their country, as if it were their own, call'd a general aſſembly, and with a numerous and brave army preſented them battle ſo furiouſly, that our people began to wiſh they had not engag'd themſelves ſo far. Much blood was ſhed *The city of* Conception *founded in the year* 1550.

on

Ovalle. 1646. on both ſides; and our army was in great danger of being deſtroyed, till it pleas'd God, (who guides all things to his ends,) who was to reap the fruit of his victory over thoſe gentiles, whom he had predeſtinated by the means of the goſpel, which was to be preach'd to them in caſe the *Spaniards* were victorious, to make them ſo at laſt, and that very gloriouſly, the famous *Aynabillo*, chief head of the *Pencones*, remaining priſoner, after having behav'd himſelf with great bravery in the fight.

The ſituation of it. The ſituation of the city of the *Conception* is on a plain where the ſea makes a moſt beautiful bay, in form of a half-moon; and nature has provided a mole, by putting there a large *iſland*, behind which ſhips ride ſafe from the north wind. By land, towards the eaſt, it is encompaſſed with ſome high hills, the ſides of which are all planted with vines and other fruit-trees; ſo that which way ſoever one looks, the proſpect terminates in beautiful plantations of trees, or rather a green ſemicircle, which rejoices the ſight, and fortifies the city. From the north, there comes into it a ſmall river, which comes down from the mountains, which we have already deſcrib'd in the chapter of the rivers of *Chile*. On the ſouth ſide, another larger deeper river runs by it, and is call'd *Audalien*. Neither of theſe rivers do the kindneſs to the city which *Mapocho* does to *St. Jago*, that is, to come into the houſes; but the want of this is ſupplied by excellent fountains of chriſtalline and delicate water, which riſe very near the city, and are brought into it very plentifully, and which was carried to the publick place by the general *Don Diego Gonçales Montero*, he being corrigedor of this city, and governing it with the ſame prudence and generoſity, that he ſince govern'd that of *St. Jago*, in the ſame quality of corrigedor and lieutenant-general.

Its latitude. This city is in the latitude of thirty three degrees and five and forty minutes to the antartick pole; and for this reaſon, and becauſe of the high land it ſtands upon, the air is ſo temperate, that the heats never are troubleſome, nay, in the heat of ſummer 'tis neceſſary to have as many bed-cloaths as in winter, which is not at all ſevere, becauſe it never ſnows there, though it rains extreamly. For the ſecurity of the city, there was erected a good fort for our people to retire to when preſs'd by the *Indians*, which often happened, and made them ſtand to their arms almoſt continually; for they, impatient of any yoke, were inceſſantly taken up with the thoughts and endeavours of driving them out of the country; and notwithſtanding all the care that was taken, the city was loſt at laſt, for the enemy over-powered us: but yet in length of time it was built again, as we ſhall ſee; though ſtill remaining a frontier to the enemy, it has not had ſuch increaſe as *St. Jago*. But it gains ground, and has many rich inhabitants, who have enter'd upon a great vent of ſalt, fleſh, and hides, which is one of the richeſt commodities of *Chile*; and they have, beſides, magazines of flower, with which they furniſh the army: the wines too of thoſe parts, are generally better than thoſe of *St. Jago*, though they are lower ceps or vines; nay, the grapes ripen as they lie along on the ground, as it is in many parts in *Europe*: they have not that abundance of almonds, oil, oranges and lemons, pulſe, and dried fruit, as in other parts of *Chile*, their ſummer being ſhorter, and the ſun having leſs force.

Character of its natives. The *Spaniſh* children born here are of a very ſweet nature, and docile; of good wits, and take to learning very well. The men are loyal, faithful keepers of their word, friendly, and ſuch as for their friends will venture any thing to defend them in their honour or fortunes, even with the hazard of their own, and their lives too: they are very well diſpos'd to virtue, having good inclinations; and thoſe among them, who have taken to arms, have extremely ſignaliz'd themſelves. They are bred in great ſimplicity, as being far from the corruption of the court, which generally improves the malice, and raiſes the libertiniſm of young people. The biſhoprick of this city is a poor one, not being worth above two or three thouſand pieces of eight a year, becauſe, though the land is rich of itſelf, and that in which there are moſt mines, yet the *Decimes* or tenths are very ſmall, becauſe of thoſe continual wars which this city has maintain'd from its beginning; for we may ſay, it has been nurs'd with blood, and grown up in arms, not having laid them down in ninety five years, which is no ſmall evidence of the good qualities of its inhabitants, and what it may be henceforward, when this dead weight is taken off. Another cauſe of the ſmall revenue of this biſhoprick, is the loſs of ſeven cities, ſome of them the richeſt of the kingdom, which all belong'd to its dioceſe.

The foundation of the city of Imperial, and its ſituation.

1567. In the year 1567. there was ſettled a high court of chancery, which remain'd till the year 1574. and afterwards it was remov'd to *St. Jago*, where it now is: and though its juriſdiction reaches as far as this city, there is little for it to do, becauſe the governors are generally preſent, to be nearer the garriſons, and countenance and aſſiſt the war, of which there is a continual neceſſity. The garriſon is very numerous, and of choice ſoldiers, where every day they mount the guard, as it is practis'd in places of war. The general provides all the officers, even

even to the colonels; but his majesty names the treasurer and muster-master-general, who is the second person after the governor: this is a post of great esteem, and no small value in this kingdom; and there go through his hands three hundred thousand ducats of the king's money, which every year is to be distributed among the officers and soldiers, who are enroll'd in his books. OVALLE. 1646.

Here are three chapters, which follow, all of miracles, wrought by an image of our lady, which are omitted.

CHAP. XIII.

The Governor Pedro de Valdivia *prosecutes his Conquest, and founds the Cities of* Imperial, Valdivia, *and* Villa Rica, *and raises three Forts in* Arauco.

1550. THE governor *Valdivia* having spent the year 1550. in peopling the city of the *Conception*, and defending himself in his fort against the continual attacks of the enemy, and having at the same time inform'd himself more exactly of the country, and its fertility, by the means of captain *Hyeronimo de Alderete*, who had gone through it, and observ'd the number of its inhabitants, resolv'd to go out of the *Conception*, and pursue his conquest. In order to this, after having well provided his fort, and left a garrison in it, he set out in the beginning of the year 1551.

1551. He took his way with his army by the plains of *Angol*, crossing first the great river *Biobio*, and coming to that of *Cauten*, which for its gentleness is call'd the *Ladies River*, when join'd with another very pleasant one near the sea: here he found great settlements of *Indians*, and founded the city of *Imperial*. This is one of the most agreeable situations of the whole kingdom, being about three or four leagues from the sea, and thirty nine leagues from the *Conception*, and a hundred and nine from the city of *St. Jago*, in thirty nine degrees of south latitude. All the territory of this city is very fruitful, bearing corn, and all sorts of pulse and fruits, though the black grapes do not ripen so kindly as the white ones and the *muscadines*: the country is not all plains and valleys, nor all hills, but rather a composition of the whole; the hills are gentle and tractable, with good pasture and shelter for cattle; the ground does not want much watering, it having frequent and large dews that fertilize it. The city was situated upon a pretty stiff hill, and the confluence of two navigable rivers; but the port is not good, for the flats there are within three fathom and a half of depth. Here the governor met with fourscore thousand *Indians* settled, nay, some authors say, they were many more; and all agree that they were a quiet and good-natur'd people, not at all so warlike as the *Araucanos*.

The foundation of the city of Imperial, *and its situation.*

This city was the head of the bishoprick, and it began to increase at first very much, by reason of the excellency of its soil and situation; and if it had not been destroyed, as we shall see hereafter that it was, it would by this time have been a great city; for it was already very well peopled, and must have increas'd, if the gold mines which are in its neighbourhood had been wrought.

This city, which was the fourth of this kingdom, being thus founded, the governor divided the territory, and gave the lordships to his conquerors, according to the royal privilege he had so to do, that he might engage the *Spaniards* to enter more heartily into his enterprize. He took for himself the lordships of *Arauco* and *Tucapel*, as far as *Puren*, except some manors that he gave to others, to content all. Having left a force, which seem'd sufficient in the city of *Imperial*, he marched as far as *Valdivia*. Being come to that famous river, and desiring to pass it, to conquer the land and people on the other side, the brave *Indian* lady, call'd *Recloma*, hinder'd him, offering to pass the river alone swimming, and to reduce the *Indians* to his obedience, as she did, and as we have already related in the ninth chapter of the first book; and there likewise is a full description of the situation of the city, and all its other qualities, which it was proper to make in that place, and so is not necessary to repeat here.

The city of Valdivia *founded, and a fort erected.*

The governor having founded the city of *Valdivia*, erected a fort, and settled all things as he had done at the *Imperial*. While he stay'd there to pursue his settlement, he sent captain *Hyeronimo de Alderete* to discover the country as far as the *Cordillera Nevada*; and he having sent to the governor relations of his discoveries, as he went founded a town, which he call'd, by the excellency, *Villa Rica*, the appearances of the riches of that country being greater than any yet had been discover'd.

The foundation and situation of Villa Rica.

Though the situation he chose seemed at first to be the best, yet in time it was resolv'd to change it, and place it upon a great lake, at the bottom of the *Cordillera*, and about sixteen leagues from the *Imperial*, and forty from the *Conception*. It has not such a plenty of corn and wine as the others, but it has enough, and many other good qualities, which I omit, because it being since destroyed with other cities, already men-

Ovalle. 1646.

tion'd, I am likewise forced to be silent of their particular properties, and refer my self to the general history of *Chile*, which will embrace all those particulars.

These were the cities planted and peopled by the governor *Valdivia*; and though I have not, as to these last, made mention of the blood spilt in gaining them, 'tis not to be imagined but that they cost dear enough, since the contest was with such warlike nations, that it seem'd a great rashness (and would have been so without a particular protection of heaven) to undertake such enterprizes. There are not wanting those who blame the governor *Valdivia*, judging that he did not measure well his strength, but grasped more than he could hold, as he found by a sad experience at his own peril in a little time.

The authors who speak of these attempts are full of the commendation of the valour, patience, and sufferings of the *Castilians*; but all this would not have done, nor have subjected those people, nor twice that force could have prevail'd against them, if because they saw them on horseback, and killing people at a distance, they had not believed them to be *Epunamones*, by which name they called the gods they ador'd; so they imagined them to be immortal, and that they came from above with a power to send out thunderbolts like God: for having never seen either small arms, or great artillery, they thought the noise was thunder; and to this day that sort of arms is call'd *Talca*, which in their language signifies thunder; and out of the same imagination they call'd the *Spaniards Viracochas*, which is as much as to say, scum of the sea, or a people come by sea, giving to understand, that those men, if they were men, were sent from God to subject them. This made them ready at first to shew all respects to the *Spaniards*, and kept them from rebelling, and resisting so vigorously as they did afterwards, though they always made some opposition, particularly the *Araucanos*, who have ever been the eagles among the *Indians*. *Valdivia* having well observ'd this, was content at present with what he had conquered, and returning to *Arauco* by *Puren* and *Tucapel*, he caused three strong houses to be erected in the distance of eight leagues from one another, and in such places as might have an easy communication together. Having thus settled matters, he return'd to the *Conception*, and so to *St. Jago*; from whence he dispatched captain *Hyeronimo de Aldarete* to *Castille*, to give the king information of the riches that were discover'd in that country, and its other good qualities; as also a relation of the settlements made there, in order to obtain a supply of people, which was granted. The cities newly founded were in great danger of being lost; for indeed they were more than our forces could protect, and the *Indians* shewed great impatience, and fretted to see foreigners settle cities in their country, and erect forts and strong places for their security.

Valdivia strengthens his garrisons.

The governor being inform'd of this disposition of the *Indians*, set out from *St. Jago* with a supply of men which he had received from *Peru*, under the conduct of *Don Martin de Avendano*, and relieved all the garrisons: which having done, and presuming they were safe, without reflecting on the danger that threatened him, he applied all his intention to give a beginning to the working of the gold mines for a design he had.

Designs a voyage to Spain.

This was to go to *Spain*, and carry with him all the gold he could get together, to shew the king the vast riches of the country, and to obtain from his majesty those titles of honour which were generally bestowed upon the conquerors and discoverers of those *Indian* kingdoms, and so bring back a good force to subdue them. For this end he did two things; the first, to send to the *Streights of Magellan*, in the year 1552. *Francisco de Ulloa*, that with two ships, which were equipp'd on purpose, he might discover all the *Streight*, and give an account of it, that so he might know how to undertake the voyage to *Spain* that way: the other thing he did, was to set people to work to find out new gold mines, which they easily did, there being so many in these parts; among which, the most famous were the mines of *Quilacoya*, four leagues from the city of the *Conception*; and others in *Angol*, to work which he employed twenty thousand *Indians*. 'Tis easy to imagine how much gold such numbers of men might get from those mines, which had never been touch'd till then: it was very great, and enough to enrich both governor and soldiers, which it did: and with the acquisition of so much treasure, they began likewise to despise their enemies; who, while they were busy in searching the bowels of the earth for gold, were employed in thinking how they should recover their lost liberty, and free themselves from the yoke of subjection, which they had never felt before.

The city of the *Conception* went on prospering, because of the great quantity of gold brought into it every day; by which means the minds of the inhabitants were elevated in proportion, and the soldiers grew wanton and insolent. The governor being tainted with the same disease of too much prosperity, neglected to take notice of these disorders; for the desire of riches increasing by riches, which they saw every day

day fill their coffers, they were leſs attentive to that which ought moſt to have drawn their attention, which was their own and the kingdom's preſervation, and ſo made way for that blow of fortune that laid them all along. OVALLE. 1646.

The Araucanos reſolve to revolt. The *Araucanos* were as uneaſy, and continually plotting how to compaſs their deſigns, and at laſt reſolved to riſe unanimouſly againſt the *Spaniards*, and take their revenge of them. To try how it would be taken they began to talk big, and carry themſelves haughtily, more like maſters of the land than like ſervants; they quarrell'd with one and the other, and loſing all reſpect drove the thing ſo far as to kill ſome *Spaniards* in theſe conteſts; and then perceiving that theſe things were diſſembled, and that their boldneſs had its deſired effect, they grew every day more inſolent: and at laſt being thoroughly ſatisfy'd that the *Spaniards* were neither gods, nor immortal, nor of any other ſpecies than they, but ſubject to all human infirmities, they began to fear them no longer, but reſolved to fall upon them.

CHAP. XIV.

The City of Angol *is peopled, and the* Indians *riſe againſt the* Spaniards.

The city of Angol founded. UPON occaſion of the mines that were begun to be wrought in the diſtrict of *Angol*, the governor *Pedro de Valdivia* ſettled a city of that name there, which was alſo call'd the city of the confines. Some attribute this foundation to the marquis of *Cannete*, Don *Garcia Hurtado de Mendoça*, who governed after the death of *Pedro de Valdivia:* perhaps the reaſon of this is, that the ſituation of this city at firſt was three leagues from the place where it now ſtands; ſo it might be that *Valdivia* firſt ſettled it, and the marquis removed it to the place it is now in, and that was ground enough to make him the founder.

Its ſituation and deſcription. The preſent ſituation is in a plain, very large and diſengaged, eight leagues from the *Cordillera*, and twenty from the *Conception*; ſome ſay ſixteen, which perhaps is caus'd by the difference of its two ſituations. Their longeſt day and night are of fourteen hours and half. The land is very fertile; fruits ripen very well: there is good wine, and good ſtore of raiſins dried in the ſun, figs, and other dried fruits; a vaſt quantity of tall cypreſſes, which yield a very ſweet-ſcented wood, of which, *Herrera* ſays, there is made a gum-lac. The great river *Biobio* runs by it, and ſerves it for a wall and ditch on the ſouth ſide; and on the north ſide another pleaſant rivulet comes running from hills of a moderate heighth, and turns many mills for the uſe of the city.

Character of the natives. Thoſe whom I have known that have been born in this city, have prov'd very gentle in their diſpoſitions, of good wits, and noble inclinations, very friendly and real, and extremely loyal to the king, as indeed all the *Chilenians* are, looking on that as the higheſt *punctо* of their gentility.

Now let us return to the *Araucanos*, who were buſy in calling together their aſſemblies there, to treat how to caſt off the yoke of ſervitude, and make themſelves maſters of that which was truly theirs. So it was, that the *Caciques* being poſſeſs'd with an opinion that their forces were not inferior to the *Spaniards*, began to call them together: and they needed no incitements of pay or money; for the love of their liberty, and poſſeſſions, and poſterity, was a ſufficient ſpur to them, thinking every day a year that kept them from engaging with their enemies, and conquering them. The *Caciques* that met were theſe: firſt, *Tucapel*, a great butcher of chriſtians, with three thouſand ſoldiers; *Angol*, who was very brave, with four thouſand; *Cayocupil* with three thouſand men, whom he brought from the *Cordillera*, as hardy as the rocks they came from, and made to endure any labour; *Millarapue*, an old man, of great wiſdom, brought five thouſand; *Paicavi* with three thouſand; *Lemoleno* with ſix thouſand; *Mareguano*, *Gualemo*, and *Leucopie*, each with three thouſand; the robuſt *Elicuera*, held for one of the ſtrongeſt men, with ſix thouſand, and they ancient; and chief of all, *Colocolo*, with as many more. *Ongolmo* offer'd four thouſand; and *Puren* ſix thouſand; *Lincoyce*, who was of the ſtature of a giant, offered to bring more than any; *Peteguelen*, lord of the valley of *Arauco*, from whence the whole took their name, came with ſix thouſand; and the famous *Caupolican*, and his two neighbours *Thome* and *Audalican*, and many others, kept themſelves ready to come in with their ſubjects. They met, according to their cuſtom, to eat and drink at the appointed *rendezvous*, for that never is omitted in theſe aſſemblies; and having been unanimous in the firſt and chief point, which was to riſe, there was ſome difference about the choice of a general, every one deſiring to have that command, as it generally happens in ſuch elections: every one alledg'd their particular merits; the one his valour, another his experience, another his good fortune, and none ſeemed to want a pretence for obtaining their deſire. They grew warm in this ambitious conteſt, and would have come to blows, if the old

The caciques of Arauco revolt, and raiſe a numerous army.

Ovalle. 1646. old and wife *Colocolo*, by his prudence and authority, had not quieted them, and reduc'd them to conſent to chooſe *Caupolican*, not only as the braveſt ſoldier, but the ableſt chief. This done, they all ſwore obedience to him, and promis'd to obey his orders, for the better carrying on of their common deſign.

The *Spaniards* had, as we have already mentioned, three caſtles for their ſecurity, and one of them was near the poſt where this aſſembly was kept; and the *Indians*, proud and impatient, had a mind to attack it immediately; but *Caupolican*, their general, forbid it, in order to do it with more dexterity and ſafety. He commanded *Palta*, who perform'd the place of ſerjeant-general, to chuſe him out fourſcore ſoldiers of the braveſt, and ſuch as were leaſt known to the *Spaniards*, and the *Indians* their friends: theſe he put under the conduct of two very brave men, *Cayaguano* and *Alcatipay*, and order'd them to enter the caſtle with their arms by this ſtratagem. The *Araucanos*, though in peace, were not permitted to enter the caſtle, except ſuch as ſerv'd the *Spaniards*; and theſe enter'd often with their loads of graſs, wood, and other neceſſaries for the garriſon. *Caupolican* order'd theſe fourſcore men to feign themſelves to be ſervants of the *Spaniards*, and having hid their arms in the graſs they carried, to anſwer nothing, but pretend they did not hear if they were ask'd any queſtions: they acted their parts to the life, ſome counterfeiting lameneſs, others wearineſs, ſo that they were all let in without ſuſpicion: then they took their arms out of the graſs, and fell unanimouſly upon the *Spaniards*, who were much aſtoniſh'd at ſo unforeſeen a boldneſs: however, they gave the alarm, and all coming out of their quarters, reſiſted them, ſo as to kill ſome of the *Indians*; the others, either out of fear of the *Spaniards*, or on purpoſe to draw them out of the caſtle in their purſuit, retir'd, on purpoſe to gain time till their general *Caupolican* could come up with his army; which he did with a very numerous one, and forced the *Spaniards* to retire to their fort. He beſieg'd them in it, and after having kill'd many of them, thoſe who remain'd alive were glad to leave the poſt, and get away, judging it better to retire to *Puren*, leſt they ſhould loſe all; whereas being join'd with the garriſon of *Puren*, they might better reſiſt the enemy, though he was very powerful, and much elevated.

An Indian *ſtratagem.*

The news of this invaſion ſoon reach'd the *Conception*, and the governor *Pedro de Valdivia*, who was then there, began preſently to conſider how to remedy ſo great a miſchief. Some blame him as tardy in doing of it; for to ſecure the treaſure of the mines, where (as *Herrera* ſays) he had fifty thouſand vaſſals at work to get gold for him. Before he went to ſuccour thoſe in *Puren*, he went out of his way, and ſtay'd the erecting of a fort at the mines, which took him ſo much time, that he came later than was requiſite to their relief. But, indeed, if any thing was ill done by him, it was the making too much haſte; for without ſtaying for the relief and ſuccours he might have receiv'd from the other cities, he ſet out with a force not ſtrong enough to encounter that of *Caupolican*: his courage deceiv'd him; for being elevated with his ſucceſſes, and truſting to his fortune, he run into the precipice, as we ſhall ſhew in the following chapter.

Valdivia *marches againſt the* Araucanos.

CHAP. XV.

The Governor Pedro de Valdivia, *and all his People, are kill'd by the* Indians. *The famous Action of* Lautaro *is related, that being the chief Cauſe of this Event.*

THE time of this great captain's death was now come; all things therefore ſeem'd to concur to that end. The preſent remedy that was to be applied to this miſchief, to ſtop its progreſs, and the delay of thoſe ſuccours he expected from the other garriſons, were all combining cauſes; his heart miſgave him at his ſetting out from *Tucapel*. He had ſent out parties to bring him an account of the ſtate of the enemy, but none came back: this gave him ſome apprehenſion, but being engag'd, it was neceſſary to go on. He had ſent out ſcouts, as I ſaid, and had ſcarce gone two leagues on his way after them, but he ſaw the heads of two of them hanging upon a tree: this increas'd his fear, and he conſulted with thoſe with him, whether it would not be raſh to proceed. The young men were of opinion, that it would be a leſſening of their reputation to turn their backs to danger, though there came to them an *Indian* of their friends, and deſir'd them not to proceed, becauſe *Caupolican* was at *Tucapel* with twenty thouſand *Indians*, and that the hazard they ran was manifeſt, but he followed on his way, and came within ſight of the enemy: they ſoon engag'd, and the battle was cruel on both ſides, ſo that for a great while no advantage could be perceiv'd, becauſe the brave actions on both ſides kept victory in ſuſpence.

The treachery of Lautaro.

He engages them.

After a good while of this contention, the *Spaniards* began to prevail, and to cry

Viva

Viva Eſpaña, or *Live Spain*; with which recovering new vigour, the *Indians* ſeem'd to give way, when (as *Arzilla*, in his *Araucana*, ſays) the famous *Lautaro*, an *Indian*, who had been bred page to the governor *Valdivia*, having more regard to the love of his native country and his liberty, than for the education he had receiv'd, and the fidelity he owed his maſter, went over to the *Indians*, and ſpoke to them in this manner: "What is this, brave *Araucanos?* do "you turn your backs when your liberty "is concern'd, your country, your chil-"dren, your poſterity? Either recover your "liberty, or loſe your lives; for 'tis a leſs "misfortune to die, than to live ſlaves. "Do you intend to ſtain the glory of your "anceſtors, acquir'd for ſo many ages paſt, "in one hour? Remember you are de-"ſcended from thoſe who gain'd that re-"nown by reſiſting their enemies, and not "flying from them; and ſuch as fear'd not "to loſe both lives and fortunes to preſerve "their fame: drive away all fear, gene-"rous ſoldiers, and either live free, or die." With theſe words he ſo inflam'd the minds of his friends, that deſpiſing death, they return'd with fury to invade thoſe whom before they flew from. *Lautaro*, to encourage them the more, led them on, ſhaking his lance againſt the governor, his maſter; who, ſurpriz'd at his action, cried, *Traytor what doſt thou do?* To which he anſwer'd only with a thruſt or two, animating his people to do the ſame. This renewed the fight, and they all reſolv'd, by the example and exhortations of *Lautaro*, to conquer, or die; which they perform'd with ſo much fury, that the concern of both ſides was now at the higheſt, and the contention only who ſhould venture fartheſt into danger. Many *Spaniards* and *Indians* fell on both ſides, and *Lautaro* ſtill encourag'd his countrymen without any relenting. *Valdivia* did the ſame by the *Spaniards*, and ſhewed himſelf every where, in the greateſt danger, without the leaſt apprehenſion, though he ſaw many of the braveſt of his men fall by the ſword. One would have thought the *Indians* had but juſt begun to engage, to ſee how like lions they fell on, and begun to find victory incline to their ſide, till at laſt there fell ſo many *Spaniards*, that *Valdivia* was almoſt left alone. In this extremity he went aſide with his chaplain to confeſs his ſins, that being the principal thing he had now to do. The *Indians* gave him but little time to make his peace with heaven; for a great troop of them fell upon him with darts and lances, killing the chaplain, and taking him priſoner, they brought him alive to their general, for the laſt triumph of their victory.

The treachery of Lautaro.

His harangue to the Araucanos.

Valdivia marches againſt the Araucanos.

Valdivia taken priſoner.

OVALLE. 1646.

This hitherto unconquer'd captain appear'd in the preſence of the great *Caupolican*, his hands tied behind him as captive, his face all bloody, though venerable. He ask'd his life as a favour; he who a little before had it in his power to grant it his enemies. He turn'd his eyes towards his *Lautaro*, and with their language ſeem'd to deſire him to intercede for him who had been his lord and maſter, and by whoſe means he was in this extremity. He promis'd *Caupolican*, if he might have his life, to withdraw all his forces, and leave the country free from their incumbrance. He made oath of this ſeveral times, and perſuaded with ſo much eloquence his hearers, that *Caupolican*, who was as generous as brave, began to relent, and incline to compaſſion. But the greateſt part ſaid it was madneſs to truſt to any words or promiſes of a captive, who is forced to humble himſelf; but that when he ſhould be free, he would do that which ſhould be moſt for his advantage. However, the diſpute between them increas'd, and no doubt but *Lautaro* would have inclin'd to mercy; for if he fought againſt his maſter, it was not out of any hatred to his perſon, but out of the great kindneſs he had to his country, which, with the deſire of liberty, prevail'd over the gratitude he owed for the good uſage he had receiv'd at his hands; but nothing of this was able to appeaſe the vulgar, though *Caupolican* inclin'd to clemency; ſo they forc'd him to pronounce his death, and to execute it immediately in hot blood, though they differ'd in the manner of it; for ſome ſay that they poured melted gold into his mouth, bidding him once for all content his thirſt after that metal which he had ſo inſatiably coveted: others ſay, that one of thoſe *Caciques*, bearing impatiently that it ſhould bear a queſtion whether he ſhould live or die, gave him a blow on the head with a club; which *Caupolican* reſented highly, as a want of reſpect to him. That which I find moſt probable is, that according to the cuſtom of the *Indians*, they made flutes and trumpets of the bones of his legs and thighs, and kept his head as a teſtimony of ſo remarkable a victory, and to animate their youth to undertake the like actions, as they might ſee by this their fathers had done. Thus I have heard it related.

He is ſlain by the Indians.

They make flutes and trumpets of his bones.

Of all the *Spaniſh* army, 'tis ſaid there eſcaped only two *Indian* friends, who taking advantage of the obſcurity of the night, hid themſelves in a thicket, from whence creeping out as well as they could, they

Of all the Spaniſh army, but two eſcape.

OVALLE. 1646. came to the *Conception*, and brought the news of this fatal event. The city was immediately full of confuſion and complaints, the women crying and bewailing the loſs of their husbands and ſons, others that of their fathers and relations, and all together the common calamity of their city, in which they were all equally concern'd.

CHAP. XVI.

What happened after the Death of the Governor Pedro de Valdivia.

THE enemy having obtain'd ſo remarkable a victory, their general *Caupolican* commanded the retreat to be ſounded, and call'd a council, to conſider whether, or no, it would be beſt to follow their blow warmly. Many were of opinion it would be moſt expedient to fall upon the cities immediately, before they could prepare for them; yet *Caupolican*, after having heard them all, reſolv'd to do otherwiſe. 'Tis better, ſaid he, to expect our enemies in our own homes, than to go to ſeek them at theirs, where all men fight with more valour; let them come to ſeek us in our mountains and bogs, where we are ſure of a ſafe retreat: let us give our enemies a free acceſs to us, who have our ſituation to befriend us; and in the mean time our horſes and ſoldiers may refreſh themſelves: and if they out of fear (which I believe they will not) do forbear to ſeek us out, we may attack them when we will. Having ſpoke thus, he took *Lautaro* by the hand, and having publickly commended him, by attributing to him the victory and the liberty of his country, he, by conſent of all, made him his lieutenant-general, and gave him leave to chuſe out the men he would have to ſerve under him, to go and pitch upon a fit poſt to expect the *Spaniards* in.

Caupolican makes Lautaro his lieutenant-general.

His character. *Lautaro* was no very tall man, but well ſet, and ſtrong, induſtrious, cautious, of good counſel, gentle, and well proportion'd, very brave, as we have ſeen, and ſhall ſee hereafter.

To celebrate this victory, the *Indians* ſolemniz'd publick games of wreſtling, running, leaping, and other proofs of their ſtrength and dexterity: they made alſo great feaſting with dancings, and for ſeveral days did nothing but rejoice and be merry; but ſtill without forgetting to be upon their guard, as men that expected their enemies, whom they preſum'd deſirous of revenge.

Villagran marches to revenge Valdivia's death. *Franciſco de Villagran* was lieutenant-general to *Valdivia* when he was kill'd; who remaining chief in command, aſſembled all he could to go and take vengeance of the enemy for his defeat. Setting out, he came as far as *Arauco*; and being come to a high mountain in the way, he found *Lautaro* on the top of it, with ten thouſand men, without having ſent out any to diſturb the *Spaniards* march; for he had left all the paſſes eaſy, to oblige them to come to that place: it was not far from the ſea, which waſh'd the foot of the mountain on one ſide; the coming up on the other ſide was eaſy; all the reſt was precipice; but the top was a plain fit to draw up in, and very proper for his deſign.

And comes to a battle with Lautaro. The *Spaniſh* general being in preſence, the armies began to draw up on both ſides; and not to make the *Indians* too preſumptuous, he order'd three troops of horſe to begin the charge, in hopes to draw the *Indians* from their poſt, but in vain; for though they made three attacks, yet *Lautaro* would not ſtir, but receiv'd them with ſhowers of arrows, ſtones, and darts, which made them retire faſter than they came on. Our people, who could not break this battalion, with the evident danger of falling into precipices, did what they could, but with little effect, only tiring their horſes; for the enemy kept his poſt, not a man of them ſtirring out of his rank; only *Lautaro* would permit ſome of the braveſt to go out, and defy the *Spaniards* body to body. There came forth, among the reſt, a brave youth, call'd *Curioman*, who taking a long career, would throw his lance with that dexterity, that he wounded many of the *Spaniards*: he did this ſeven times, and at the eighth, *Villagran*, being vex'd at his importunate boldneſs, commanded a famous ſoldier, call'd *Diego Lano*, to chaſtiſe the *Indian*'s inſolence, which he did; and it was all this high courage and ſtrength could perform. The *Spaniards* ſeeing themſelves tir'd, and that all the movement of their horſe ſignified little, and that the *Indians* were taking the paſſes behind them, began to uſe their ſmall ſhot, which at firſt made a great ſlaughter among the *Indians*. *Lautaro*, to remedy this inconvenience, commanded *Leucaton*, one of his captains, to attack the *Spaniards* on the flank, and not to ſtop till he came up cloſe with their muſqueteers, that by this means mingling with them, they might avoid their ſmall ſhot, which in that caſe could not be of any uſe to the *Spaniards*, without wounding their own men too. This he obſerv'd, and they ever ſince have practis'd the ſame with good ſucceſs; and without this boldneſs, in which they always loſe ſome men, they would be much inferior to the *Spaniards*, they having no fire-arms to uſe in the like manner: they

ſhew

ſhew in this their invincible courage, and undiſturb'd bravery, by which they make to themſelves a defence of their own enemies; for being once mingled with them, they cannot offend them, without deſtroying at the ſame time their own people.

The fight on both ſides was bravely maintain'd, *Lautaro* relieving and encouraging his men, as *Villagran* did his, both of them doing the parts both of general and ſoldier, and expoſing themſelves to the greateſt danger. He that ſignaliz'd his valour moſt on our ſide, was the famous captain *Pedro Olmos de Aquillera*, killing with his own hand four of the chiefs of the *Indians*. Our army was encourag'd with his valour, which he inherited from that noble family ſo ſpread in *Andaluzia*: he was ſeconded by the *Bernales Pantoias*, *Alvarados*, and many others, who perform'd wonders in this battle, which was long conteſted, very bloody, and in ſuſpence to the laſt. The enemy was much ſuperior in ſtrength to our forces, and therefore the victory began to incline to their ſide; for though *Villagran* the general, and ſome others, would rather have choſe to die there with honour, than turn their backs, yet the greateſt part judging that there was no honour loſt in a vigorous retreat, and that it would be raſhneſs to perſiſt in ſo deſperate a caſe, they began to retire, fighting and defending themſelves; but the enemy, elevated with this ſucceſs, followed cloſe, and having knock'd *Villagran* off his horſe, they had made an end of him, if he had not valiantly defended himſelf till thirteen of his men came to his relief. OVALLE. 1646.

Theſe famous commanders did not obtain leſs glory in this retreat, than if they had gain'd a victory; for the enemy following them for ſix leagues together, being a hundred to one, and having ſeiz'd upon moſt of the paſſes, and the numbers ſtill increaſing, yet the *Spaniards* made a noble defence, and kill'd many of them. Thoſe who eſcap'd from this engagement, came with the ſad news of the ill ſucceſs to the city of the *Conception*, which ſet all the inhabitants in an uproar, mingled with lamentations and cries, every one being in ſome meaſure concern'd in this calamity; for between *Spaniards* and friendly *Indians*, there died in this engagement two thouſand five hundred. One would have thought the day of judgment had been come, to ſee the confuſion that was in the city upon this news; one laments the death of his father, another of her husband; ſome cry for their ſons, ſome for their brothers; the women wring their hands, pull off their hair, fill the air with lamentable cries; the children cling to their parents, asking for their loſt fathers, which is more grievous to them than daggers. In the midſt of theſe horrors, night came on, in which no one could ſhut their eyes, for the memory of their misfortunes keep the ſoul attentive, without any conſolation.

The Spaniards beaten a ſecond time.

CHAP XVII.

Lautaro *ſacks the City of the* Conception, *and* Caupolican *beſieges the City of the* Imperial, *which is defended by the Queen of Heaven.*

MIſfortunes ſeldom come alone; and ſo it happened to this afflicted city, which, inſtead of receiving comfort from the approaching day, no ſooner did it appear, when the noiſe of drums and trumpets gave a warm alarm of the enemies being at hand. Here the confuſion increas'd; for now the concern was not for the loſs of others, but for every one's own ſafety, the danger threatening them ſo immediately: there was nothing but diſorder, no counſel nor reſolution being to be found in the wiſeſt: they could not defend themſelves, becauſe they were ſo over-powered in numbers by the enemy; and the retreat, though neceſſary, was difficult, becauſe of the approach of the *Indians*. In this hard conflict, at laſt the reſolution that prevail'd, was to abandon the city, without pretending to ſave any thing but their lives. They leave the city then, and all the gold they had got together in ſuch quantities. They go out in long files, the mothers helping their little children along: the way that they undertook, was to the city of *St. Jago*, a long one, in which many rivers were to be croſs'd, and hard paſſes to be gone thorough: this labour was accompanied with the perpetual frights of the enemies purſuing them. Who can relate the hardſhips of hunger and other ſufferings, through ſo long a tract of mountains, deſarts, and uninhabited countries? How the women, the children, the old men, could bear this fatigue, we muſt leave to imagination to repreſent the true idea of theſe misfortunes! Let us therefore return to the *Indians*. The *Spaniards* had hardly made an end of abandoning the city, when the *Indians* enter'd into it; and not being able to

They fly from the Conception.

Lautaro enters and ſacks the city.

OVALLE. 1646. to execute their rage upon the inhabitants, they did it upon the houſes, to which they ſet fire, and conſum'd them to the very foundation, killing even the very animals which the *Spaniards* left behind them. Thus was loſt the city moſt abounding in gold, and ſituated in the moſt populous part of the *Indian* country; for 'tis ſaid there were not leſs than a hundred thouſand *Indians*, with their families, who were all employed in gathering gold for the *Spaniards*, whom they enriched to that degree, that *Pedro de Valdivia*, if he had liv'd, would have had fifty thouſand Crowns of gold a-year, and others twenty and thirty thouſand.

This burning of the city being over, news was brought, that *Caupolican* had called a great aſſembly in *Arauco*, which made *Lautaro* return with his people to be at it. When the two generals of the *Araucanos* met, they greeted one another for the victories obtained over the *Spaniards*; and in ſign of triumph, one hundred and thirty caciques, all dreſſed themſelves in the *Spaniſh* dreſs with the cloaths they took from the *Spaniards* killed in the battle. The general had *Valdivia*'s cloaths, which were, as 'tis reported of green velvet, laced with gold lace, a back and breaſt of well tempered ſteel, and a helmet with a great emerald for creſt. All having ſeated themſelves in order by the general's command, he propoſed to them the deſign of conquering back all that was gained from them by the *Spaniards*, who now were ſo dejected with their loſs. They all agreed to his deſire, every one delivering his opinion with great pride and arrogance. 'Tis ſaid, that the old and prudent *Colocolo*, hearing them deliver their opinions with ſo much inſolence and preſumption, that it looked as if all the world was too weak to reſiſt their valour, humbled them a little, by putting them in mind, That if they had obtained two victories, the *Spaniards* had gained many more over them, and had made them ſerve as ſlaves; therefore that they ought to behave themſelves with moderation and temper, that they might expect ſucceſs from their arms; and added, that it was his opinion, that they ſhould divide their forces into three parts, and at the ſame time aſſault the city of the *Imperial*.

Puchecalco, a famous conjuring *Cacique*, following the ſame thought of humbling the intolerable haughtineſs of the aſſembly, told them, That they might give over their preſumption; for he was to acquaint them, that having conſulted his oracles, they had anſwered him, *That though at preſent they were ſo victorious, yet at laſt they were to live under the Spaniſh yoke in perpetual ſlavery.* The *Cacique Tucapel* could not bear to hear this; and riſing from his place, with his mace of arms gave him ſuch a blow as took away his life. The general was highly offended at this inſolence, and being reſolved to chaſtize the author of it, the whole aſſembly was diſturbed; and though they all endeavoured to lay hold on the murderer, yet he defended himſelf ſo well with his mace of arms, that it was not eaſy to ſeize him: but *Lautaro*, who had great power with the general, made up the whole buſineſs; and the reſult of the council being to beſiege the city of the *Imperial*, they immediately put it in execution.

Caupolican deſigns to beſiege the Imperial, but is miraculouſly prevented.

Their army took its poſts three leagues from the *Imperial*; which city, though it had a good garriſon of brave men, was not nevertheleſs prepared nor provided for a ſiege with ammunition and victuals, becauſe the enemies would have taken it, if any had been ſent to it; but the queen of heaven delivered them from this great danger. The enemies drawing near the city, there aroſe on a ſudden a mighty ſtorm of hail and rain, with black clouds; and their *Epunamon* appeared to them in form of a terrible dragon, caſting out fire at his mouth, and his tail curled up, bidding them make haſte, for the city was theirs, being unprovided; and that they ſhould enter it, and put to the ſword all the chriſtians; and ſo diſappeared. But as they were purſuing their deſign, animated by this oracle, on a ſudden the heavens cleared up, and a very beautiful woman appeared upon a bright cloud, and ſhewing them a charming, but majeſtick and ſevere countenance, took from them the pride and haughtineſs inſpired into them by their firſt viſion, commanding them to return to their own homes, for god was reſolved to favour the chriſtians; and they obey'd immediately. To which the author who reports this ſtory adds, That the whole camp ſaw the apparition, which was on the 23d of *April*, and that all agree in this.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

The City of the Conception *is rebuilt; and* Lautaro *having taken it a second Time, marches to take the City of* St. Jago, *where he dies.*

The Conception rebuilt.

THE *Spaniards* being in safety, began to think of returning to the *Conception*, and rebuilding of it. To this end they raised men at *St. Jago*, and with great difficulty compassed their intention, making a good fortress within the city for their better security. The *Indians* of the neighbourhood, though they were in their hearts as averse as any others to be commanded by strangers, and to let them build cities in their territories, dissembled nevertheless at present, but in due time gave advice to *Arauco*, desiring help to drive out these new comers, or make an end of them at once.

Lautaro takes it a second time.

Lautaro came to them presently with a good army; and some companies of *Spaniards*, which went out to encounter him, were forced to retire to the fort they made, in which they defended themselves as long as they were able to withstand the force of *Lautaro*; but at last being overpowered, they were forced to retire a second time to the city of *St. Jago*. Many *Spaniards* were lost, and *Lautaro* followed the pursuit, in which many brave actions were performed on both sides: among the rest, a famous *Indian* captain, called *Rengo*, following three *Spanish* captains, who were retiring, called them cowards, and said a hundred insolent things to them, which moved one of them to attack him at the passage of a river; but he secured himself by choosing a strong post; so the *Spaniards* went on to *St. Jago*, and *Lautaro* retreated to *Arauco*, where great rejoicings were made for this new victory.

Caupolican designs to besiege the Imperial, but is miraculously prevented.

The *Indians* renewed their meetings; and being much elevated with their success, they came to a resolution of not troubling themselves with the lesser cities, which they reckoned as their own; but to attack the capital of *St. Jago*. *Lautaro* offered to undertake this enterprize; and chusing the most warlike among them, he marched with a powerful army. He passed the rivers *Biobio*, *Itata*, *Maule*, and *Mataquito*; near this last he raised a fort to secure his retreat, if need were, he being engaged far from his own territories.

Lautaro marches to besiege St. Jago.

When the news of this resolution came to *St. Jago*, many looked upon it as a fable, not being capable of imagining, that the *Indians* had boldness enough to march so far to attack them; but those who were come back from the city of the *Conception* undeceived them, as knowing by experience *Lautaro*'s courage; they therefore fortified the place, and provided it: they also sent out parties to engage the enemies, if the occasion offered; but *Lautaro* forced them to return in haste to carry the news, and yet some remained behind too.

The Spaniards march to meet him.

Francisco de Villagran, the lieutenant-general was sick at this time; and so sent his cousin *Pedro de Villagran*, with all the force he could make, to meet *Lautaro*; they lodged within half an hour from the fort which the *Indians* had raised upon the *Rio Claro*; the next day they entered the fort without any resistance; for *Lautaro* had cunningly ordered his men to seem to fly, that he might catch the *Spaniards* in the fort; and so, when he saw his time, he gave the signal, and his men fell on the *Spaniards* like lions, who had enough to do to make their retreat, and escape from their hands. The *Indians* followed them for a league, doing them much mischief, though they defended themselves with great valour. *Lautaro* feigned a second time to fly; and our people being reinforced, engaged him a-fresh. They attacked his fort, and gave three assaults to it; where they were received with showers of arrows, darts, and stones, and at last forced to retire to a valley; whence they design'd to return, and try their fortune again: but *Lautaro* saved them the trouble; for resolving to make an end of them all at once, and in order to it feigning that he wanted provisions, he sent to our camp to demand some. His project was to let in a river upon the *Spaniard*'s camp, which he could do conveniently, because it was already in dams and canals; and so having made a marsh of the ground where they lodged, so as they should not be able to stir, seize all the passes behind them. But *Villagran* having discovered this stratagem, raised his camp, and retired to *St. Jago*, to the great disappointment of the enemy.

Yet this did not make *Lautaro* give over his design; for considering that he could not attack *St. Jago*, which was well provided with men and ammunition, except he had a greater strength, he raised a fort in a valley to cover himself, while his succours should arrive, and enable him to attack *St. Jago*. Those of the city were making,

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with great care, preparations for their defence; and had ſent for ſuccours to all the other cities. Their general *Villagran* had ſent out upon this deſign; and making as if he was going to *Arauco*, had on a ſudden marched to the *Imperial*, from whence he brought many good men away with him; and while *Lautaro* was raiſing his fort, *Villagran*, guided by an *Indian*, came ſwiftly and ſilently upon *Lautaro*, and attacked his fort. In the firſt aſſault that was given, *Lautaro* himſelf fell, wounded by an arrow, which ſtruck him in the heart: thus ended that valiant captain of the *Araucanos*. His ſoldiers were not at all diſcouraged with this misfortune of their general; but rather enraged with ſuch a loſs, and a deſire to revenge his death, they fell like lions upon the *Spaniards*, taking no quarter at their hands. There were on both ſides great actions performed; but the reſolution of the *Indians* was the nobleſt in the world, preferring their glory to their lives, which they husbanded ſo little, that though they were broke, and but few left in a fighting condition, yet they ran upon the *Spaniards* lances, and with their hands pulled them into their bodies, to come cloſe to their enemy, and revenge their death with his, or at leaſt die in the attempt.

Lautaro killed by an arrow.

CHAP. XIX.

Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoça *comes to the Government of* Chile; *what happened at his Arrival, and in the Engagement he had with the* Araucanos.

AFTER the death of *Pedro de Valdivia*, there was application made from *Chile* to the viceroy of *Peru*, who is to provide a governor till the king can ſend one, that is, both preſident and governor independent of *Peru*. The viceroy at this time was *Don Antonio Hurtado de Mendoça*, marquis of *Canete*, who governed with great zeal, and a prudent ſeverity, making exemplary puniſhments where they were neceſſary, by which he ſecured the country. He had then with him his ſon *Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoça*, who afterwards ſucceeded him in his viceroyſhip, with as much applauſe and eſteem of the world. The embaſſadors from *Chile* deſired him of his excellency the father for their governor, which he granted. King *Philip* the ſecond had appointed the *Adelantado Hyeronimo de Alderete*, to ſucceed the governor *Pedro de Valdivia*, whoſe death was known at court; but the news came likewiſe that *Alderete* was dead in the iſland of *Taboga* near *Panama*. The viceroy's ſon having raiſed a good body of horſe, ſent ſome of them by land with the horſes, and he embarked with the reſt; and after a hard ſtorm, in which they had like to have been all loſt, he arrived in the bay of the city of the *Conception*, and landed upon the iſland of *Quiriquina*, to inform himſelf from thence of the ſtate of the country. The people of the iſland, who were fierce and warlike, took arms when they ſaw the ſhips draw near the harbour, and pretended to hinder the *Spaniards* from landing; but having no fire-arms, as ſoon as the cannon of the ſhips began to fire, they gave way. As ſoon as the governor landed he publiſhed the deſign of his coming, that the *Indians* might know it; which was, to ſave their ſouls by the predication of the goſpel, and reconcile them to god by the means of baptiſm; and to confer that ſacrament, he had with him religious men of the famous orders of *St. Francis* and the *Mercede:* that if they would ſubmit to that, he would treat with them in the name of the emperor *Charles* V. This declaration reached the ears of the *Araucanos*; and there aſſembled at *Arauco* ſixteen caciques, and many other captains, to treat about what was beſt for them to do in this caſe; and though many youthful and arrogant ſpeeches were made, according to their uſual haughtineſs, which made them deſpiſe all good counſel and peace, yet the old and prudent *Colocolo* reſtrained their pride with prudent reaſons, and perſuaded them to treat with the *Spaniards*, ſince they were by them invited to do it. *It cannot hurt us*, ſaid he, *to hear them: we ſhall have our forces as ſtrong ſtill to maintain our right, if they demand unjuſt things.* This opinion was followed by the moſt prudent among them; and they ſent for their ambaſſador the *Cacique Milalan*, a man of great rhetorick and eloquence among them, giving him order to treat with the *Spaniards*, and obſerve well their ſtrength; and that he ſhould ſhew inclinations to peace, to draw them to land on the continent, and forſake the iſland, hoping that the deſire of gold would tempt them to go further into the country. *Milalan* came to the governor's tent; and making a ſmall but civil bow, ſaluted him, and the other *Spaniards* that were with him; then with chearful countenance he delivered his meſſage. He ſaid, *That his countrymen admitted the terms of peace that were propoſed, and ſhould obſerve thoſe of friendſhip; not out*

Don Garcia, the new governor of Chile, lands at Quiriquina.

He lands on the continent, and raiſes a fort.

The Indians ſend an embaſſador to treat with him.

The Indians attack him.

of

of any terror or apprehenſion cauſed in them by the arrival of theſe new forces; for no power was great enough to terrify them, having ſufficiently experienced their ſtrength in the ſucceſs they had hitherto had; but that which mov'd them was the compaſſion they had for ſo many innocent people, ſo many women and children, who, upon occaſion of this war, remain'd widows and orphans: that upon fair terms they would own the king of Spain, *upon condition that he did not concern himſelf any ways with their liberty or rights; that if they had any thought of acting by violence, and making them ſlaves, they would ſooner eat their own children, and kill themſelves, than ſuffer it.*

The governor anſwered him with all aſſurance of a good treatment as they expected; and having made him ſome preſents, diſpatch'd him back to give an account of his embaſſy: but this was not ſufficient ſecurity for either ſide; ſo they remain'd upon their guard. The *Indians* obſerving the caution of the *Spaniards*, to give them more ſecurity, feign'd to diſmiſs their forces, but ſecretly gave them orders to ſtand upon their guard, and not lay down their arms, but be ready upon any occaſion that might happen: yet the *Spaniards* for all this did not think fit to land upon the continent, but ſtay'd two months upon the *iſland* where they firſt landed, till the winter was entirely over. About the ſpring, they ſet on ſhore about one hundred and thirty men of the braveſt among them, to raiſe a fort, as they did, upon the top of a hill which overlooks the city of *Penco*, (otherwiſe call'd the city of the *Conception.*) Under the protection of this fortreſs, the reſt of the *Spaniards* went out of the *iſland*, hoping, that in a little time, their horſes, which were coming by land, would arrive, having ſome news of them: in the mean time, they cut wood and faſcines to fortify their camp, the governor and the commanders ſhewing an example to the reſt in the labour of retrenching themſelves, and cutting of wood, as if they had never done any thing elſe all their life-time. They brought it to perfection in a little time, and planted upon it eight field-pieces, with all other neceſſary proviſions for their defence.

He lands on the continent, and raiſes a fort.

The Indians attack it.

The *Araucanos*, who were watching all their motions, no ſooner ſaw them buſy in their fort, but, without expecting any further proof of their intentions, which they took to be for war, call'd immediately an aſſembly, and with all their ſtrength came like lions, with a reſolution to demoliſh the new fort. They took up their poſt at *Talcaguano*, about two miles from the *Spaniards* fort, and about break of day they gave an alarm, and having firſt challeng'd out many *Spaniards* to ſingle combat, they at laſt fell on in a body, with no more fear of the cannon-bullets than if they had been of cotton or wooll, knowing, that though they receiv'd at firſt ſome damage, it could laſt no longer than till the battalions were engag'd. With this reſolution they fell on like lions, and ſome of them got over the fortifications; amongſt whom was *Tucapel*, who did wonderful actions. Neither were the *Spaniards* unprepar'd for them, doing extraordinary things, which it were too long to deſcribe in particular, though the actions were ſuch as very well deſerve it. DEALLE. 1646

The *Spaniards* who were in the *iſland* and aboard the ſhips, hearing of the danger of their companions, came to their aſſiſtance, and by the help of God, who aided them, join'd their friends; and then thus united they began to prevail over the *Araucanos*; who, finding themſelves inferior, and having loſt many of their braveſt men, began to retreat all but *Tucapel*, who having ſtay'd laſt, and being ſorely wounded, yet made his eſcape from the *Spaniards*, whom he left full of admiration of his valour and reſolution. *And are beaten off.*

About this time the horſes which came from *St. Jago* arriv'd, and with them a troop of good horſemen from the *Imperial*. The enemies muſter'd all their forces, and the *Spaniards* went to ſeek them out in the valley of *Arauco*, where they had another very bloody engagement: the *Araucanos* fled, or rather retir'd; and the *Spaniards* having taken one priſoner call'd *Gualbarino*, they, in order to terrify the reſt, cut off both his hands; but the *Araucanos* were ſo far from being terrified by it, that this enraged them the more; for *Gualbarino* himſelf being return'd to his countrymen, went up and down, begging them to revenge the injury done to him, which they all looked upon as their own. *Caupolican* their general ſent to challenge the governor *Don Garcia* with all his ſtrength, telling him, that he would ſtay for him in his camp, which he moved near the *Spaniſh* camp, which was at *Millarapue*. He came over night; and the next day preſented him battle; which was as well diſputed as the reſt, both ſides fighting with extreme valour. The *Indians* preſſed the *Spaniards* ſo hard, that victory had declared for them, had not a *Spaniſh* battalion, in which alone remain'd all the *Spaniards* hopes, charg'd ſo deſperately among the *Indians*, that they were forced to retire, and leave the field to the *Spaniards*; but their retreat was with great honour and reputation. 'Tis related, that in this engagement ſome of the neighbouring *The new governor reinforced.* *He gives Caupolican battle, and beats him.*

OVALLE. 1646. bouring *Indians* were made priſoners; and that though they were put to a moſt exquiſite torture, to force them to reveal ſomething that the *Spaniards* wanted to know, yet they remain'd conſtant and true to their country, as if they had been inſenſible of pain. The *Spaniards* had here a conſiderable advantage; for, beſides many dead enemies whom they left upon the ſpot, they took twelve priſoners of the chief among the *Indians*, whom they hang'd upon ſo many trees for an example to the reſt; and among them that ſame *Gualbarino*; who not only ſhewed in dying an intrepid mind, but encouraged the others: and amongſt the reſt, a *Cacique*, who began to fear and beg his life; to whom *Gualbarino* ſpoke before all with ſo much haughtineſs, taxing his baſe cowardice as if he had been the conqueror, and not the conquered, which ſtruck the *Spaniards* with ſuch admiration, that they were beſide themſelves.

He raiſes another fort.

From this place our camp marched to the valley where *Valdivia* was loſt. Here the *Spaniards* raiſed a good fort; from whence they made their excurſions upon the enemy, endeavouring to advance their conqueſts, but not without danger of being often cut off; particularly the hazard they ran at a narrow paſs, caus'd by the mountains on the way to *Puren*, where they were attack'd by the *Indians*, and very hard ſet by them, whom they might have deſtroy'd if they had not fallen to plunder the baggage: for a company of *Spaniards* obſerving this miſcarriage, ſeiz'd on a ſpot on the top of an hill, from whence with their ſmall ſhot they ſo gall'd the *Indians* below, that they fled in confuſion to avoid ſuch a tempeſt, leaving the *Spaniards* maſters of the field, but much weakened: having been ſorely handled in this rencounter, they retir'd to their camp, where they were receiv'd with great demonſtration of joy. After this, leaving a good garriſon in the fort, well provided for two months, the governor went to viſit the other cities, to ſtrengthen them, and provide them with neceſſaries againſt all attacks, which they had reaſon to fear; for *Caupolican*, enraged that in three months he had loſt three victories, had call'd a general aſſembly; where it was reſolv'd never to give over, but either die or conquer, that they might drive out the *Spaniards*, and reſtore their country to its liberty.

And again beats the Indians.

CHAP. XX.

More Events of War: The Death and Converſion of Caupolican.

CAUPOLICAN followed his deſigns; but fortune ſeemed to be weary of aſſiſting him; for in moſt rencounters he came off either worſted, or entirely defeated, and the victory ſnatch'd out of his hands when he thought himſelf ſure of it: this made his people begin to grow weary of his command; and the vulgar began to cenſure his conduct as too remiſs, and that the deſire of preſerving his power, and being general, made him neglect opportunities of putting an end to the war.

Caupolican being inform'd of theſe ſuſpicions of his own people, call'd a new aſſembly, in which he propoſed methods of carrying on the war, ſo as they might obtain an entire liberty. This was unanimouſly agreed to, with a firm reſolution of not giving it over till they either conquer'd or died. This reſolution coming to the knowledge of the governor *Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoça*, who was gone, as we have ſeen, to the city of the *Imperial*, to fortify it, he diſpatch'd to the fort advice of what paſs'd, and ſent them a competent relief.

Amongſt other deſigns pitch'd upon by *Caupolican*, the firſt was to ſurprize the *Spaniards* in their fortreſs by a ſtratagem before they were aware of him, and ſo maſter the place. The other captains of repute, *Rengo*, *Orompello*, and *Tucapel*, who were uſed to lead always the vanguard, did not approve of his project; and ſo let him go by himſelf with his own forces, they ſcorning, as they ſaid, to obtain a victory by fraud or ſurprize. *Caupolican* ſet out then by himſelf; and being come within three leagues of the *ſpaniſh* fortreſs, he ſent out his ſpies to obſerve their diſpoſition, and how they might be eaſilieſt circumvented. He choſe out for this purpoſe one of his beſt captains, whoſe name was *Pran*, a cunning ſagacious man, and prudent, with a great deal of ready wit. This captain diſguis'd himſelf; and putting on the habit of an ordinary *Indian*, he went alone, and without arms, as a private perſon, to the fortreſs of the *Spaniards*. He entered the fort without ſuſpicion, or being known by the other friendly *Indians*, with whom he ſoon grew acquainted; and walking up and down, he obſerved our camp and forces, and took particular notice of the time of day that our men us'd to be leaſt upon their guard, which was generally at noon, when they went to ſleep, to repair their ſtrength

But it turns to the ruin of the Indians.

ſtrength, which was waſted by their night-watches.

Pran, an Indian ſpy, forms a deſign againſt the Spaniards.

There was in the *Spaniſh* fort, a young *Indian*, (not like *Lautaro*, in whom the love of his country prevail'd over his duty to his maſter,) but of another temper; his name was *Andres*, ſervant to a *Spaniſh* gentleman, and very much inclin'd to all the *Spaniſh* nation. *Pran* had made a great friendſhip with this young man; and one day, as they were going together in the fields to ſeek out ſome proviſion, as they us'd to do, talking from one thing to another, *Pran* diſcover'd himſelf entirely to his friend *Andres*; perſuading him to help on the deſign he came about, ſince upon its ſucceſs the liberty of the whole nation depended. *Andres*, who was not leſs ſagacious and prudent than *Pran*, promis'd him all he could deſire; but diſſembled all the while. This being ſettled, they agreed, that each of them ſhould return home to his camp, and that the next day *Andres* ſhould come to a certain poſt they agreed on, and there *Pran* ſhould meet him, and carry him to *Caupolican*'s quarters, where he might ſettle all matters with him. *Pran* went back to the *Indians* camp, overjoyed that he had ſucceeded ſo well, as he thought: he gave a particular account of all the buſineſs to *Caupolican*, while *Andres* did the ſame to captain *Reynoſo*, who commanded in the *Spaniſh* fort. If God Almighty had not by this way deliver'd the *Spaniards* out of this eminent danger, they muſt have periſh'd; for naturally *Andres* ought to have been of the ſide of his own countrymen.

According to what had been agreed between them, *Andres* came the next day to the aſſignation, where he met his friend *Pran*; and they went together to *Caupolican*, who receiv'd him with all demonſtrations of joy and confidence, ſhewing him his camp, and all his army; the reſult was, that he ſhould aſſault the *Spaniards* the next day about noon. *Andres* went back to the *Spaniards*, to inform them of all that paſſed, and by that captain *Reynoſo* knew how to diſpoſe every thing to receive the attack. *Caupolican* came at the time appointed with all his *Indians*, the greateſt part of which were ſuffer'd to enter, the *Spaniards* making as if they were aſleep; but on a ſudden, upon a ſign given, they roſe up like lions, and making a furious diſcharge on thoſe enter'd, the horſe ſallied to engage thoſe who had remain'd without, of whom they made a great ſlaughter. The ſurprize of the *Indians* was ſo great, that few of them could make their eſcape; but *Caupolican*, with ten more, ſav'd himſelf by by-paths, though he was hotly purſued; the *Indians* that were overtaken, ſtill denying they knew any thing of him, and neither threats nor gifts could oblige them to reveal what they might know more.

But it turns to the ruin of the Indians.

OVALLE. 1646.

But it being very hard there ſhould not be one traytor among many loyal men, the *Spaniards* lite at laſt upon one of his ſoldiers, who was diſcontented that he had not been advanc'd according to his pretenſions, who betrayed to them where he was: this man guided them by a ſecret path to a place where they could not be diſcover'd, and from thence ſhewed them a very thick wood, about nine miles from *Ongolmo*, where in a thicket by a river ſide, over a precipice, this brave man had hid himſelf till he could get a new army, and rally his men.

Caupolican betrayed by one of his own men.

The *Spaniards* came upon him on a ſudden, and ſurpriz'd him with the few that were with him; and though he did all that was in his power to defend himſelf, yet they maſter'd him. His wife ſeeing him a priſoner, and his hands tied behind him, call'd him coward, and us'd all the opprobrious language to him that was poſſible.

He is taken by the Spaniards.

Caupolican was deſervedly among the *Indians* the moſt valued of their generals; and accordingly, in an aſſembly of ſixteen *Caciques*, all ſovereign lords, who met to raiſe an army againſt the *Spaniards*, he had the chief command given him. This was the man who, with fourſcore bold fellows, ſurpriz'd the caſtle of *Arauco*, and overcame the *Spaniards* in a bloody encounter without the city walls: this was he who durſt expect the general *Valdivia* in open field, and routed him and his whole army, ſo as there was not one *Spaniard* left alive: this was he who deſtroyed *Puren*, and ſack'd *Penco*, not leaving one ſtone upon another in it, the *Spaniards* having been all frighted away by the terror of his name: this, in fine, was the man who manag'd all the war with ſuch ſucceſs, by his military skill and valour, that his authority was every where reſpected. This great man was now, by the means of a traitor, deliver'd up to his moſt cruel enemies. In this calamity he ſhewed no baſeneſs; for though he begged his life, it was in a grave way, promiſing in return to cauſe all the country to ſubmit to the king of *Spain*, and to give way to introduce the chriſtian religion.

His character.

His ſpeech.

" Conſider, ſaid he, to captain *Reynoſo*,
" that what I promiſe, I am able to per-
" form, by the great veneration that all
" my people have for me; and if thou doſt
" not accept of this proffer, thou wilt do
" nothing; ſince for one head taken away,
" there will riſe up a hundred *Caupolicans*
" to revenge my death, that the true one
" will

Ovalle. 1646. "will not be miſſed. I deſire not to be "ſet at liberty, but to remain thy priſo- "ner till I perform my promiſe."

All theſe reaſons were of no uſe to *Caupolican*, for he was publickly ſentenced to be empaled alive, and ſhot to death with arrows, for a terror to the reſt of the *Indians*; though as time has ſince ſhewed, this had no other effect, than to light the fire of war more and more, and make the wound almoſt incurable. He heard this hard ſentence without any alteration in his countenance; but he deſir'd with great concern to be baptiz'd. The prieſts are ſent for, and after a ſhort inſtruction he receives the holy ablution, and the character of a chriſtian. After this the ſentence was executed upon him, which he endur'd with great conſtancy.

He is ſentenced,

Baptiz'd,

And executed.

The Concluſion.

THOUGH father *Ovalle* has continued in the remainder of his treatiſe to give an account of the various events of the war with the *Araucanos*, in which narrative he runs through the commands and actions of all the governors of *Chile*, to the peace made with that nation; yet it being by him more a piece of courtſhip to his nation, and to thoſe families, than an information inſtructive to a foreign reader, it has been thought proper to take the death of that great general *Caupolican* for the firſt natural period of that war. In the courſe of the remaining narrative, there are ſo many ſuperſtitious notions inculcated, ſo many improbable miracles given for the foundation of great enterprizes, and ſuch a monkiſh ſpirit runs through the work, that here in *England* it would rather prejudice than recommend the impreſſion, and is therefore omitted.

Sir

Sir William Monſon's

Naval TRACTS.

In Six BOOKS.

CONTAINING,

I. *A Yearly Account of the* Engliſh *and* Spaniſh *Fleets during the War in Queen* Elizabeth's *Time; with Remarks on the Actions on both Sides.*

II. *Actions of the* Engliſh *under King* James I. *and Diſcourſes upon that Subject.*

III. *The Office of the Lord High Admiral of* England, *and of all the Miniſters and Officers under him; with other Particulars to that Purpoſe.*

IV. *Diſcoveries and Enterprizes of the* Spaniards *and* Portugueſe; *and ſeveral other remarkable Paſſages and Obſervations.*

V. *Divers Projects and Stratagems tender'd for the Good of the Kingdom.*

VI. *Treats of Fiſhing to be ſet up on the Coaſt of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland, *with the Benefit that will accrue by it to all his Majeſty's three Kingdoms; wit*h *many other Things concerning Fiſh, Fiſhing, and Matters of that Nature.*

The Whole from the Original Manuſcript.

THE PREFACE.

HAVING had the perusal of these naval tracts of Sir William Monson, *as well to compare two copies together, and supply the defects of the one out of the other, as to correct what might be found in them amiss, either through the negligence of transcribers, or the author's want of time to revise his work, yet without presuming to alter Sir* William's *sense or design in the least, but only to make the whole fit for the press, I thought it necessary to give the reader some little information concerning the work before he enters upon it, but with that brevity which I have always affected, when any thing has appear'd abroad under my own name, and which I am much more inclin'd to, being to speak of what must give praise or dispraise to another, and not to me, who am no way concern'd in it.*

Some nice persons will, perhaps, at the first reading of this work, find fault with the language, and wonder that Sir William, *who was a gentleman by birth, and so great a man as an admiral, should answer their expectation so little in that particular. I cannot, I must confess, vindicate the language; but it was not my province to alter it: and as for the author, it must be consider'd, that though born a gentleman, he spent most of his time at sea, a very unfit school for a man to improve his language. For the same reason we may suppose he was not much a scholar, but of excellent natural parts, and a great master of the art he professed, as will sufficiently appear by this work, and is enough to recommend it. Besides, we must not expect that the days of queen* Elizabeth *could form a man to the language of our time; and though Sir* William *liv'd till the civil war in the reign of king* Charles I. *it is to be observ'd, that he was then in his declining age, when for the most part men rather mind what they say, than how they say it.*

The work therefore, though perhaps not so pleasing in stile as some might desire, is correct, and clear from abundance of oversights, which, as I said before, had either crept in through the fault of transcribers, or for want of the author's due reviving it. Nor was it proper to alter the stile, but to allow the author to deliver himself in his own way; for should discerning persons find Sir William Monson *speak the language of this time precisely, having never before appear'd in print, they might be rather apt to believe these tracts supposititious, than his own lawful offspring.*

There is another thing, which perhaps will seem unpardonable, and not without just cause, if judges be rigorous; and is, that there are some mistakes, or to speak plainly, falshoods to be found in these tracts. What I can say to this, is, that they are most, if not all, in things then not better known; as for instance, the affairs of the East *and* West-Indies; *concerning which, many extravagant stories were formerly told, which time and experience have disprov'd. Besides, we must not be too rash in supposing every thing false, which does not seem probable to us; for there might be many accidents or occurrences in those days, which might be really true and undoubted, though to us they seem preposterous and strange. And it is farther to be observ'd, that these errors are not in things, whereon the credit of the subject-matter depends, but only in such as fall in by-the-by, and wherein Sir* William *was either impos'd upon by authors then in credit, or by living persons, whose reputation might be untainted.*

I will not pretend to give a character of the author, or more of his work, which every reader has as much right to judge of as myself, and perhaps is better able. What little I have said, as to those two points above, is not to apologize for the work, or to prepossess the reader, but only to prevent his being too hasty in condemning, because some men are naturally so precipitate, that they are apt to take a prejudice to a book upon the first dislike; which they may afterwards, upon second thoughts, and more mature deliberation, find both useful and delightful. Nor is there any need to give an account what the work is, as I thought once to have done, because it would be a needless repetition of the contents, in which every man may at one view see the heads of all these tracts; besides that every book has a short argument, yet sufficient to shew what it treats of.

Sir

Sir *WILLIAM MONSON* TO His ELDEST SON.

Dear Son,

THE cuſtom of dedicating books is antient; and they have been uſually dedicated either to great perſons, for protection or reward; or to acquaintance, out of friendſhip and affection; or to children, out of natural love, and for their inſtruction. And to this end it is I commend the reading of the following diſcourſe to you, that ſo beholding the eighteen years war by ſea, which for want of years you could not then remember, and comparing them with the eighteen years of peace, in which you have lived, you may conſider three things: Firſt, That after ſo many pains and perils, God has lent life to your father to further your education. Secondly, What proportion his recompence and rewards have had to his ſervices. Laſtly, What juſt cauſe you have to abandon the thoughts of ſuch dangerous and uncertain courſes; and that you may follow the enſuing precepts, which I recommend to your frequent peruſal.

In the firſt place, I will put you in mind of the ſmall fortune I ſhall leave, that you may rate your expences accordingly; and yet as little as it is, 'tis great to me, in reſpect I attained to it by my own endeavours and dangers; and therefore no body can challenge intereſt in it but myſelf, though your carriage may claim the beſt title to it.

Beware you preſume not ſo much upon it, as to grow diſobedient to your parents; for what you can pretend to, is but the privilege of two years of age above your younger brother; and in ſuch caſes fathers are like judges, that can and will diſtinguiſh of offences and deſerts according to truth, and will reward and puniſh as they ſhall ſee cauſe.

And becauſe you ſhall know it is no rare or new thing for a man to diſpoſe of his own, I will lay before you a precedent of your own houſe, that ſo often as you think of it, you may remember it with fear, and prevent it with care.

Your grandfather's great grandfather was a knight by title, and *John* by name, which name we deſire to retain to our eldeſt ſons: God bleſſed him with many earthly benefits, as wealth, children, and reputation: his eldeſt ſon was called *John*, after his father, and his ſecond *William*, like to yourſelf and brother; but upon what diſpleaſure I know not, (though we muſt judge the ſon gave the occaſion,) his father left him the leaſt part of his fortune, yet ſufficient to equal the beſt gentleman of his ſhire, and particularly the ancient houſe call'd after his name. His other ſon *William* he inveſted with what your uncle now enjoys. Both the ſons whilſt they lived carried the port and eſtimation of their father's children, though afterwards it fell out that the ſon of *John*, and nephew to *William*, became diſobedient, negligent, and prodigal, and ſpent all his patrimony; ſo that in concluſion he and his ſon extinguiſhed their houſe, and there now remains no memory of them. As for the ſecond line and race, of whom your uncle and I deſcended, we live as you ſee, though our eſtates be not great, and of the two mine much the leaſt; which notwithſtanding is the greater to me, in reſpect I atchieved it with the peril and danger of my life; and you will make my ſatisfaction in the enjoyment of it the greater, if it be attended with that comfort I hope to receive from you.

The next thing I will handle ſhall be arms. Know that wars by land or ſea are always accompanied with infinite dangers and diſaſters, and ſeldom rewarded according to merit: for one ſoldier that lives to enjoy that preferment which becomes his right by antiquity of ſervice, ten thouſand fall by the ſword and other caſualties: and if you compare that of a ſoldier with any other calling or profeſſion, you will find much difference both in the reward and danger.

Though arms have been eſteemed in all ages, and the more as there was greater occaſion to uſe them, yet you ſhall find they have been always ſubject to jealouſies and envy; jealouſies from the ſtate, if the general or other officer grow great and popular; ſubject to envy from inferiors, who through their perverſe and ill diſpoſitions, malign other mens merits.

The advancement of ſoldiers is commonly made by counſellors at home, whoſe eyes cannot witneſs the ſervices perform'd abroad; but a man is advanced as he is befriended, which makes the ſoldier's preferment as uncertain as his life is caſual.

Compare the condition and advancement of ſoldiers of our time but with the mean and mercenary lawyer, and you ſhall find ſo great a difference, that I had rather you

ſhould become apprentice to the one, than make profeſſion of the other.

A captain that will ſeek to get the love of his ſoldiers, as his greateſt praiſe and felicity, of all other vices muſt deteſt and abandon covetouſneſs. He muſt live by ſpending, as the miſer does by ſparing; inſomuch as few of them can obtain by war, wherewith to maintain themſelves in peace; and where wealth is wanting preferment fails.

Soldiers that live in peaceable iſlands, as in *England*, are undervalued, becauſe we ſee not thoſe dangers which make them neceſſary, as others do where wars are practiſed. And the good ſucceſs in our wars has been ſuch as makes us attribute our victories, not ſo much to valour as to chance.

I confeſs the baſe and ill behaviour of ſome ſoldiers has made them and their profeſſion the leſs eſteemed; for the name of a captain, which was ever wont to be honourable, is now become a word of reproach and diſdain.

Soldiers may have reputation, but little credit; reputation enough to defend their honours, but little truſt in commerce of the world: and not without cauſe; for their ſecurity is the worſe, by how much the danger of death is the greater.

Learning is as much to be preferred before war, as the trade of a merchant before that of the factor. By learning you are made ſenſible of the difference betwixt men and other creatures, and will be able to judge between the good and the bad, and how to walk accordingly. By learning you attain to the knowledge of heavenly myſteries, and you may frame your life accordingly, as God ſhall give you grace. By learning you are made capable of preferment, if it concur with virtue and diſcretion; and the rather, becauſe you are a gentleman by birth, and well ally'd; which I obſerve, next to money in this golden age, is the ſecond ſtep to preferment.

For one that is preferred by arms, there are twenty by learning; and indeed the ſoldier is but a ſervant to the learned; for after his many fought battles, and as many dangers of his life, he muſt yield account of his actions, and be judged, corrected, and advanced, as it ſhall pleaſe the other.

You may wonder to hear me extol learning ſo high above my own profeſſion, conſidering the poor fortune I ſhall leave was atchieved by arms: it is enough therefore to perſuade you what I ſay is not conjectural, but approved: for if I did not find this difference, the natural affection of a father to a ſon would make me diſcover it to you, that you may follow that which is moſt probable and profitable.

Good ſon, love ſoldiers for your country's ſake, who are the defenders of it; for my ſake, who have made profeſſion of it; but ſhun the practice of it as you will do brawls, quarrels, and ſuits, which bring with them perplexities and dangers.

There are many things to be ſhunned, as being perillous both to body and ſoul; as quarrels, and the occaſions of them, which happen through the enormities and abuſes of our age. Eſteem valour as a ſpecial virtue; but ſhun quarrelling as a moſt deteſtable vice. Of two evils it were better to keep company with a coward than a quarreller; the one is commonly ſociable and friendly; the other dangerous in his acquaintance, and offenſive to ſtanders-by. He is never free from peril, that is converſant with a quarrelſome perſon, either for offence given to himſelf, or to others, wherein he may be engaged.

A true valiant man will have enough to do to defend his own reputation, without engaging for others; nor are all valiant that will fight; therefore diſcretion makes a difference betwixt valour and deſperateneſs. Nothing can happen more unfortunate to a gentleman than to have a quarrel, and yet nothing ſo ordinary as to give offence: it draws with it many miſchiefs both to body and ſoul: being ſlain he is in danger of damnation; and no leſs if he kill the other, without great repentance. He ſhall perpetually live in danger of revenge from the friends of the party killed, and fall into the mercy of the prince and law where he lives; but if for fear and baſeneſs he avoid and ſhun a quarrel, he is more odious living than he would be unhappy in dying.

Drinking is the foundation of other vices; it is the cauſe of quarrels, and then murders follow. It occaſions ſwearing, whoredom, and many other vices depend upon it.

When you behold a drunkard, imagine you ſee a beaſt in the ſhape of a man. It is a humour that for the time pleaſes the party drunk, and ſo bereaves him of ſenſe, that he thinks all he does delights the beholders; but the next day he buys his ſhame with repentance, and perhaps gives that offence in his drunkenneſs, that makes him hazard both life and reputation in a quarrel. No man will brag or boaſt ſo much of the word reputation as a drunkard, when indeed there is nothing more to a man's imputation than to be drunk.

A drunkard is in the condition of an excommunicated perſon, whoſe teſtimony betwixt party and party is of no validity. Avoid, good ſon, the company of a drunkard, and occaſions of drinking, then ſhall you live free without fear, and enjoy your own without hazard.

Whore-

Whoredom is an incident to drunkenneſs; though, on the contrary, all whoremaſters are not drunkards. It is a ſin not waſhed away without the vengeance of God to the third and fourth generation.

Beſides the offence to God, it gives a diſreputation to the party and his offspring: it occaſions a breach betwixt man and wife; encourages the wife very often to follow the ill example of her husband, and then enſues diſlike, divorce, diſinheriting of children, ſuits in law, and conſuming of eſtates.

The next and worſt ſin I would have you ſhun is ſwearing. I do not adviſe you like a puritan, that ties a man more to the obſerving of ſundays, and from taking the name of God in vain, than to all the reſt of the commandments; but I wiſh you to avoid it for the greatneſs of the ſin itſelf; for the plague of God hangs over the houſe of the blaſphemer. Swearing is odious to the hearers: it gives little credit to the words of him that uſes it: it affords no pleaſure as other ſins do, nor yields any profit to the part: cuſtom begets it, and cuſtom muſt make one leave it.

For your exerciſes, let them be of two kinds; the one of mind, the other of body: that of the mind muſt conſiſt of prayer, meditation, and your book. Let your prayers be twice a day, howſoever you diſpoſe of yourſelf the reſt of the time: prayers work a great effect in a contrite and penitent heart.

By this I do not ſeek to perſuade you from ſuch exercıſes and delights of body as are lawful and allowable in a gentleman; for ſuch increaſe health and agility of body, make a man ſociable in company, and draw good acquaintance: many times they bring a man into favour with a prince, and prove an occaſion of preferment in his marriage: they are often a ſafeguard to a man's life, as is vaulting ſuddenly upon a horſe to eſcape an enemy.

I will eſpecially commend to you ſuch pleaſures as bring delight and content without charge; for others are fitter for greater men than one of your fortune to follow.

Hawking and hunting, if they be moderately uſed, are, like tobacco in ſome caſes, wholeſome for the body; but in the common uſe both laborious and loathſome: they alike bring one inconveniency, (as commonly vices do,) that they are not ſo eaſily left as entertained.

Tobacco is hot and hurtful to young bodies and ſtomachs, and augments the heat of the liver, which naturally you are ſubject to. It is offenſive to company, eſpecially the breath of him that takes it: it dries the brain, and many become fools with the continual uſe of it.

Let your apparel be handſome and decent, not curious nor coſtly. A wiſe man is more eſteemed in his plain cloath, than gay cloathing. It is more commendable to be able to buy a rich ſuit than to wear one.

A wiſeman eſteems more of a man's virtues and valour than of his apparel; but ſeeing this age is fantaſtical and changeable, you muſt faſhion yourſelf to it, but in ſo mean and moderate a manner, as to be rather praiſed for frugality, than derided for prodigality.

He that delights in curious cloaths is an imitator of a player, who meaſures his apparel by the part he acts. And as players appear upon the ſtage to be ſeen of the ſpectators, ſo do the gallants expoſe their bravery in open aſſemblies.

Whilſt I live, and you do not marry, I ſhall temper this expence; but when I die, remember what I ſay: ſeek advancement rather by your carriage than gaity; the reputation you gain by that will be laſting, when this will appear but like a flower fading.

Frame your courſe of life to the country and not to the court; and yet make not yourſelf ſuch a ſtranger to great perſons, as in aſſemblies they ſhould ask others who you are. I confeſs the greateſt and ſuddeneſt riſing is by the court; yet the court is like a hopeful and forward ſpring that is taken with a ſharp and cold froſt, which nips and blaſts a whole orchard, except two or three trees; for after that proportion commonly courtiers are preferr'd: and he that will thrive at court muſt make his dependency upon ſome great perſon, in whoſe ſhip he muſt imbark all his hopes; and how unfortunate ſuch great perſons are oftentimes themſelves, and how unthankful to their followers, we want not precedents.

He that ſettles his ſervice upon one of them, ſhall fall into the diſfavour of another; for a court is like an army, ever in war, ſtriving by ſtratagems to circumvent and kick up one another's heels. You are not ignorant of the aptneſs of this compariſon by what you know of me, whoſe caſe will ſerve you for a proſpective-glaſs, wherein to behold your danger afar off, the better to prevent it: yet reverence lords, becauſe they are noble, and one more than another, as he is more notable in virtue.

Be choice of your company; for as a man makes election of them he is cenſured. Man lives by reputation, and that failing he becomes a monſter. Let your company conſiſt of your own rank, rather better than worſe; for hold it for a maxim, *The better gentleman, the more gentle in his behaviour.*

Beware they be not accuſed of crimes; for that may touch you in credit; and if you loſe your reputation in the bud of your youth

youth, you ſhall ſcarce recover it in the whole courſe of your life: let them be civil in carriage; for commonly ſuch men are ſenſible above all: let them be learned; for learning is a fountain, from whence ſprings another life: let them be temperate in diet and expence, ſo ſhall you learn to live in health, and increaſe in wealth.

Beware they be not cholerick in diſpoſition, or arrogant in opinion: for if ſo, you will become a ſlave to their humours, and baſe by ſuffering. A cholerick man, of all others, is the worſt companion; for he cannot temper his rage; but on any ſlight occaſion, of a friend becomes an enemy. Value true friendſhip next to marriage, which nothing but death can diſſolve; for the fickleneſs of friendſhip is often the ruin of one's fortune.

Beware of gaming, for it cauſes great vexation of mind: if you loſe, it begets in you that humour, that out of hope of regaining your loſſes, you will endanger the loſs of all. Do not preſume too much of your skill in play, or making wagers, as if you were excellent above others, or have fortune at command; for ſhe is like a whore, variable and inconſtant; and when ſhe diſfavours you, it is with more loſs at once than ſhe recompences at twice.

Love your brother and ſiſters for their own ſakes, as you are bound by nature, but eſpecially for mine, whoſe they are. Remember you are all indifferent to me, but that God choſe you from the reſt to be a ſtrength and ſtay to them: think you cannot honour your father more being dead, than in ſhewing affection to them he dearly loved; and nothing will more approve you to be mine, than love and kindneſs amongſt yourſelves. You owe ſomewhat more to me than that I am your father, in that I ſeek your advancement above theirs; of which obligation I will acquit you, conditionally you perform what you ought to them: for becauſe man cannot himſelf live ever, he deſires to live in his poſterity; and if I had an hundred ſons, my greateſt hope muſt depend upon you, as you are my eldeſt; and ſeeing my care is of you above the reſt, do not make my memory ſo unhappy, as to give the world occaſion to ſay, I left an unnatural ſon. The only requeſt I make, is, be kind and loving to them, who, I know, by their diſpoſition, will give you no cauſe of offence. A diſcourteſy from you will be as ſharp to them as a razor from another.

Be courteous and friendly to all; for men are eſteem'd according to their carriage. There is an old proverb, *The courteſy of the mouth is of great value, and coſts little.* A proud man is envy'd of his equals, hated by his inferiors, and ſcorn'd by his ſuperiors; ſo that betwixt envy, hate, and ſcorn, he is friendleſs.

Many times a man is condemned to death out of preſumption, eſpecially when it concurs with an opinion of his former ill carriage: how much therefore does it concern a man in the times of his proſperity to lay up a ſtock of love and reputation?

There cannot be a greater honour than to gain a man's enemy by a courteſy: it far exceeds the kindneſs that is done to another, and doubly obliges him that receives it. Love is a thing deſir'd by a king from his ſubjects, by a general from his ſoldiers, and by a maſter from his ſervants; he that has it is rich by it; it maintains peace in time of peace, and is a ſafe bulwark in time of war.

Do not buy this love with the ruin of your eſtate, as many do with prodigal expences, and then are requited with pity and deriſion. Let your expence be agreeable to the wearing of your cloaths, better or worſe, according to company; or the journeying your horſe; the leſs way you go to day, you may travel the farther to-morrow; but if you go every day a long and wearieſome journey, your horſe will fail, and you be forc'd to go a-foot. And ſo will it be in your expences: if you do not moderate them according to days and companies, your horſe and you may travel faintly together.

If you are prodigal in any thing, let it be in hoſpitality, as moſt agreeable to the will of God; you ſhall feed the hungry, relieve the poor, and get the love of the rich. What you ſpend among your neighbours is not loſt, but procures their love, and helps when you have need, and thereby you ſhall find friendſhip in the country as available as favour at court.

If you are called to any place of magiſtracy, do juſtice with pity, revenge not your ſelf of your enemy under colour of authority; for that ſhews baſeneſs, and will procure you hatred. In money matters favour your country, if it be not againſt the preſent profit of the king; for many times his name is uſed for the gain of other men.

Study the laws, not to make a mercenary practice of them, but only for your own uſe, the good of your neighbours, and the government of your country. Hold the laws in reverence next to the king: for that kingdom is well govern'd where the king is ruled by the laws, not the laws by the king.

Be not preſumptuous in your command; yet ſeek to be obey'd as you deſire to obey; for as you are above others, others are above you. Give your mind to accommodate controverſies among your neighbours, and you ſhall gain their love, which will more avail you than the hate of the lawyers can hurt you.

Puniſh

Puniſh idleneſs and other vices, as well for that they are ſuch as for example's ſake. Gain love by doing juſtice, and hate doing wrong, though it were to your immediate profit.

If you marry after my death, chooſe a wife, as near as you can, ſuitable to your calling, years, and condition: for ſuch marriages are made in heaven, though celebrated on earth.

If your eſtate were great, your choice might be the freer: but where the preferment of your ſiſters muſt depend upon your wife's portion, let not your fancy over-rule your neceſſity. It is an old ſaying, *He that marries for love, has evil days and good nights*: conſider if you marry for affection, how long you will be raiſing portions for your ſiſters, and the miſery you ſhall live in all the days of your life; for the greateſt fortune that a man can expect is in his marriage. A wiſe man is known by his actions; but where paſſion and affection ſway, that man is depriv'd of ſenſe and underſtanding.

It is not the poverty or meanneſs of her that is married, that makes her the better wife; for commonly ſuch women grow elevated, and are no more mindful of what they have been, than a mariner is of his eſcape from a danger at ſea when it is paſt. You muſt ſet your wife a good example by your own carriage; for a wiſe and diſcreet husband uſually makes an obedient and dutiful wife. Beware of jealouſy; for it cauſes great vexation of mind, and ſcorn and laughter from your enemies.

Many times it is occaſion'd by the behaviour of the husband towards other women: in that caſe do like the phyſician, take away the cauſe of the infirmity, if not you are worthy to feel the ſmart of it. Jealouſy is grounded upon conceit and imagination, proceeds from a weak, idle, and diſtempered brain; and the unworthy carriage of him that is jealous many times makes a woman do what otherwiſe ſhe would not.

If God be pleaſed to give you children, love them with that diſcretion that they diſcern it not, leaſt they too much preſume upon it. Encourage them in things that are good, and correct them if they offend. The love of God to man cannot be better expreſs'd, than by that of a father to his children. Comforts or croſſes they prove to their parents; and herein education is a great help to nature.

Let your children make you to diſreliſh and abandon all other delights and pleaſures of the world, in reſpect of the comfort and joy you receive by them: make account then that ſummer is paſt, and the melancholy winter approaches; for a careful and provident father cannot take delight in the world, and provide for his children.

For a concluſion I will recommend two principal virtues to you; the one is ſecrecy, the other patience. Secrecy is neceſſary, requir'd in all, eſpecially publick perſons; for many times they are truſted with things, the revealing whereof may coſt them their lives, and hinder the deſigns of their maſters. It is a folly to truſt any man with a ſecret that can give no aſſiſtance in the buſineſs he is truſted with. Counſellors of ſtate, and generals of armies, of all others ought to be moſt ſecret; for their deſigns being once diſcovered, their enterprizes fail. *Silence* was ſo much eſteemed among the *Perſians*, that ſhe was ador'd for a goddeſs. The *Romans* kept their expeditions ſo ſecret, as that alone was a principal cauſe of their victories: but of all others truſt not women with a ſecret; for the weakneſs of their ſex makes them unſecret. Be patient, after the example of *Job*, and you ſhall become a true ſervant of God. Patience deſerves to be painted with a ſword in her hand; for ſhe conquers and ſubdues all difficulties. If you will take advantage of your enemy, make him cholerick, and by patience you ſhall overcome him.

Marcus Aurelius being both emperor and philoſopher, confeſſed he attained not the empire by philoſophy, but by patience. What man in the world was ſo patient as our ſaviour himſelf? By following whoſe example his miniſters have converted more by their words, than all the perſecuting emperors could deter by rigour or cruelty of laws. The impatient man conteſts with God himſelf, who gives and takes away at his good will and pleaſure.

Let me (good ſon) be your pattern of patience; for you can witneſs with me, that the diſgraces I have unjuſtly ſuffered, (my eſtate being through my misfortunes ruined, my health by impriſonments decay'd, and my ſervices undervalued and unrecompenced,) have not bred the leaſt diſtaſte or diſcontent in me, or alter'd my reſolution from my infancy, that is, I was never ſo baſe as to inſinuate into any man's favour, who was favoured by the times; I was never ſo ambitious as to ſeek or crave employment, or to undertake any that was not put upon me. My great and only comfort is, that I ſerved my princes both faithfully and fortunately; but ſeeing my ſervices have been no better accepted, I can as well content my ſelf in being a ſpectator, as if I were an actor in the world.

THE
Epiſtle Dedicatory of the Firſt Book,
TO SUCH
Gentlemen as are the Author's intimate Friends, that ſhall read theſe ſmall Treatiſes.

IT is proper to all diſcourſes not to comprehend more in one book than the ſubject whereof they are to treat, becauſe variety of matter may breed confuſion and forgetfulneſs in the reader; and though the enſuing work treats of ſeveral nations, ſeveral matters and accidents, and of ſeveral times and ages, yet all tends to ſea-actions, and men of that profeſſion, as namely, the firſt diſcovery of countries, the ſettling of commerce and trade betwixt remote nations, the ſucceſs of many warlike expeditions by ſea, and ſeveral admonitions, and other particulars therein mention'd.

I have divided them into ſix books: in the firſt and ſecond I place the acts and enterprizes of *Engliſhmen*, in reſpect of the deſerved honour the world attributes to them for their marine affair; ſecondly, in duty being bound to prefer my own country before all others, wherein I cannot be tax'd with partiality or flattery; and, thirdly, becauſe the actions and journeys of the *Engliſh* will give light to enſuing ages, by comparing them with times paſt for advantage of time to come, if there be occaſion.

In the third book I ſet down the office of the lord high-admiral of *England*, and all other inferior offices belonging to him, and his majeſty's ſhips, from the higheſt commander to the meaneſt ſailor.

In the fourth book I touch upon divers diſcoveries and conqueſts of the *Spaniſh* and *Portugueſe* nation; but I will forbear to ſay any thing of them in particular, till I come to the place where I am to treat more at large of their acts and enterprizes.

In the fifth I treat of projects, which I dedicate to the projectors of this time, not to honour, but to diſplay them and the infamous courſes they take againſt the commonwealth.

In the ſixth I diſcover the benefit of fiſhing upon his majeſty's coaſts of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and with what eaſe it may be undertaken by his majeſty's ſubjects.

Many things contain'd in theſe ſix books are no other than collections of other authors; and my labour is more therein, than theirs who gather variety of flowers out of ſeveral gardens to compoſe one ſightly garland.

It is not my intention that many ſhall read them; and ſuch as do ſhall be only my deareſt friends, becauſe they will put a favourable conſtruction upon any overſights I ſhall make, and will conceal and hide what weakneſs they diſcover in me.

All my aim is my own pleaſure, and my friends ſatisfaction, if this yields them any; if not, my good will ought to be never the leſs valued, conſidering my intention in offering it. What is wanting in perfection, ſhall be ſupplied by my affection and ſervice ever devoted to you. And ſo, farewel.

BOOK

BOOK I.

A Yearly Account of the *Engliſh* and *Spaniſh* Fleets, ſet out from the Year 1585. when the War with *Spain* firſt began, till the Year 1602. when King *James* made his happy Entrance into this Kingdom, ſhewing the Deſigns, Overſights, and Errors, on both *Engliſh* and *Spaniſh* Sides, with the Names of the Queen's Ships and Commanders in every Expedition.

Sir Francis Drake's *Voyage to the* Weſt Indies, Anno Dom. 1585.

1585.

Ships.	Commanders.
The *Elizabeth Bonaventure.*	Sir *Francis Drake.*
The *Aid.*	Captain *Forbiſher.*
	Captain *Carlee,* lieutenant-general by land.

UPON knowledge of the imbargo laid by the king of *Spain* in the year 1585. upon the *Engliſh* ſhips, men, and goods found in his country, her majeſty having no means to help or relieve her ſubjects by friendly treaty, authoriz'd ſuch as ſuſtain'd loſs, by the ſaid order, to repair themſelves upon the ſubjects of the king of *Spain*; and to that end gave them letters of repriſal, to take and arreſt all ſhips and merchandizes they ſhould find at ſea, or elſewhere, belonging to the ſubjects of the ſaid king.

Her majeſty at the ſame time, to revenge the wrongs offer'd her, and to reſiſt the king of *Spain*'s preparations made againſt her, equipp'd a fleet of twenty five ſail of ſhips, and employ'd them under the command of Sir *Francis Drake*, as the fitteſt man, by reaſon of his experience and ſucceſs in ſundry actions.

It is not my intent to ſet down all the particulars of the voyages treated of, but the ſervices done, and the miſtakes and overſights committed, as a warning to thoſe that ſhall read them, and to prevent the like errors hereafter.

This voyage of Sir *Francis Drake* being the firſt undertaking on either ſide, (for it enſued immediately after the arreſt of our ſhips and goods in *Spain*,) I will deliver my opinion of it before I proceed any farther.

One impediment to the voyage was, that to which the ill ſucceſs of divers others that after follow'd is to be imputed, *viz.* the want of victuals and other neceſſaries fit for ſo great an expedition; for had not the fleet by chance met with a ſhip of *Biſcay* in her return from *Newfoundland*, laden with fiſh, which reliev'd their neceſſities, they had been reduc'd to great extremity.

The ſervice perform'd in this action, was the taking and ſacking *Sancto Domingo* in *Hiſpaniola*, *Cartagena* on the continent, and *Santa Juſtina* in *Florida*, three towns of great importance in the *Weſt Indies*. This fleet was the greateſt of any nation but the *Spaniards*, that had been ever ſeen in thoſe ſeas ſince the firſt diſcovery of them; and if it had been as well conſider'd of before their going from home, as it was happily perform'd by the valour of the undertakers, it had more annoy'd the king of *Spain*, than all other actions that enſued during the time of the war.

But it ſeems our long peace made us uncapable of advice in war; for had we kept and defended thoſe places when in our poſſeſſion, and provided to have been reliev'd and ſuccour'd out of *England*, we had diverted

1585. verted the war from this part of *Europe*; for at that time there was no compariſon betwixt the ſtrength of *Spain* and *England* by ſea, by means whereof we might have better defended them, and with more eaſe incroach'd upon the reſt of the *Indies*, than the king of *Spain* could have aided or ſuccour'd them.

But now we ſee and find by experience that thoſe places which were then weak and unfortified, are ſince ſo fortified, that it is to no purpoſe to us to annoy the king of *Spain* in his *Weſt Indies*.

And though this voyage prov'd both fortunate and victorious, yet conſidering it was rather an awakening than a weakening of him, it had been far better to have wholly declin'd, than to have undertaken it upon ſuch ſlender grounds, and with ſo inconſiderable forces.

1587. *Sir* Francis Drake's *ſecond Voyage to the Road of* Cadiz, *and towards the* Tercera *Iſlands*, Anno 1587.

Ships.	Commanders.
The *Elizabeth Bonaventure.*	Sir *Francis Drake* general.
The *Lyon.*	Sir *William Borroughs* vice-admiral.
The *Rainbow.*	Captain *Bellingam.*
The *Dreadnought.*	Captain *Thomas Fenner.*

HER majeſty having receiv'd ſeveral advertiſements, that while the king of *Spain* was ſilent, not ſeeking revenge for the injuries the ſhips of repriſal did him daily upon his coaſts, he was preparing an invincible navy to invade her at home. She thereupon ſought to fruſtrate his deſigns, by intercepting his proviſions before they ſhould come to *Liſbon*, which was their place of rendezvous; and ſent away Sir *Francis Drake* with a fleet of thirty ſail, great and ſmall, four whereof were her own ſhips.

The chief adventure in this voyage (beſides thoſe four ſhips of her majeſty's) was made by the merchants of *London*, who ſought their private gain more than the advancement of the ſervice; neither were they deceiv'd of their expectation.

Sir *Francis Drake* being inform'd by two ſhips of *Middleborough*, that came from *Cadiz*, that a fleet with proviſions and ammunition riding there, was ready to take the firſt opportunity of a wind to go to *Liſbon*, and join with other forces of the king of *Spain*, he directed his courſe for *Cadiz* road, where he found the advertiſement he receiv'd from the ſhips of *Middleborough* in every point true; and upon his arrival attempted the ſhips with great courage, and perform'd the ſervice he went for, by deſtroying all ſuch ſhips he found in harbour, as well of the *Spaniards* as other nations that were hir'd by them; and by theſe means he utterly defeated their mighty preparations, which were intended againſt *England* that year 1587.

The ſecond ſervice perform'd by him, was the aſſaulting the caſtle of cape *St. Vincent*, upon the utmoſt promontory of *Portugal*, and three other ſtrong holds; all which he took, ſome by force, and ſome by compoſition. Thence he went to the mouth of the river of *Liſbon*, where he anchor'd near *Caſcais*, which the marquis of *St. Cruz* beholding, durſt not with his gallies approach ſo near as once to charge him.

Sir *Francis Drake* perceiving, that though he had done important ſervice for the ſtate by this fortunate attempt of his, yet the ſame was not very acceptable to the merchants, who adventur'd only in hope of profit, and preferr'd their private gain before the ſecurity of the kingdom, or any other reſpect; therefore from *Caſcais* he ſtood to the *Tercera* iſlands, to expect the coming home of a *carrack*, which he had intelligence winter'd at *Moſambique*, and conſequently ſhe was to be home in that month. And though his victuals grew ſcarce, and his company importun'd his return home, yet with fair ſpeeches he perſuaded, and ſo much prevail'd with them, that they were willing to expect the iſſue ſome few days at the iſlands; and by this time drawing near the iſland of *St. Michael*, it was his good fortune to meet and take the *carrack* he look'd for; which added more honour to his former ſervice, and gave great content to the merchants, to have a profitable return of their adventure, which was the thing they principally deſir'd. This voyage proceeded proſperouſly, and without exception; for there was both honour and wealth gain'd, and the enemy greatly endamag'd.

The

The firſt Action undertaken by the* Spaniards *in* 1588. *the Duke of* Medina Sidonia *General, encounter'd by our Fleet, the Lord Admiral being at Sea himſelf in Perſon.

The ENGLISH FLEET.

Ships.	Commanders.
The *Ark-Royal*,	The lord admiral.
The *Revenge*,	Sir *Francis Drake* vice-admiral.
The *Victory*,	Sir *John Hawkins* rear-admiral.
The *Lyon*,	The lord *Thomas Howard*.
The *Bear*,	The lord *Sheffield*.
The *Elizabeth-Jonas*,	Sir *Robert Southwell*.
The *Triumph*,	Sir *Martin Forbiſher*.
The *Hope*,	Captain *Croſs*.
The *Bonaventure*,	Captain *Reyman*.
The *Dreadnought*,	Captain *George Beeſton*.
The *Nonpareille*,	Captain *Thomas Fenner*.
The *Swiftſure*,	Captain *William Fenner*.
The *Rainbow*,	The lord *Henry Seymor*.
The *Vauntguard*,	Sir *William Wentworth*.
The *Mary-Roſe*,	Captain *Fenton*.
The *Antilope*,	Sir *Henry Palmer*.
The *Foreſight*,	Captain *Baker*.
The *Aid*,	Captain *John Wentworth*.
The *Swallow*,	Captain *Richard Hawkins*.
The *Tyger*,	Captain *William Wentworth*.
The *Scout*,	Captain *Aſhley*.
The *Bull*,	
The *Tremontany*,	
The *Acatice*,	
The *Charles-Pinnace*,	Captain *Roberts*.
The *Moon*,	Captain *Clifford*.
The *Spy*,	Captain *Bradbury*.
The *Noy*,	

1588. NOtwithſtanding the great ſpoil and hurt Sir *Francis Drake* did the year paſt in *Cadiz* road, by intercepting ſome part of the proviſions intended for this great navy, the king of *Spain* us'd his utmoſt endeavours to revenge himſelf this year, leſt in taking longer time his deſigns might be prevented as before, and arreſted all ſhips, men, and neceſſaries wanting for his fleet, and compell'd them by force to ſerve in this action. 1588.

He appointed for general the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, a man employed rather for his birth than experience; for ſo many dukes, marquiſſes, and earls, voluntarily going, would have repin'd to have been commanded by a man of leſs quality than themſelves: they departed from *Liſbon* the 19th day of *May*, 1588. with the greateſt pride and glory, and leaſt doubt of victory, that ever any nation did; but God being angry with their inſolence, diſpos'd of them contrary to their expectation.

The directions from the king of *Spain* to his general were to repair, as wind and weather would giveleave, to the road of *Callice* in *Piccardy*, there to abide the coming of the prince of *Parma* and his army; and upon their meeting, to have open'd a letter directed to them both, with further inſtructions.

He was eſpecially commanded to ſail along the coaſts of *Brittany* and *Normandy*, to avoid being diſcover'd by us here; and if he met with the *Engliſh* fleet, not to offer to fight, but only ſeek to defend themſelves. But when he came athwart the north cape, he was taken with a contrary wind and foul weather, and forc'd into the harbour of the *Groyne*, where part of his fleet lay attending his coming. As he was ready to depart from thence, they had intelligence, by an *Engliſh* fiſherman whom they took, of our fleets late being at ſea, and putting back again, not expecting their coming that year, inſomuch that moſt part of the men belonging to our ſhips were diſcharg'd.

1588. This intelligence made the duke alter his reſolution, and to break the directions given him by the king: yet this was not done without ſome difficulty, for the council was divided in their opinions; ſome held it beſt to obſerve the king's command, others not to loſe the opportunity offer'd to ſurprize our fleet unawares, and burn and deſtroy them.

Diego Flores de Valdes, who had the command of the *Andaluſian* ſquadron, and on whom the duke moſt relied, becauſe of his experience and judgment, was the main man that perſuaded the attempt of our ſhips in harbour, and with that reſolution they directed their courſe for *England*.

The firſt land they fell in with, was the *Lizard*, the ſouthermoſt part of *Cornwall*, which they took to be the *Ram's-Head* athwart *Plimouth*; and the night being at hand they tacked off to ſea, making account in the morning to attempt our ſhips in *Plimouth*.

But whilſt they were thus deceiv'd in the land, they were in the mean time diſcover'd by captain *Flemming*, a pirate, who had been at ſea pilfering; and upon view of them, knowing them to be the *Spaniſh* fleet, repair'd with all ſpeed to *Plimouth*, and gave notice to our fleet, then riding at anchor: whereupon my lord admiral haſtened with all poſſible expedition to get out the ſhips; and before the *Spaniards* could draw near *Plimouth*, they were welcom'd at ſea by my lord and his navy, who continued fight with them, till he brought them to an anchor at *Calais*. The particulars of the fight, and the ſucceſs thereof, being things ſo well known, I purpoſely omit.

While this armada was preparing, her majeſty had from time to time perfect intelligence of the *Spaniards* deſigns; and becauſe ſhe knew his intent was to invade her at ſea with a mighty fleet from his own coaſt, ſhe furniſh'd out her royal navy, under the conduct of the lord high admiral of *England*, and ſent him to *Plimouth*, as the likelieſt place to attend their coming, as you have heard.

Then knowing that it was not the fleet alone that could endanger her ſafety, for that they were too weak for any enterprize on land, without the aſſiſtance of the prince of *Parma*, and his army in *Flanders*, therefore ſhe appointed thirty ſail of *Holland* ſhips to lie at an anchor before the town of *Dunkirk*, where the prince was to imbark in flat-bottom'd boats, made purpoſely for the expedition of *England*.

Thus had the prince by the queen's providence been prevented, if he had attempted to put out of harbour with his boats; but in truth, neither his veſſels nor his army were in readineſs, which caus'd the king ever after to be jealous of him, and, as 'tis ſuppos'd, to haſten his end. 1588.

Her majeſty, notwithſtanding this her vigilant care to foreſee and prevent all danger that might happen at ſea, would not hold herſelf too ſecure of her enemy, and therefore prepar'd a royal army to welcome him upon his landing; but it was not the will of God that he ſhould ſet foot on *Engliſh* ground, the queen becoming victorious over him at ſea, with little hazard or bloodſhed of her ſubjects.

Having ſhewed the deſign of the *Spaniards*, and the courſe taken by her majeſty to prevent them, I will now collect the errors committed as well by the one as by the other, as I have promis'd in the beginning of my diſcourſe.

As nothing could appear more rational and likely to take effect, after the duke had got intelligence of the ſtate of our navy, than his deſign to ſurprize them unawares in harbour, he well knowing, that if he had taken away our ſtrength by ſea, he might have landed both when and where he liſted, which is a great advantage to an invader; yet admitting it had taken that effect he deſign'd, I ſee not how he was to be commended in breaking the inſtructions given him by the king; what blame then did he deſerve, when ſo ill an event follow'd by his raſhneſs and diſobedience?

It was not the want of experience in the duke, or his laying the fault upon *Valdes* that excus'd him at his return; but he had ſmarted bitterly for it, had it not been for his wife, who obtain'd the king's favour for him.

Before the arrival of the ſhips that eſcaped in this voyage, it was known in *Spain*, that *Diego Flores del Valdes* was he who perſuaded the duke to break the king's inſtructions; whereupon the king gave commandment in all his ports, where the ſaid *Diego Flores del Valdes* might arrive, to apprehend him; which was accordingly executed, and he carried to the caſtle of *Santander*, where he was not permitted to plead his excuſe, but remain'd there, without being ever ſeen or heard of after, by report of his page, with whom I ſpoke afterwards, we being both priſoners together in the caſtle of *Lisbon*.

If the king's directions had been punctually follow'd, then had his fleet kept the coaſt of *France*, and arriv'd in the road of *Calais*, before they had been diſcover'd by us, which might have endanger'd her majeſty and the realm, our ſhips being ſo far off as *Plimouth*, where then they lay; and though the prince of *Parma* had not been preſently ready, yet he had gain'd time ſufficient, by the abſence of our fleet, to make himſelf ready.

And

1588. And whereas the prince was kept in by the thirty ſail of *Hollanders*, ſo many of the duke's fleet might have been able to have put the *Hollanders* from the road of *Dunkirk*, and poſſeſt it themſelves; and ſo have ſecured the army and fleet's meeting together; and then how eaſy had it been after their joining, to have tranſported themſelves for *England?* And what would have enſued upon their landing here, may be well imagined. 1588.

But it was the will of him that directs all men and their actions, that the fleets ſhould meet, and the enemy be beaten, as they were, put from their anchorage in *Calais-Road*, the prince of *Parma* beleaguer'd at ſea, and their navy driven about *Scotland* and *Ireland* with great hazard and loſs; which ſhews how god did marvellouſly defend us againſt their dangerous deſigns.

And here was opportunity offered us to have followed the victory upon them; for after they were beaten from the road at *Calais*, and all their hopes and deſigns fruſtrated, if we had once more offered them fight, the general, it was thought, by perſuaſion of his confeſſor, was determined to yield; whoſe example, 'tis very likely, would have made the reſt to have done the like. But this opportunity was loſt, not through the negligence or backwardneſs of the lord admiral, but merely through the want of providence in thoſe that had the charge of furniſhing and providing for the fleet; for at that time of ſo great advantage, when they came to examine their proviſions, they found a general ſcarcity of powder and ſhot, for want whereof they were forced to return home: beſides that, the dreadful ſtorms which deſtroy'd the *Spaniſh* fleet, made it impoſſible to purſue the remains of them. Another opportunity was loſt, not much inferior to the other, by not ſending part of our fleet to the weſt of *Ireland*, where the *Spaniards* of neceſſity were to paſs, after ſo many dangers and diſaſters as they had endured.

If we had been ſo happy as to have followed this courſe, as it was both thought and diſcourſed of, we had been abſolutely victorious over this great and formidable navy; for they were brought to that neceſſity, that they would willingly have yielded, as divers of them confeſſed that were ſhipwrecked in *Ireland*.

By this we may ſee how weak and feeble the deſigns of men are, in reſpect of the creator of man, and how indifferently he dealt betwixt the two nations, ſometimes giving one, ſometimes the other, the advantage; and yet ſo that he only ordered the battle.

The Expedition to Portugal, Anno 1589.

Ships.	Commanders by Sea.	Commanders by land.
The Revenge.	Sir *Francis Drake*,	Sir *John Norris.*
The Dreadnought,	Capt. *Thomas Fenner*,	Sir *Edward Norris.*
The Aid,	Capt. *William Fenner*,	Sir *Henry Norris.*
The Nonpereille,	Capt. *Sackvile*,	Sir *Roger Williams.*
The Foreſight,	Capt. *William Winter*,	Capt. *Wilſon*, Serj. Major.
The Swiftſure,	Capt. *Goring*.	Earl of *Eſſex*, Voluntier.

1589. THE laſt overthrow of 1588. given to the invincible *Armada*, or navy, as they termed it, did ſo encourage every man to the war, that happy was he who could put himſelf into the ſervice againſt the *Spaniards*, as it appeared by the voluntiers that went in this voyage; which the queen, (conſidering the great loſs the king of *Spain* received the year paſt, whereby it was to be imagined how weakly he was provided at home,) was willing to countenance, though ſhe undertook it not wholly herſelf, which was the main cauſe of its ill ſucceſs and overthrow. 1589.

For whoſoever he be of a ſubject, that thinks to undertake ſo great an enterpriſe without a prince's purſe, ſhall be deceived; and therefore theſe two generals, in my opinion, never overſhot themſelves more, than in undertaking ſo great a charge with ſo little means; for where victuals and arms are wanting, what hope is there of prevailing?

The project of this voyage was to reſtore a diſtreſſed king to his kingdom, uſurped as he pretended; and though the preparations for this expedition were not ſo great as was expedient, yet in the opinion of all men, if they had directed their courſe whither they intended it, without landing at the *Groyne*, they had performed the ſervice they went for, reſtored *Don Antonio* to the crown of *Portugal*, diſſevered it from *Spain*, and united it in league with *England*, which would have anſwer'd the preſent charge, and have ſettled a continual trade for us to the *Weſt Indies*, and the reſt of the dominions of *Portugal*; for ſo we might eaſily have conditioned.

But the landing at the *Groyne* was an unneceſſary lingering and hinderance of the other great and main deſign, a conſuming

1589. of victuals, a weakening of the army by the immoderate drinking of the ſoldiers, which brought a lamentable ſickneſs amongſt them, a warning to the *Spaniards* to ſtrengthen *Portugal*, and (what is more than all this) a diſcouragement to proceed further, being repulſed in the firſt attempt.

But notwithſtanding the ill ſucceſs at the *Groyne*, they departed from thence towards *Portugal*, and arrived at *Peniche*, a maritime town twelve leagues from *Lisbon*, where with ſmall reſiſtance they took the caſtle, after the captain underſtood *Don Antonio* was in the army.

Thence general *Norris* marched with his land forces to *Lisbon*, and Sir *Francis Drake* with his fleet ſailed to *Caſcais*, promiſing from thence to paſs with his ſhips up the river to *Lisbon*, to meet with Sir *John Norris*, which yet he did not perform, and therefore was much blamed by the general conſent of all men, the overthrow of the action being imputed to him.

It will not excuſe Sir *Francis Drake*, for making ſuch a promiſe to Sir *John Norris*; though on the other hand, I would have accuſed him of great want of diſcretion, if he had put the fleet to ſo great an adventure to ſo little purpoſe: for his being in the harbour of *Lisbon*, ſignified nothing to the taking of the caſtle, which was two miles from thence; and had the caſtle been taken, the town would have been taken of courſe.

Beſides, the ſhips could not furniſh the army with more men or victuals: wherefore I underſtand not in what reſpect his going up was neceſſary; and yet the fleet muſt have run many hazards to ſo little purpoſe.

For betwixt *Caſcais* and *Lisbon* there are three caſtles, *St. Julian*, *St. Francis*, and *Bellem*. The firſt of the three I hold one of the moſt impregnable forts to ſeaward in *Europe*; and the fleet was to paſs within calliver-ſhot of this fort, though, I confeſs, the paſſing it was not the greateſt danger; for with a reaſonable gale of wind, any fort is to be paſſed with ſmall hazard.

But at this time there was a general want of victuals; and being once entered the harbour, their coming out again was uncertain, the place being ſubject to contrary winds. In the mean while the better part of the victuals would have been conſumed, and they would have remained there in ſo deſperate a condition, that they would have been forced to have fired one half of the fleet, to bring home the reſt; for as it was, when the army imbarked for *England*, many died for hunger in their way home, and more would have done, if the wind had taken them ſhort; or if by the death of ſome of them, the reſt who ſurviv'd had not been the better reliev'd.

Beſides all theſe caſualties and dangers, 1589. the *Adelantado* was then in *Lisbon* with the gallies of *Spain*; and how eaſily he might have annoy'd our fleet by towing fire-ſhips amongſt us, we may ſuppoſe by the hurt we did the *Spaniards* the year before in *Cadiz-Road*; and greater we might have done had we been aſſiſted with gallies.

It was a wonder to obſerve every man's opinion of this voyage, as well thoſe that were actors in it, as others that ſtaid at home; ſome imputing the overthrow of it to the landing at the *Groyne*; others to the *Portugueſe* failing us of thoſe helps and aſſiſtances promiſed by *Don Antonio*; and others, to Sir *Francis Drake*'s not coming up the river with his fleet.

Though any of theſe three reaſons may ſeem probable enough, and the landing at the *Groyne* the chiefeſt of the three, yet, if we weigh truly the defect, and where it was, it will appear that the action was overthrown before their ſetting out from home, they being too weakly provided of all things neceſſary for ſo great an expedition.

For when this voyage was firſt treated of, the number of ſhips was nothing equal to the proportion of men: wherefore they were forced to detain divers *Eaſterlings* they met with in our channel, and compelled them to ſerve in this expedition for the tranſportation of our ſoldiers; and though theſe ſhips were an eaſe to our men, who would have been otherwiſe much peſtered for want of room, yet their victuals were nothing augmented; but they were put aboard the ſhips, like baniſhed men, to ſeek their fortunes at ſea, it being confeſſed, that divers of the ſhips had not four days victuals when they departed from *Plimouth*.

Another impediment to the good ſucceſs of this voyage, was the want of field-pieces; and this was the main cauſe why we failed of taking *Lisbon*: For the enemies ſtrength conſiſting chiefly in the caſtle, and we having only an army to countenance us, but no means for battery, we were the loſs of the victory ourſelves; for it was apparent, by intelligence we received, that if we had preſented them with battery, they were reſolved to parley, and by conſequence to yield; and this too was made uſe of by the *Portugueſe*, as a main reaſon why they joined not with us.

And there is as much to be ſaid in behalf of the *Portugueſe*, as an evidence of their good-will and favour to us, that though they ſhewed themſelves not forward upon this occaſion to aid us, yet they oppoſed us not as enemies: whereas if they had purſued us in our retreat from *Lisbon* to *Caſcais*, our men being weak, ſickly, and wanting powder, and ſhot, and other arms, they had in all probability put us to a great loſs and

1588. and diſgrace. And if ever *England* have the like occaſion to aid a competitor in *Portugal*, we ſhall queſtionleſs find that our fair demeanor and carriage in this expedition towards the people of that country, have gained us much reputation among them, and would be of ſingular advantage to us; for the general ſtrictly forbad the rifling of their houſes in the country, and the ſuburbs of *Lisbon*, which he poſſeſſed, and commanded juſt payment to be made by the ſoldiers for every thing they took, without compulſion or rigorous uſage: and this has made thoſe that ſtood but indifferently affected before, now ready upon the like occaſion to aſſiſt us. 1588.

A Voyage undertaken by the Earl of Cumberland, *with one Ship Royal of her Majeſty's, and ſix of his own, and other Adventurers,* Anno Dom. 1589.

Ships.	Commanders.
The Victory, the queen's ſhip,	The Earl of *Cumberland*,
The Margaret,	Capt. *Chriſtopher Liſter*,
And five others.	Capt. *Monſon*, afterwards Sir *William Monſon* vice-admiral.

1589. AS the fleets of Sir *John Norris* and Sir *Francis Drake* returned from the voyage of *Portugal*, the Earl of *Cumberland* proceeded upon his towards that coaſt; and meeting with divers of that fleet, relieved them with victuals, who otherwiſe had periſhed. 1589.

This voyage was undertaken at his and his friend's charge, excepting the *Victory*, a ſhip royal of the queen's, which ſhe adventured.

This voyage is writ at large by the famous mathematician Mr. *Wright*, who was an actor in it himſelf; what is here ſet down is but a brief collection out of his account.

The ſervice performed at ſea was the taking of three *French* ſhips of the league in our channel, and his encountering upon the coaſt of *Spain* with thirteen hulks, who made ſome reſiſtance. Out of theſe he took to the value of 7000 *l.* in ſpices belonging to *Portugal*.

From thence he croſs'd over to the *Tercera* iſlands, about three hundred leagues from the rock of *Lisbon*; and coming to *St. Michael's*, the firſt and greateſt of the iſlands, with his boats, he fetched out from under the caſtle, which fired upon him, two ſhips that arrived there the night before from *Spain*.

In his courſe from thence to the iſland of *Flores*, the weſtermoſt of the *Terceras*, he took a *Spaniſh* ſhip laden with ſugars and ſweatmeats that came from the iſland of *Madera*.

At *Flores* he received intelligence, by an *Engliſh* man of war, of divers *Spaniſh* ſhips which were in the road of *Fayal*; whereupon he ſuddenly made from that iſland, where captain *Liſter* and captain *Monſon* gave a deſperate attempt in their boats upon the ſaid ſhips; and after a long fight poſſeſſed themſelves of one of them of three hundred tuns burden, carrying ſix pieces of ordnance, and ſixty men. This ſhip, with one other, came from the *Indies*; two of the reſt out of *Guinea*, and another was laden with wood, which that iſland affords in great plenty. The captains returning after the carrying off that great ſhip, took the reſt, being ſeven in all. This done, we all put to ſea again, and making the iſland *Gracioſa*, made ſeveral attempts there for two days to land, in order to get ſome proviſion, but were ſtill repulſed with great loſs; yet at laſt the iſland came to compoſition, and ſent ſuch refreſhments as it afforded. In the mean while we diſcovered and took a *French* ſhip of two hundred tuns, homeward bound from *Canada*.

Afterwards, ſailing to the eaſtward of the road of *Terceras*, in the evening we beheld eighteen tall ſhips of the *Indies* entering into the ſaid road, one whereof we after took in her courſe to the coaſt of *Spain*: ſhe was laden with hides, ſilver, and cochineal; but coming for *England*, ſhe was caſt away upon *Mount's Bay* in *Cornwall*, being valued at 100000 *l.*

Two other prizes of ſugar we took in our ſaid courſe to the coaſt of *Spain*, eſteemed each ſhip at 7000 *l.* and one from under the caſtle of *St. Mary's* to the ſame value.

There was no road about thoſe iſlands that could defend their ſhips from our attempts; yet in the laſt aſſault we gave, which was upon a ſhip of ſugars, we found ill ſucceſs, being ſharply reſiſted, and two parts of our men ſlain and hurt; which loſs was occaſioned by captain *Liſter*, who would not be perſuaded from landing in the view of their forts.

The ſervice performed by land, was the taking of the iſland of *Fayal* ſome months after the ſurprizing of thoſe ſhips formerly mentioned. The caſtle yielded us forty-five pieces of ordnance, great and ſmall: we ſacked and ſpoiled the town, and after ranſomed it, and ſo departed.

Theſe ſummer ſervices, and ſhips of ſugar, proved not ſo ſweet and pleaſant, as the winter was afterwards ſharp and painful; for

1589. in our return for *England*, we found the calamity of famine, the hazard of ſhipwreck, and the death of our men ſo great, that the like befel not any other fleet during the time of the war. All which diſaſters muſt be imputed to captain *Liſter*'s raſhneſs, upon whom my lord of *Cumberland* chiefly rely'd, wanting experience himſelf. 1589.

He was the man that advis'd the ſending the ſhips of wine for *England*, otherwiſe we had not known the want of drink: he was as earneſt in perſuading our landing in the face of the fortifications of *St. Mary's*, againſt all reaſon and ſenſe. As he was raſh, ſo was he valiant; but paid dearly for his unadviſed counſel: for he was the firſt man hurt, and that cruelly, in the attempt of *St. Mary's*, and afterwards drowned in the rich ſhip caſt away at *Mount's Bay*.

After our quitting *St. Mary's*, as you have heard, we repair'd to the iſland of *St. George*, as you may read in the ſixth book, where there happened a ſtrange accident to me, and indeed, I may ſay, the ſtrangeſt eſcape that ever befel me in my life. I refer you to that book, thinking it fitter to be inſerted there than in this.

Sir John Hawkins *and Sir* Martin Forbuſher, *their Voyage to the Coaſt of* Spain *and Iſlands*, Anno 1590.

Ships.	Commanders.
The Revenge,	Sir *Martin Forbuſher*.
The Mary-Roſe,	Sir *John Hawkins*.
The Lion,	Sir *Edward Yorke*.
The Bonaventure,	Captain *Fenner*.
The Rainbow,	Sir *George Beeſton*.
The Hope,	Captain *Boſtock*.
The Crane,	Captain *Hawkins*.
The Quittance,	Captain *Burnell*.
The Foreſight,	
The Swiftſure,	

1590. FROM the year 1585 until this preſent year 1590. there was the greateſt poſſibility imaginable of enriching our nation by actions at ſea, had they been well followed: the king of *Spain* was grown ſo weak in ſhipping by the overthrow he had in 1588. that he could no longer ſecure the trade of his ſubjects. 1590.

Her majeſty now finding how neceſſary it was for her to maintain a fleet upon the *Spaniſh* coaſt, as well to hinder the preparations he might make againſt her to repair the diſgrace he receiv'd in 1588. as alſo to intercept his fleets from the *Indies*, by which he grew great and mighty, ſhe ſent this year 1590 ten ſhips of her own in two ſquadrons; the one to be commanded by Sir *John Hawkins*, the other by Sir *Martin Forbuſher*, two gentlemen of tried experience.

The king of *Spain* hearing of this preparation of hers, ſent forth twenty ſail of ſhips under the command of Don *Alonſo de Baſſan*, brother to the late famous marquis of *St. Cruz*, who had not long before ſubdued the *Tercera* iſlands, and overthrown the navy of *France*. Don *Alonſo* was charged to convoy home the fleet from the *Indies*, and the carracks expected home about that time.

But after Don *Alonſo* had put off to ſea, the king of *Spain* becoming better adviſed, than to adventure twenty of his ſhips to ten of ours, ſent for Don *Alonſo* back, and ſo fruſtrated the expectation of our fleet.

He likewiſe made a diſpatch to the *Indies*, commanding the fleets to winter there, rather than to run the hazard of coming home that ſummer. But this proved ſo great an hindrance and loſs to the merchants of *Spain*, to be ſo long without return of their goods, that many broke in *Seville*, and other places; beſides, it was ſo great a weakening to their ſhips, to winter in the *Indies*, that many years hardly ſufficed to repair the damage they received.

Our fleet being thus prevented, ſpent ſeven months in vain upon the coaſts of *Spain*, and the iſlands; but in that ſpace could not poſſeſs themſelves of one ſhip of the *Spaniards*; and the carracks, upon which part of their hopes depended, came home without ſight of the iſlands, and arriv'd ſafe at *Lisbon*.

This voyage was a bare action at ſea, though they attempted landing at *Fayal*, which the earl of *Cumberland* the year before had taken and quitted; but the caſtle being refortified, they prevail'd not in their enterprize: and thenceforwards the king of *Spain* endeavoured to ſtrengthen his coaſts, and to increaſe in ſhipping, as may appear by the next enſuing year.

Two

Two Fleets at Sea; the Engliſh *under the Lord* Thomas Howard, *and the* Spaniſh *commanded by Don* Alonſo Baſſan, Anno 1591.

Ships.	Commanders.
The Defiance,	The Lord *Thomas Howard.*
The Revenge,	Sir *Richard Greenville* vice-admiral.
The Nonpareille,	Sir *Edward Denny.*
The Bonaventure,	Captain *Croſs.*
The Lion,	Captain *Fenner.*
The Foreſight,	Captain *Vavaſor.*
The Crane,	Captain *Duffeild.*

1591. HER majeſty being inform'd of the *Indian* fleet's wintering in the *Havana*, and that neceſſity would compel them home this year 1591. ſhe ſent a fleet to the iſlands under the command of the lord *Thomas Howard.*

The king of *Spain* perceiving her drift, and being ſenſible how much the ſafety of that fleet concerned him, caus'd them to ſet out thence ſo late in the year, that it endangered the ſhipwreck of them all; chooſing rather to hazard the periſhing of ſhips, men, and goods, than their falling into our hands.

He had two deſigns in bringing home this fleet ſo late; one was, he thought the lord *Thomas* would have conſum'd his victuals, and have been forc'd home: the other, that he might in the mean time furniſh out the great fleet he was preparing, little inferior to that of 1588. In the firſt he found himſelf deceived; for my lord was ſupply'd both with ſhips and victuals out of *England:* and in the ſecond he was as much diſappointed; for the earl of *Cumberland*, who then lay upon the coaſt of *Spain*, had intelligence of the *Spaniards* putting out to ſea, and gave notice thereof to the lord *Thomas* the very night before they arrived at *Flores*, where my lord lay.

The day after this intelligence, the *Spaniſh* fleet was diſcovered by my lord *Thomas*, whom he knew by their number and greatneſs to be the ſhips of which he had warning; and by that means eſcaped the danger that Sir *Richard Greenville*, his vice-admiral, raſhly ran into. Upon view of the *Spaniards*, which were fifty five ſail, the lord *Thomas* warily, and like a diſcreet general, weighed anchor, and made ſigns to the reſt of his fleet to do the like, with a purpoſe to get the wind of them; but Sir *Richard Greenville* being a ſtubborn man, and imagining this fleet to come from the *Indies*, and not to be the *Armada* of which they were informed, would by no means be perſuaded by his maſter or company to cut his cable to follow his admiral, nay ſo headſtrong and raſh he was, that he offered violence to thoſe that adviſ'd him ſo to do. 1591.

But the old ſaying, *That a wilful man is the cauſe of his own woe*, could not be more truly verified than in him: for when the *Armada* approached, and he beheld the greatneſs of the ſhips, he began to ſee and repent of his folly, and when it was too late, would have freed himſelf of them, but in vain: for he was left a prey to the enemy, every ſhip ſtriving to be the firſt ſhould board him.

This wilful raſhneſs of Sir *Richard* made the *Spaniards* triumph as much as if they had obtain'd a ſignal victory, it being the firſt ſhip that ever they took of her majeſty's, and commended to them by ſome *Engliſh* fugitives to be the very beſt ſhe had: but their joy continued not long; for they enjoy'd her but five days before ſhe was caſt away, with many *Spaniards* in her, upon the *Tercera* iſlands.

Commonly one misfortune is accompanied with another: for the *Indian* fleet, which my lord had waited for the whole ſummer, the day after this miſhap, fell into the company of this *Spaniſh Armada*, who, if they had ſtay'd but one day longer, or the *Indian* fleet had come home but one day ſooner, we had poſſeſs'd both them and many millions of treaſure, which the ſea afterwards devour'd: for from the time they met with the *Armada*, and before they could recover home, nigh an hundred of them ſuffered ſhipwreck, beſides the *Aſcenſion* of *Seville*, and the double fly-boat, that were ſunk by the ſide of the *Revenge.*

All which was occaſioned by their wintering in the *Indies*, and their late diſembogu-ing from thence: for the worm, which that country is ſubject to, weakens and conſumes their ſhips.

Notwithſtanding this croſs and perverſe fortune, which happened by means of Sir *Richard Greenville*, the lord *Thomas* would not be diſmay'd or diſcouraged; but kept the ſea as long as he had victuals; and by ſuch ſhips as himſelf and the reſt of the fleet took, defray'd the better part of the charge of the whole action.

The

The Earl of Cumberland *to the Coaſt of* Spain, 1591.

Ships.	Commanders.
The *Garland*, of her majeſty's.	The earl of *Cumberland*. Captain under him,
Seven other ſhips of his, and his friends.	Captain *Monſon*, afterwards Sir *William Monſon*.

1591. THE earl of *Cumberland* keeping the coaſt of *Spain*, as you have heard, while the lord *Thomas* remain'd at the iſlands, and both to one end, *viz.* to annoy and damnify the *Spaniards*, though in two ſeveral fleets, the earl found fortune in a ſort as much to frown upon him, as it had done upon the lord *Thomas Howard*.

He departed *England* in *May*, and in his courſe to the *Spaniſh* coaſt, met with ſeveral *Dutch* ſhips, which came from *Lisbon*, wherein he found a great quantity of ſpices belonging to the *Portugueſe*. So greatly were we abus'd by that nation of *Holland*, who, though they were the firſt that engag'd us in the war with *Spain*, yet ſtill maintain'd their own trade into thoſe parts, and ſupplied the *Spaniards* with ammunition, victuals, ſhipping, and intelligence againſt us.

Upon my lord's arrival on the coaſt of *Spain*, it was his hap to take three ſhips at ſeveral times, one with wine, which he unladed into his own; and two with ſugars, which he enjoy'd not long; no more did he the ſpices, which he took out of the *Hollanders*.

For one of the ſhips of ſugar, by means of a leak that ſprung upon her, was forced to be caſt off, and the men, with much difficulty, recover'd the ſhore, and ſav'd their lives.

The other being ſent for *England*, and toſſed with contrary winds, was for want of victuals forc'd into the *Groyne*, where they render'd themſelves to the enemies mercy.

The ſpices were determined to be ſent for *England*, and a ſhip appointed for that purpoſe, with other ſhips to guard her to the iſlands of the *Burlings*; in which ſhip captain *Monſon* was ſent with orders to ſee her ſafe diſpatch for *England*. 1591.

But the other ſhips, not obſerving the directions given them, and the night falling calm, early in the morning, this forſaken ſhip was ſet upon by ſix gallies, the reſt of the ſhips not being able to come up by reaſon of the calm; and after a long and bloody fight, the captain and principal men being ſlain, both ſhip and ſpices were taken; but whether it was the reſpect they had to the queen's ſhip, which was admiral of that fleet, or honour to my lord that commanded it, or hope, by good uſage of our men, to receive the like again, I know not; but true it is, that the ordinary men were treated with more courteſy than they had been from the beginning of the war; I mean, that of ſuch men as were taken, only captain *Monſon* was detain'd as hoſtage for performance of covenants agreed upon for releaſe of the reſt, in which impriſonment he remain'd almoſt two years.

My lord of *Cumberland* conſidering the diſaſters that thus befel him, and knowing the *Spaniſh* fleet's readineſs to put out of harbour; but eſpecially finding his ſhip but ill of ſail, it being the firſt voyage ſhe ever went to ſea, he durſt not abide the coaſt of *Spain*, but thought it more diſcretion to return for *England*, having (as you have heard) ſent a pinnace to my lord *Thomas*, with the intelligence aforeſaid, which prov'd a ſervice of great moment to the queen and ſtate, in preventing the danger that might have otherwiſe enſued, if that notice had not been ſent.

A Voyage undertaken by Sir Walter Raleigh; *but he returning, left the Charge of it to Sir* Martin Forbuſher, Anno 1592.

Ships.	Commanders by ſea.	Commander by land.
The *Garland*.	Sir *Walter Raleigh*.	Sir *John Boroughs*.
The *Foreſight*, with divers merchant ſhips.	Captain *Croſs*, and others.	
	Sir *Walter* went not, but Sir *Martin Forbuſher*.	

1592. SIR *Walter Raleigh*, who had taſted abundantly of the queen's favour, and found it now began to decline, put himſelf upon a voyage at ſea, and drew to him divers friends of great quality, and others, thinking to have attempted ſome place in 1592.

the

1592. the *Weſt Indies*; and with this reſolution he put out of harbour; but ſpending two or three days in foul weather, her majeſty was pleaſed to order his return, and to commit the charge of the ſhips to Sir *Martin Forbuſher*, who was ſent down for that purpoſe; but with an expreſs command, not to follow the deſign of the *Weſt Indies*.

This ſudden alteration being known to the reſt of the captains, for the preſent made ſome confuſion, as commonly it happens in all voluntary actions. Their general leaving them, they thought themſelves free in point of reputation, and at liberty to take what courſe they pleas'd; few of them therefore ſubmitted themſelves to the command of Sir *Martin Forbuſher*, but choſe rather each to take his particular fortune and adventure at ſea.

Sir *Martin*, with his own ſhip the *Garland*, and two others, repair'd to the coaſt of *Spain*, where he took a *Biſcainer*, laden with iron; and a *Portugueſe*, with ſugar: he remain'd there not without ſome danger, his ſhip being ill of ſail, and the enemy having a fleet at ſea to guard the coaſt.

Sir *John Boroughs*, captain *Croſs*, and another, ſtood to the iſlands, where they met with as many ſhips of my lord of *Cumberland*'s, with whom they conſorted. After ſome time ſpent thereabouts, they had ſight of a carrack, which they chas'd; but ſhe recover'd the iſland of *Flores* before they could approach her; but the carrack, ſeeing the iſland could not defend her from the ſtrength and force of the *Engliſh*, choſe rather, after the men were got on ſhore, to fire herſelf, than we the enemy ſhould reap benefit by her.

The purſer of her was taken, and by threats compelled to tell of four more of their company behind, that had orders to fall in with that iſland; and gave us ſuch particular advertiſement, that one of them was afterwards taken.

In the mean time don *Alonſo de Baſſan* 1592. was at *Lisbon*, ſetting out twenty three galleons, which the year before he had when he took the *Revenge*: he was directed with thoſe ſhips to go immediately to *Flores*, to expect the coming of the carracks, who had order to fall with that iſland, there to put on ſhore divers ordnance for ſtrengthening the town and caſtle. Sir *William Monſon*, being then releaſed out of priſon, ſail'd in a *Hamborough* ſhip with this fleet.

Don *Alonſo* breaking his inſtructions, unadviſedly repair'd firſt to *St. Michael's*, and there deliver'd his ordnance before he arriv'd at *Flores*; and in the mean time one of the carracks was burnt, and another taken, as you have heard.

This he held to be ſuch a diſreputation to him, and eſpecially for that it happen'd through his own error and default, that he was much perplex'd, and purſued the *Engliſh* an hundred leagues; but in vain, they being ſo far a-head.

The king of *Spain* being advertis'd of his two carracks miſhap, and the error of don *Alonſo*, though he had much favour'd him before, on account of divers actions he had been in with his brother the marquis of *St. Cruz*, and for what he had lately perform'd, by taking the *Revenge*; yet the king was ſo offended not to have his inſtructions obey'd and obſerv'd, that he did not only take from don *Alonſo* his command, but he lived and died in diſgrace; which, in my opinion, he worthily deſerv'd.

The queen's adventure in this voyage was only two ſhips; one of which, and the leaſt of them too, was at the taking of the carrack; which title, joined with her regal authority, ſhe made ſuch uſe of, that the reſt of the adventurers were fain to ſubmit themſelves to her pleaſure; with whom ſhe dealt but indifferently.

The Earl of Cumberland *to the Coaſt of* Spain, Anno Dom. 1593.

Ships.	Commanders.
The Lyon,	The earl of *Cumberland*. Captain under him, captain *Monſon*.
The Bonaventure, and ſeven other ſhips.	Sir *Edward Yorke* vice-admiral.

1593. THE earl of *Cumberland* finding that many of his voyages had miſcarried through the negligence or unfaithfulneſs of thoſe who were intruſted to lay in neceſſary proviſions; and yet, being incourag'd by the good ſucceſs he had the laſt year, obtain'd two of her majeſty's ſhips, and victualled them himſelf, together with ſeven others that accompanied them; and arriving upon the coaſt of *Spain*, he took two *French* ſhips of the *League*, which did more than treble the expence of his voyage. My lord being ſever'd one day from his fleet, it was his hap to meet with twelve hulks, at the ſame place where captain *Monſon* was taken the ſame day two years before: he requir'd that reſpect from them that was due to her majeſty's ſhip, which they peremptorily refus'd, preſuming upon the ſtrength of their twelve ſhips againſt one 1593.

1593. only; but they found themſelves deceiv'd; for after two hours fight, he brought them to his mercy, and made them acknowledge their error; and not only ſo, but they willingly diſcover'd, and deliver'd up to him a great quantity of powder and ammunition, which they carried for the king of *Spain*'s ſervice. Here I muſt not let paſs, as I promis'd in the beginning of my diſcourſe, to lay down all errors and miſcarriages committed; and this that follows is one, for which my lord and his maſter deſerve blame. My lord, upon taking the hulks aforeſaid, ſtood to ſea with part of them, leaving the reſt with captain *Monſon* to be examin'd and [illegible]d. His lordſhip towards the evening [illegible]'d thoſe ſhips under his cuſtody; [illegible] he had forgot that his long boat and forty of his men were left with captain *Monſon*, under the guard of one ſmall ſhip for their defence: theſe hulks being thus diſmiſs'd, and coming towards Sir *William Monſon* and their conſorts, Sir *William* miſtruſted, as indeed it fell out, that they would take advantage of my lord's keeping his looſe, to board and ſurprize them, as they had done, if Sir *William* had not prevented it by leaping into his boat on one ſide, as they boarded him on the other. In which leap he receiv'd a hurt in his leg, which to this time, being the year 1640. he has found a prejudice to his whole body.

My lord of *Cumberland* having ſpent ſome time thereabouts, and underſtanding that *Fernantelles de Menezes*, a *Portugueſe*, and the king's general of a fleet of twenty four ſail, was gone to the iſlands, he purſued them, thinking to meet the carracks before they ſhould join together. At his coming to *Flores*, he met and took one of the fleet, with the death of the captain, who yet liv'd ſo long as to inform him both where the fleet was, and of their ſtrength. The day after he met the fleet; but being far too weak for them, was forced to leave them, and ſpent his time thereabouts, till he underſtood the carracks were paſs'd by, without ſeeing either fleet or iſland. 1593.

About this time the earl being taken ſo ill, that his recovery was deſpair'd of, unleſs he could return to the *Engliſh* ſhore, or get a cow to ſupply him with milk, captain *Monſon* ventur'd aſhore on the iſland of *Corvo*, where, what with threats, and what with promiſe of reward, he got a cow, which he carried aboard, and in all likelihood was the means of ſaving the earl's life.

However, captain *Monſon* valuing the earl's ſafety above all the profit of the voyage, haſted towards home, and loſt company of the reſt of the ſhips by ſo ſtrange an accident, that it will ſcarce be believ'd, though it is a moſt undoubted truth; for the whole fleet being one day becalm'd, the ſaid calm laſted for ſeveral days, and in it the ſhips were ſo parted, that they loſt ſight of one another, and never ſaw one another more, till they met in *England*, about four or five weeks after: thoſe ſhips ſo parted from the earl, took a prize laden with ſugar, which was a good addition to what was taken before.

Sir Martin Forbuſher *with a Fleet to* Breſt *in* Britany, Anno 1594.

Ships.	Commanders.
The Vanguard,	Sir *Martin Forbuſher*.
The Rainbow,	Captain *Fenner*.
The Dreadnought,	Captain *Clifford*.
The Quittance,	Captain *Savil*.

1594. ABOUT three years before, and in 1591. the queen ſent Sir *John Norris* with 3000 ſoldiers, to join with the *French* king's party in thoſe parts of *Britany* about *Breſt*. The king of *Spain*, who upheld the faction of the league, ſent don *John de Aguila* with the like forces, to join with the duke *de Merceur*, who was of that ſide. The *Spaniards* arriving firſt, had fortified themſelves very ſtrongly near the town of *Breſt*, expecting new ſuccours from *Spain* by ſea; which the *French* king fearing, craved aſſiſtance from the queen; which her majeſty was the more willing to grant, becauſe the *Spaniards* had gotten the haven of *Breſt* to entertain their ſhipping in. and were like to prove there very dangerous neighbours: wherefore ſhe ſent Sir *Martin Forbuſher* thither in this year 1594. with four of her ſhips; and upon his arrival there, Sir *John Norris* with his forces, and Sir *Martin* with his ſeamen, aſſail'd the fort; and though it was as bravely defended as men could do, yet in the end it was taken with the loſs of divers captains, Sir *Martin Forbuſher* being himſelf ſore wounded, of which hurt he died at *Plimouth* after his return. 1594.

A Fleet to the Indies, *Sir* Francis Drake *and Sir* John Hawkins *Generals, wherein they ventured deeply, and died in the Voyage,* Anno 1594.

Ships.	Commanders by ſea.	Commander by land.
The Defiance,	Sir *Francis Drake,*	Sir *Thomas Baskervile.*
The Garland,	Sir *John Hawkins,*	
The Hope,	Captain *Gilbert Yorke.*	
The Bonaventure,	Captain *Troughton.*	
The Foreſight,	Captain *Winter.*	
The Adventure,	Captain *Thomas Drake.*	

1594. THESE two generals preſuming much upon their own experience and knowledge, uſed many perſuaſions to the queen to undertake a voyage to the *Weſt Indies*, giving much aſſurance to perform great ſervices, and promiſing to engage themſelves very deeply therein with the adventure of both ſubſtance and life. And as all actions of this nature promiſe fair till they come to be performed, ſo did this the more in the opinion of all men, in reſpect of the two generals experience.

There were many impediments and lets to this voyage, before they could clear themſelves of the coaſt, which put them to greater charge than they expected. The chiefeſt cauſe of their lingering, was a miſtruſt our ſtate had of an invaſion, and the danger to ſpare ſo many good ſhips and men out of *England* as they carried with them.

The *Spaniards* with their uſual ſubtilty, let ſlip no opportunity to put us into a fear, thereby to diſappoint the expedition, and ſent four gallies to *Bluet* in *Britany*, from thence to fall into ſome part of our coaſt, that ſo we might apprehend a greater force was to follow. Theſe gallies landed at *Penſants* in *Cornwall*; where, finding the town abandoned, they ſacked and burnt it: but this deſign of theirs took little effect; for the voyage proceeded nevertheleſs.

The intent of the voyage was to land at *Nombre de Dios*, and from thence to march to *Panama*, to poſſeſs the treaſure that comes from *Peru*; and if they ſaw reaſon for it, to inhabit and keep it. A few days before their going from *Plimouth*, they received letters from her majeſty, communicating the intelligence ſhe had out of *Spain*, that the *Indian* fleet was arrived; and that one of them, with loſs of her maſt, was put back to the iſland of *Porto Rico*. She therefore commanded them, ſeeing there was ſo good an opportunity offered, as the readineſs of this her fleet, and the weakneſs of *Porto Rico*, to poſſeſs themſelves of that treaſure; and the rather, for that it was not much out of their way to *Nombre de Dios*. Neither years nor experience that can foreſee and prevent all miſhaps; which is a mani- 1594.
feſt proof, that God is the guider and diſpoſer of mens actions: for nothing could ſeem more probable to be effected than this latter deſign, eſpecially conſidering the ability and wiſdom of the two generals; and yet was unhappily prevented, and failed in the execution: for there being five frigats ſe[nt] out of *Spain* to fetch this treaſure from *Porto R[ico]* in their way it was there fortune to tak[e] pinnace of the *Engliſh* fleet, by [whom] underſtood the ſecrets of the voy[age]; and to prevent the attempt of *Port Ri[co]*, they haſtened thither with all ſpeed, (whilſt our generals lingered at *Guadaſape* to ſet up their boats,) and at their arrival, ſo ſtrengthened the town with the [ſoldiers] brought in the frigats, that when our fleet came thither, not expecting reſiſtance, they found themſelves fruſtrated of their hopes, and were forced to retire with diſhonour, and loſs of many gentlemen there ſlain; which indeed they themſelves were the occaſion of, in managing their deſign with no more ſecrecy. This repulſe was ſo grievouſly reſented by Sir *John Hawkins*, who was then ſickly, that it is thought to have haſtened his death; and being great and unexpected, did not a little diſcourage Sir *Francis Drake*'s great mind, who yet proceeded upon his firſt reſolved deſign for *Nombre de Dios*, though with no better ſucceſs: for the enemy having knowledge of their coming, fortified the paſſage to *Panama*, and forced them to return with ſhame and loſs. Sir *Francis Drake*, who was wont to rule fortune, now finding his error, and the difference between the preſent ſtrength of the *Indies*, and what it was when he firſt knew it, grew melancholy upon his diſappointment, and ſuddenly, and I hope naturally, died at *Porto Bello*, not far from the place where he got his firſt reputation. The two generals dying, and all other hopes being taken away by their deaths, Sir *Thomas Baskervile* ſucceeded them in their command, and began now to think upon his return for *England*; but coming near *Cuba*, he met and fought with a fleet of *Spain*, though not long, by reaſon of the ſickneſs and weakneſs of his

vantage

1595. men. This fleet was ſent to take the advantage of ours in its return, thinking, as indeed it happen'd, that they ſhould find them both weak and in want; but the ſwiftneſs of our ſhips, in which we had the advantage of the *Spaniards*, preſerved us. You may obſerve, that from the year the *Revenge* was taken, until this preſent year 1595. there was no ſummer but the king of *Spain* furniſhed a fleet for the guarding of his coaſts, and ſecuring of his trade; and though there was little fear of any fleet from *England* to impeach him beſides this in the *Indies*, yet becauſe he would ſhew his greatneſs, and ſatisfy *Portugal* of the care he had in preſerving their carracks, he ſent the count of *Feria*, a young nobleman of *Portugal*, who deſired to gain experience, with twenty ſhips to the iſlands; but the carracks did, as they uſed to do in many other years, miſs both iſlands and fleets, and arrive ſafe at *Lisbon*. The other fleets of the king of *Spain* in the *Indies*, conſiſted of twenty four ſhips, their general *Don Bernardino de Villa Nova*, an approved coward, as it appeared when he came to encounter the *Engliſh* fleet; but his defects were ſupplied by the valour of his vice-admiral, who behaved himſelf much to his honour: his name was *John de Garay*. 1595.

The Earl of Eſſex, *and the Lord Admiral of* England, *Generals equally both by Sea and Land,* Anno 1596.

Ships.	Commanders.
The Repulſe,	The Earl of *Eſſex*. Captain under him Captain *Monſon*.
The Ark-Royal,	The Lord Admiral. Captain under him, Sir *Ames Preſton*.
The Mere-Honour,	The Lord *Thomas Howard*.
The Warſpite,	Sir *Walter Raleigh*,
The Lion,	Sir *Robert Southwell*,
The Rainbow.	Sir *Francis Vere*,
The Nonpereille,	Sir *Robert Dudley*,
The Vanguard,	Sir *John Wingfield*,
The Mary Roſe,	Sir *George Carew*,
The Dreadnought,	Sir *Alexander Clifford*.
The Swiftſure,	Sir *Robert Croſs*,
The Quittance,	Sir *George Gifford*,
The Tremontain,	Captain *King*.
The Crane, and others.	

1596. THE firſt of *June*, 1596. we departed from *Plimouth*; and our departure was the more ſpeedy, by reaſon of the great pains, care, and induſtry of the ſixteen captains, who, in their own perſons, laboured the night before to get out ſome of their ſhips riding at *Catwater*, which otherwiſe had not been eaſily effected. The third we ſet ſail from *Canſom Bay*, the wind, which, when we weighed was at weſt and by ſouth, inſtantly caſt up to the north-eaſt, and ſo continued till it brought us up as high as the *North Cape* of *Spain*; and this fortunate beginning put us in great hopes of a lucky ſucceſs to enſue.

We being now come upon our enemy's coaſt, it behoved the generals to be vigilant in keeping them from intelligence of us, who therefore appointed the *Litneſs*, the *Truelove*, and the *Lion's Whelp*, (the three beſt ſailors of our fleet,) to run a-head, ſuſpecting the *Spaniards* had ſome carvels of advice out, which they did uſually ſend to diſcover at ſea, upon any rumour of a leſs fleet than this made ready in *England*.

No ſhip or carvel eſcaped us; which I hold a ſecond happineſs to our voyage: for you ſhall underſtand hereafter the inconvenience that might have happened upon our diſcovery. 1596.

The 10th of *June* the ſaid three ſhips took three fly-boats that came from *Cadiz* fourteen days before, by whom we underſtood the ſtate of the town, and that they had no ſuſpicion of us; which we looked on as a third omen of our good fortune to come.

The 12th of *June* the *Swan*, a ſhip of *London*, being commanded, as the other three, to keep a good way off the fleet, to prevent diſcovery, ſhe met with a fly-boat which made reſiſtance, and eſcaped her. This fly-boat came from the *Streights*, bound home; who diſcovering our fleet, and and thinking to gain reputation and reward from the *Spaniards*, ſhaped her courſe for *Lisbon*; but ſhe was luckily prevented by the *John and Francis*, another ſhip of *London*, commanded by Sir *Marmaduke Darrel*, who took her within a league of the ſhore; and this we may account a fourth happineſs to our voyage. The firſt (as hath been

1596. been ſaid) was for the wind to take us ſo ſuddenly, and to continue ſo long: for our ſoldiers being ſhipp'd, and in harbour, would have conſumed their victuals, and have been ſo peſtered, that it would have endangered a ſickneſs amongſt them. The ſecond was the taking all ſhips that were ſeen, which kept the enemy from intelligence. The third was the intercepting of the fly-boats from *Cadiz*, whither we were bound, who aſſured us our coming was not ſuſpected, which made us more careful to hail from the coaſt than otherwiſe we ſhould have been: they told us, likewiſe, of the daily expectation of the galleons to come from *St. Lucar* to *Cadiz*, and of the merchant-men that lay there, and were ready bound for the *Indies*. Theſe intelligences were of great moment, and made the generals preſently to contrive their buſineſs both by ſea and land, which otherwiſe would have taken up a longer time after their coming thither; and whether all men would have conſented to attempt their ſhips in harbour, if they had not known the moſt part of them to conſiſt of merchants, I hold very doubtful. The fourth, and moſt fortunate of all, was the taking of the fly-boat by the *John and Francis*, which the *Swan* let go: for if ſhe had reached *Lisbon*, ſhe had been able to make report of the number and greatneſs of our ſhips, and might have endangered the loſs of the whole deſign, ſhe ſeeing the courſe we bore, and that we had paſs'd *Lisbon*, which was the place the enemy moſt ſuſpected, and made there his greateſt preparation for defence: but had the enemy been freed of that doubt, he had then no place to fear but *Andaluzia*, and *Cadiz* above the reſt; which, upon the leaſt warning, might have been ſtrengthned, and we put to great hazard: he might alſo have ſecur'd his ſhips by towing them out with gallies, and, howſoever the wind had been, might have ſent them into the *Streights*, where it had been in vain to have purſued them, or over the bar of *St. Lucar*, where there had been no attempting of them.

And, indeed, of the good and ill of intelligence we had had ſufficient experience formerly; of the good in 1588. for how ſuddenly had we been taken, and ſurprized when we leaſt ſuſpected, had it not been for captain *Flemming?* of the ill, in the year before this, by the *Spaniards* taking a bark of Sir *Francis Drake*'s fleet, which was the occaſion of the overthrow of himſelf and the whole action?

The 20th of *June* we came to *Cadiz*, earlier in the morning than the maſters made reckoning of. Before our coming thither, it was determined in council that we ſhould land at *St. Sebaſtian's*, the weſter-moſt part of the land, and thither came 1596. all the ſhips to an anchor, every man preparing to land as he was formerly directed; but the wind being ſo great, and the ſea ſo grown, and four gallies lying to intercept our boats, there was no attempting to land there without the hazard of all.

This day was ſpent in vain, in returning meſſengers from one general to another; and in the end, they were forced to reſolve upon a courſe which Sir *William Monſon*, captain under my lord of *Eſſex*, adviſ'd him to the ſame morning he diſcover'd the town, which was to ſurprize the ſhips, and to be poſſeſſors of the harbour before they attempted landing.

This being now reſolved on, there aroſe a great queſtion, Who ſhould have the honour of the firſt going in? My lord of *Eſſex* ſtood for himſelf; but my lord admiral oppos'd it, knowing if he miſcarried, it would hazard the overthrow of the action; beſides, he was ſtreightly charged by her majeſty, that the earl ſhould not expoſe himſelf to danger, but upon great neceſſity.

When my lord of *Eſſex* could not prevail, the whole council withſtanding him, he ſent Sir *William Monſon* that night on board my lord admiral, to reſolve what ſhips ſhould be appointed the next day to undertake the ſervice. Sir *Walter Raleigh* had the van given him, which my lord *Thomas Howard* hearing, challeng'd in right of his place of vice-admiral, and it was granted him; but Sir *Walter* having order over-night to ply in, came firſt to an anchor, but in that diſtance from the *Spaniards* as he could not annoy them, and he himſelf return'd on board the lord general *Eſſex*, to excuſe his coming to anchor ſo far off, for want of water to go higher; which was thought ſtrange, that the *Spaniards* which drew much more water, and had no more advantage than he of tide, could paſs where his could not; but Sir *Francis Vere*, in the *Rainbow*, who was appointed to ſecond him, paſſing by Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s ſhip, Sir *Walter* the ſecond time weighed, and went higher. The lord general *Eſſex*, who promiſ'd to keep in the midſt of the fleet, was told by Sir *William Monſon*, that the greateſt ſervice would depend upon three or four ſhips; and Sir *William* put him in mind of his honour; for that many eyes beheld him.

This made him forgetful of his promiſe, and to uſe all means he could to be foremoſt in the fight. My lord *Howard*, who could not go up in his own ſhip the *Mere-honour*, betook himſelf to the *Nonpareille*, and in reſpect the *Rainbow*, the *Repulſe*, and *Warſpight*, had taken up the beſt part of the channel by their firſt coming to an anchor,

1596. to his grief, he could not get higher: here did every ſhip ſtrive to be the headmoſt; but ſuch was the narrowneſs of the channel, as neither the lord admiral, nor any other ſhip of the queen's, could paſs on. Order was given that no ſhip ſhould ſhoot but the queen's; making account, that the honour would be the greater, if the victory were obtain'd with ſo few. This fight continu'd from ten till four in the afternoon: the *Spaniards* then ſet ſail, thinking either to run higher up the river, or elſe to bring their other broad-ſides to us, becauſe of the heat of their ordnance. But howſoever it was, in their floating they came a-ground, and the men began to forſake the ſhips: whereupon it was ordered, that all the hoys and veſſels that drew leaſt water ſhould go to them. Sir *William Monſon* was ſent in the *Repulſe-boat* with like directions. We poſſeſs'd our ſelves of the great galleons, the *Matthew* and *Andrew*; but the *Philip* and *Thomas* fir'd themſelves, and were burnt down before they could be quenched.

I muſt not omit to deſcribe the manner of the *Spaniſh* ſhips and galleys riding in harbour at our firſt coming to *Cadiz*. The four galleons ſingled themſelves from out the fleet as guards of their merchants. The galleys were placed to flank us with their prows before entry; but when they ſaw our approach, the next morning the merchants ran up the river, and the men of war to the point of the river, and brought themſelves into a good order of fight, mooring their ſhips a-head and a-ſtern, to have their broad-ſides upon us. The galleys then betook themſelves to the guard of the town, which we put them from before we attempted the ſhips.

But becauſe I have promis'd in the beginning of my diſcourſe to particularize ſome errors and miſcarriages, my capacity would permit me to judge of, before I proceed further on this voyage I will declare a main overſight in the *Spaniards*.

After the galleons had (as you have heard) brought themſelves to the mouth of the bay of *Cadiz*, and found themſelves unable to withſtand us, if, inſtead of running to *Point Royal*, they had put themſelves under the defence of the town, they had been defended by their fort *Philip*, which had added a ſtrength to theirs; or being overcome, as afterwards they were, they might with more ſecurity have run themſelves a-ground near the town, which would have ſecured their men in ſpite of us, and not as they did where there was no fort, nor any force of men to ſupport them. Beſides, the men that had then eſcaped into the town, might have defended it with their numbers, that, though we had taken the place, it muſt have been upon harder conditions than we did. But to proceed: 1596.

The victory being obtain'd at ſea, the lord general *Eſſex* landed his men in a ſandy bay, which the caſtle of *Puntall* commanded; but they ſeeing the ſucceſs of their ſhips, and miſtruſting their own ſtrength, neither offered to offend his landing, nor to defend the caſtle, but quitted it, and ſo we became poſſeſſors of it.

After my lord's peaceable landing, he conſider'd what was to be done; and there being no place from whence the enemy could annoy us, but the bridge which croſſes over from the main land to the iſland, by our making good of which bridge there would be no way left for the galleys to eſcape us, he ſent three regiments under the command of Sir *Coniers Clifford*, Sir *Chriſtopher Blunt*, and Sir *Thomas Garret*, to the bridge; who, at their firſt coming, were encountered by the enemy, but yet poſſeſſed themſelves of it, with the loſs of ſome men; but whether it was for want of victuals, or for what other reaſons, our men quitted it, I know not, and the galleys breaking down divers arches, paſs'd it, and by that means eſcaped.

My lord diſpatch'd a meſſenger to my lord admiral, intreating him to give order to attempt the merchants that rode in *Port Royal*; for that it was dangerous to give them a night's reſpite, leſt they ſhould convey away their wealth, or take example by the *Philip* and *Thomas* to burn themſelves. This meſſage was delivered by Sir *Anthony Aſhley* and Sir *William Monſon*, as my lord admiral was in his boat, ready with his troops of ſeamen to land, who, fearing the lord general *Eſſex* ſhould be put to diſtreſs with his ſmall companies, which were but three regiments, haſtened by all means to ſecond him, and gave order to certain ſhips the next day to purſue them.

Since I have undertaken to ſhew the overſights committed in any of our *Engliſh* voyages, ſuch as were committed here ſhall, without fear or flattery, appear to the judicious reader.

Though the earl of *Eſſex*'s carriage and forwardneſs merited much, yet if it had been with more deliberation, and leſs haſte, it would have ſucceeded better: and if he were now living, he would confeſs Sir *William Monſon* advis'd him rather to ſeek to be maſter of the ſhips than of the town; for it was that would afford both wealth and honour: for the riches in ſhips could not be concealed, or convey'd away, as in towns they might. And the ſhips themſelves being brought for *England*, would be always before mens eyes there, and put them in mind of the greatneſs of the exploit; as for the

1596. the town, perhaps it might be ſoon won, but probably not long enjoy'd, and ſo quickly forgotten: and to ſpeak indifferently, by the earl's ſudden landing, without the lord admiral's privity, and his giving advice by a meſſage to attempt the ſhips, which ſhould have been reſolv'd upon mature deliberation, no doubt the lord admiral found his honour a little eclips'd, which perhaps haſten'd his landing for his reputation ſake, when as he thought it more adviſable to have poſſeſſed himſelf of their fleet.

Before the lord admiral could draw near the town, the earl of *Eſſex* had entered it; and though the houſes were built in ſuch manner, that every houſe ſerv'd for a platform, yet they were forc'd to quit them, and retire to the caſtle.

My lord at laſt, in deſpite of the enemy, gain'd the market-place, where he found the greateſt reſiſtance from the houſes thereabouts, and where that worthy gentleman Sir *John Wingfield* was unluckily ſlain. The lord general *Eſſex* caus'd it to be proclaim'd by beat of drum through the town, that all that would yield, ſhould repair to the town-houſe, where they ſhould have promiſe of mercy, and thoſe that would not to expect no favour. The caſtle deſir'd reſpite to conſider till the morning following, and then by one general conſent, they ſurrender'd themſelves to the two lord generals mercy. The chief priſoners, men and women, were brought into the caſtle, where they remain'd a little ſpace, and were ſent away with honourable uſage. The noble treating of the priſoners has gain'd everlaſting honour to our nation, and the generals in particular.

It cannot be ſuppoſed the lord generals had leiſure to be idle the day following, having ſo great buſineſs to conſider of, as the ſecuring the town, and enjoying the merchant ſhips: wherefore, for the ſpeedier diſpatch, they treated with the beſt men of the city about the ranſom to be given for their town and liberties. One hundred and twenty thouſand ducats was the ſum concluded on; and for ſecurity thereof, many of them became hoſtages. There was likewiſe an overture for the ranſom of their ſhips and goods, which the duke of *Medina* hearing of, rather than we ſhould reap any profit by them, he caus'd them to be fired.

We found by experience, that the deſtroying of this fleet, (which did amount to the value of ſix or ſeven millions,) was the general impoveriſhing of the whole country; for when the pledges were ſent to *Seville*, to take up money for their redemption, they were anſwer'd, That all the town was not able to raiſe ſuch a ſum, their loſs was ſo great by the deſtruction of their fleet. 1596. And to ſpeak the truth, the king of *Spain* never receiv'd ſo great an overthrow, and ſo great an indignity at our hands as this; for our attempt was at his own home, in his port that he thought as ſafe as his chamber, where we took and deſtroy'd his ſhips of war, burnt and conſum'd the wealth of his merchants, ſack'd his city, ranſom'd his ſubjects, and enter'd his country without impeachment.

To write all accidents of this voyage, were too tedious, and would weary the reader; but he that would deſire to know the behaviour of the *Spaniards*, as well as of us, may confer with divers *Engliſhmen* that were redeem'd out of the galleys in exchange for others, and brought into *England*.

After we had enjoy'd the town of *Cadiz* a fortnight, and our men were grown rich by the ſpoil of it, the generals imbarked their army, with an intent to perform greater ſervices before their return; but ſuch was the covetouſneſs of the better ſort, who were inrich'd there, and the fear of hunger in others, who complain'd for want of victuals, that they could not willingly be drawn to any farther action, to gain more reputation. The only thing that was afterwards attempted was *Faro*, a town of *Algarve* in *Portugal*, a place of no reſiſtance or wealth, only famous for the library of *Oſorius*, who was biſhop of that place; which library was brought into *England* by us, and many of the books beſtowed upon the new-erected library of *Oxford*.

Some priſoners were taken; but of ſmall account: who told us, that the greateſt ſtrength of the country was in *Lagos*, the chief town of *Algarve*, twelve miles diſtant from thence, becauſe moſt part of the gentlemen thereabouts were gone thither, to make it good, expecting our coming: this news was acceptable to my lord of *Eſſex*, who preferr'd honour before wealth: and having had his will, and the ſpoil of the town of *Faro*, and country thereabouts, he ſhipp'd his army, and took council of the lord admiral how to proceed. My lord admiral diverted his courſe for *Lagos*, alledging the place was ſtrong, of no wealth, always held in the nature of a fiſher-town belonging to the *Portugueſe*, who in their hearts were our friends; that the winning of it, after ſo eminent a place as *Cadiz*, could add no honour; though it ſhould be carried, yet it would be the loſs of his beſt troops and gentlemen, who would rather die than receive the indignity of a repulſe. My lord of *Eſſex*, much againſt his will, was forc'd to yield to theſe reaſons, and to diſſiſt from that enterprize.

About this time there was a general complaint for want of victuals, which proceeded rather

1596. rather out of a deſire that ſome had to be at home, than out of any neceſſity; for Sir *William Monſon* and Mr. *Darrel* were appointed to examine the condition of every ſhip, and found ſeven weeks victuals, (drink excepted,) which might have been ſupplied from the ſhore in water; and this put the generals in great hope to perform ſomething more than they had done. The only ſervice now to be thought on, was to lie in wait for the carracks, which in all probability could not eſcape us, though there were many doubts to the contrary, but eaſily anſwer'd by men of experience: but in truth ſome mens deſires homeward were ſo great, that no reaſon could prevail with, or perſuade them.

Coming into the height of the rock, the generals took council once again; and then the earl of *Eſſex* and the lord *Thomas Howard* offered, with great earneſtneſs, to ſtay out the time our victuals laſted, and deſir'd to have but twelve ſhips furniſh'd out of the reſt to ſtay with them: but this would not be granted, though the ſquadron of the *Hollanders* offer'd voluntarily to ſtay. Sir *Walter Raleigh* alledg'd the ſcarcity of victuals, and the infection of his men. My lord general *Eſſex* offer'd, in the greatneſs of his mind, and the deſire he had to ſtay, to ſupply his want of men and victuals, and to exchange ſhips: but all propoſals were in vain; for the riches of *Cadiz* kept them that had got much, from attempting more, as if it had been pure want, and not honour, would have enforc'd them to greater enterprizes.

This being the laſt hopes of the voyage, and being generally withſtood, it was concluded to ſteer away for the *North Cape*, and afterwards to view and ſearch the harbours of the *Groyne* and *Ferrol*; and if any of the king of *Spain*'s ſhips chanced to be there, to give an attempt upon them. 1596.

The lord admiral ſent a carvel of our fleet into theſe two harbours, and apparell'd the men in *Spaniſh* cloaths, to avoid ſuſpicion: this carvel return'd the next day with a true relation, that there were no ſhips in the harbours: and now paſſing all places where there was any hope of doing good, our return for *England* was reſolv'd upon; and on the 8th of *Auguſt* the lord admiral arriv'd at *Plimouth* with the greateſt part of the army: and the lord general *Eſſex*, who ſtaid to accompany the *St. Andrew*, which was under his charge, and reputed of his ſquadron, two days after us, being the 10th of *Auguſt*, where he found the army in that perfect health, as the like has not been ſeen, for ſo many to go out of *England* to ſuch great enterprizes, and to return home again ſo well.

He himſelf rid up to the court, to adviſe with her majeſty about the winning of *Calais*, which the *Spaniards* took the *Eaſter* before. Here was a good opportunity to have regain'd the ancient patrimouy of *England*; but the *French* king thought he might with more eaſe regain it from the *Spaniard* who was his enemy, than recover it again from us who were his friends.

My lord admiral with the fleet went to the *Downs*, where he landed, and left the charge of the navy to Sir *Robert Dudley* and Sir *William Monſon*. In going from thence to *Chatham*, they endur'd more foul weather and contrary winds, than in the whole voyage beſides.

A Voyage to the Iſlands, the Earl of Eſſex *General,* Anno 1597.

Ships.	Commands.
The Mere-honour, after in the *Repulſe*,	The earl of *Eſſex*. Captain under him, Sir *Robert Manſell*.
The Lyon,	The lord *Thomas Howard*.
The Warſpite,	Sir *Walter Raleigh*.
The Garland,	The earl of *Southampton*,
The Defiance,	The lord *Mountjoy*.
The Mary Roſe,	Sir *Francis Vere*.
The Hope,	Sir *Richard Lewſon*.
The Matthew,	Sir *George Carew*.
The Rainbow,	Sir *William Monſon*.
The Bonaventure,	Sir *William Harvey*.
The Dreadnought,	Sir *William Brooke*.
The Swiftſure,	Sir *Gilly Merick*.
The Antelope,	Sir *John Gilbert*; he went not.
The Nonpareille,	Sir *Thomas Vavaſor*.
The St. Andrew,	Captain *Throgmorton*.

1597. HER majeſty having knowledge of the king of *Spain*'s drawing down his fleet and army to the *Groyne* and *Ferrol*, with an intent to enter into ſome action againſt her; and that notwithſtanding the loſs of thirty ſix ſail of his ſhips that were 1597.

caſt

1597. caſt away upon the *North Cape*, in their coming thither, he prepar'd with all poſſible means to revenge the diſgrace we did him the year laſt paſt at *Cadiz*. Her majeſty likewiſe prepar'd to defend herſelf, and fitted out the moſt part of her ſhips for the ſea; but at length, perceiving his drift was more to affright than offend her, though he gave it out otherwiſe, becauſe ſhe ſhould provide to reſiſt him at home, rather than to annoy him abroad, ſhe was unwilling the great charges ſhe had been at ſhould be beſtowed in vain; and therefore turn'd her preparations another way, than that for which ſhe firſt intended them.

The project of this voyage was to aſſault the king of *Spain*'s ſhipping in the harbour of *Ferrol*, which the queen chiefly deſir'd to do for her own ſecurity at home, and afterwards to go and take the *Tercera* iſlands, and there to expect the coming home of the *Indian* fleet: but neither of theſe two deſigns took that effect which was expected; for in our ſetting forth, the ſame day we put to ſea we were taken with a moſt violent ſtorm and contrary winds; and the general was ſeparated from the fleet, and one ſhip from another; ſo that the one half of the fleet was compelled to return home; and the reſt that kept the ſea, having reach'd the coaſt of *Spain*, were commanded home, by order of the lord general.

Thus, after their return, they were to adviſe upon a new voyage, finding by their ſhips and victuals they were unable to perform the former: whereupon it was thought convenient all the army ſhould be diſcharg'd for ſaving of victuals, except a thouſand of the prime ſoldiers of the low countries, which were put into her majeſty's ſhips, that they might be the better prepar'd, if they ſhould chance to encounter the *Spaniſh* fleet. Thus the ſecond time they departed *England*, though not without ſome danger of the ſhips, by reaſon of the winter's near approach.

The firſt land in *Spain* we fell in withal was the *North Cape*, the place whither our directions led us, if we happen'd to loſe company. Being there deſcried from the ſhore, and not above twelve leagues from the *Groyne*, where the *Spaniſh Armada* lay, we were in good hopes to have enticed them out of the harbour to fight us; but ſpending ſome time thereabouts, and finding no ſuch diſpoſition in them, it was thought fit no longer to linger about that coaſt, leſt we ſhould loſe our opportunity upon the *Indian* fleet; therefore every captain receiv'd his directions to ſtand his courſe into thirty ſix degrees, there to ſpread ourſelves north and ſouth, it being a heighth that commonly the *Spaniards* fall in from the *Indies*.

At this time the lord general complain'd 1597. of a leak in his ſhip; and two days after, towards midnight, he brought himſelf upon the lee to ſtop it. Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and ſome other ſhips, being a-head of the fleet, and it growing dark, they could not diſcern the lord general's working, but ſtood their courſe as before directed; and through this unadviſed working of my lord, they loſt him, which was a great diſheartening to his fleet.

The day following, Sir *Walter Raleigh* was inform'd, by a pinnace he met, that the great *Armada*, which we ſuppoſed to be in the *Groyne* and *Ferrol*, was gone to the iſlands for the guard of the *Indian* fleet: this pinnace, with this intelligence it gave us, Sir *Walter Raleigh* immediately ſent to look out the general. My lord had no ſooner receiv'd this advice, but at the very inſtant he directed his courſe to the iſlands, and diſpatch'd ſome ſmall veſſels to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, to inform him of the ſudden alteration of his courſe, upon the news receiv'd from him, commanding him with all expedition to repair to *Flores*, where he would not fail to be at our arrival. At the iſlands we found this intelligence utterly falſe; for neither the *Spaniſh* ſhips were there, nor were expected there. We met likewiſe with divers *Engliſhmen* that came out of the *Indies*; but they could give us no aſſurance of the coming home of the fleet; neither could we receive any advertiſement from the ſhore, which made us half in deſpair of them.

By that time we had watered our ſhips, and refreſh'd ourſelves at *Flores*, Sir *Walter Raleigh* arriv'd there; who was will'd by the lord general, after he was furniſh'd of ſuch wants as that poor iſland afforded, to repair to the iſland of *Fayal*, which my lord intended to take. Here grew great queſtions and heart-burnings againſt Sir *Walter Raleigh*; for he coming to *Fayal*, and miſſing the lord general, and yet knowing my lord's reſolution to take the iſland, he held it more adviſable to land with thoſe forces he had, than to expect the coming of my lord; for in that ſpace the iſland might be better provided: whereupon he landed, and took it before my lord's approach. This act was held ſuch an indignity to my lord, and urg'd with that vehemence by thoſe that hated Sir *Walter*, that if my lord, though naturally kind and flexible, had not fear'd how it would have been taken in *England*, I think Sir *Walter* had ſmarted for it.

From this iſland we went to *Graciosa*, which did willingly relieve our wants as far as it could; yet with humble intreaty to forbear landing with our army, eſpecially becauſe they underſtood there was a ſqua-

1597. dron of *Hollanders* amongſt us, who did not uſe to forbear cruelty wherever they came: and here it was that we met the *Indian* fleet, which in manner following miraculouſly eſcap'd us.

The lord general having ſent ſome men of good account into the iſland, to ſee there ſhould be no injury offer'd to the *Portugueſe*, becauſe he had paſs'd his word to the contrary, thoſe men advertis'd him of four ſail of ſhips deſcried from the ſhore, and one of them, greater than the reſt, ſeem'd to be a carrack. My lord receiv'd this news with great joy, and divided his fleet into three ſquadrons, to be commanded by himſelf, the lord *Thomas Howard*, and Sir *Walter Raleigh*. The next ſhip to my lord, of the queen's, was the *Rainbow*, wherein Sir *William Monſon* went, who receiv'd direction from my lord to ſteer away ſouth that night; and if he ſhould meet with any fleet, to follow them, carrying lights, or ſhooting off his ordnances, or making any other ſign that he could; and if he met with no ſhips, to direct his courſe the next day to the iſland of *St. Michael*; but promiſing that night to ſend twelve ſhips after him. Sir *William* beſought my lord, by the pinnace that brought him this direction, that above all things he ſhould have a care to diſpatch a ſquadron to the road of *Angra* in the *Terceras*; for it was certain, if they were *Spaniards*, thither they would reſort.

Whilſt my lord was thus contriving his buſineſs, and ordering his ſquadron, a ſmall bark of his fleet happen'd to come to him, who aſſur'd him, that thoſe ſhips diſcover'd from the land were of his own fleet, and that they came in immediately from them: this made my lord countermand his former direction; only Sir *William Monſon*, who was the next ſhip to him, and receiv'd the firſt command, could not be recalled back. Within three hours of his departure from my lord, which might be about twelve of the clock, he fell in company of a fleet of twenty five ſail; which at the firſt he could not aſſure himſelf to be *Spaniards*, becauſe the day before, that number of ſhips was miſſing from our fleet. Here he was in a dilemma, and great perplexity with himſelf; for in making ſigns, as he was directed, if the ſhips prov'd *Engliſh*, it were ridiculous, and he would be expos'd to ſcorn; and to reſpite it till morning were as dangerous, if they were the *Indian* fleet; for then my lord might be out of view, or of the hearing of his ordnance; therefore he reſolv'd rather to put his perſon, than his ſhip in peril. He commanded his maſter to keep the weather-gage of the fleet, whatſoever ſhould become of him; and it blowing little wind, he betook himſelf to his boat, and row'd up with this fleet, demanding whence they were. They anſwer'd, of *Seville* in *Spain*; and ask'd of whence he was. He told them, of *England*; and that the ſhip in ſight was a galleon of the queen's of *England*, ſingle and alone, alledging the honour they would get by winning her; his drift being to draw and entice them into the wake of our fleet, where they would be ſo entangled, as they could not eſcape. They return'd him ſome ſhot, and ill language; but would not alter their courſe to the *Terceras*, whither they were bound, and where they arriv'd, to our misfortune. Sir *William Monſon* return'd aboard his ſhip, making ſigns and lights, and report with his ordnance, but all in vain; for my lord altering his courſe, as you have heard, ſtood that night to *St. Michael's*, and paſs'd by the north ſide of *Tercera*, a farther way than if he had gone by the way of *Angra*, where he had met the *Indian* fleet. 1597.

When day appear'd, and Sir *William Monſon* was in hopes to find the twelve ſhips promis'd to be ſent to him, he might diſcern the *Spaniſh* fleet two miles and a little more a-head of him, and a-ſtern him a galleon, and a pinnace betwixt them; which putting forth her flags, he knew to be the earl of *Southampton* in the *Garland*. The pinnace was a frigat of the *Spaniſh* fleet; who took the *Garland* and the *Rainbow* to be galleons of theirs; but ſeeing the flag of the *Garland*, ſhe found her error, and ſprang a-loof, thinking to eſcape; but the earl purſued her with the loſs of ſome time, when he ſhould have followed the fleet, and therefore was defir'd to deſiſt from that chaſe by Sir *William Monſon*, who ſent his boat to him. By a ſhot from my lord this frigat was ſunk; and while his men were rifling her, Sir *Francis Vere* and Sir *William Brook* came up in their two ſhips, who the *Spaniards* would have made us believe were two galleons of theirs; and ſo much did my lord ſignify to Sir *William Monſon*, wiſhing him to ſtay their coming up; for that there would be greater hope of thoſe two ſhips, which there was no doubt but we were able to maſter, than of the fleet, for which we were too weak.

When Sir *William* knew the two ſhips to be the queen's, which he had before ſuſpected, he began to purſue the *Spaniſh* fleet afreſh; but by reaſon they were ſo far a-head of him, and had ſo little way to ſail, they recover'd the road of *Tercera*; but he and the reſt of the ſhips purſued them, and himſelf led the way into the harbour, where he found ſharp reſiſtance from the caſtle; but yet ſo batter'd the ſhips, that he might ſee the maſts of ſome ſhot by the board, and the men quit the ſhips; ſo that there wanted nothing but a gale of wind to enable him

1597. him to cut the cables of the hawſers, and to bring them off; wherefore he ſent to the other three great ſhips of ours, to deſire them to attempt the cutting their cables; but Sir *Francis Vere* rather wiſh'd his coming off, that they might take a reſolution what to do: this muſt be rather imputed to want of experience than backwardneſs in him; for Sir *William* ſent him word, that if he quitted the harbour, the ſhips would tow near the caſtle; and as the night drew on, the wind would freſhen, and come more off the land; which indeed prov'd ſo, and we above a league from the road in the morning.

We may ſay, and that truly, there was never that poſſibility to have undone the ſtate of *Spain* as now; for every royal of plate we had taken in this fleet, had been two to them, by our converting it by war upon them.

None of the captains could be blamed in this buſineſs; all is to be attributed to the want of experience in my lord, and his flexible nature to be over-ruled: for the firſt hour he anchored at *Flores*, and call'd a council, Sir *William Monſon* adviſed him, upon the reaſons following; After his watering to run weſt, ſpreading his fleet north and ſouth, ſo far as the eaſtern wind that then blew would carry them; alledging, that if the *Indian* fleet came home that year, by computation of the laſt light moon, from which time their diſemboguing in the *Indies* muſt be reckoned, they could not be above two hundred leagues ſhort of that iſland; and whenſoever the wind ſhould chop up weſterly, he bearing a ſlack ſail, they would in a few days overtake him.

This advice my lord ſeem'd to embrace; but was diverted by divers gentlemen, who, coming principally for land-ſervice, found themſelves tir'd by the tedioufneſs of the ſea. Certain it is, if my lord had followed his advice, within leſs than forty hours he had made the queen owner of that fleet; for by the pilot's card, which was taken in the frigat, the *Spaniſh* fleet was but fifty leagues in traverſe with that eaſtern wind, when my lord was at *Flores*; which made my lord wiſh, the firſt time Sir *William Monſon* repair'd to him, after the eſcape of the fleet, that he had loſt his hand, ſo he had been ruled by him.

Being met aboard Sir *Francis Vere*, we conſulted what to do, and reſolv'd to acquaint my lord with what had happen'd, deſiring his preſence with us, to ſee if there were any poſſibility to attempt the ſhipping, or ſurprize the iſland, and ſo to poſſeſs the treaſure.

My lord receiv'd this advertiſement juſt as he was ready with his troops to have landed in *St. Michael's*; but this meſſage diverted his landing, and made him preſently caſt about for the iſlands of the *Tercera*, where we lay all this while expecting his coming. 1597.
In his courſe from *St. Michael's* it was his hap to take three ſhips that departed the *Havana* the day after the fleet; which three ſhips did almoſt then countervail the expence of the whole voyage.

At my lord's meeting with us at *Tercera*, there was a conſultation how the enemy's ſhips might be fetched off, or deſtroyed, as they lay; but all men, with one conſent, agreed the impoſſibility of it. The attempting the iſland was propounded; but withſtood for theſe reaſons, The difficulty in landing; the ſtrength of the iſland, which was increaſed by fourteen or fifteen hundred ſoldiers in the ſhips; and our want of victuals, to abide by the ſiege. Seeing then we were fruſtrate of our hopes at the *Tercera*, we reſolv'd upon landing in *St. Michael's*; and arrived the day following at *Punta Delgada*, the chief city. Here my lord imbark'd his ſmall army in boats, with offer to land; and having thereby drawn the enemy's greateſt force thither to reſiſt him, ſuddenly he rowed to *Villa Franca*, three or four leagues diſtant from thence; which, not being defended by the enemy, he took. The ſhips had order to abide in the road of *Delgada*; for that my lord made account to march thither by land; but being aſhore at *Villa Franca*, he was inform'd that the march was impoſſible, by reaſon of the high and craggy mountains which diverted his purpoſe.

Victuals now grew ſhort with us; and my lord general began diſcreetly to foreſee the danger in abiding towards winter upon theſe coaſts, which could not afford him an harbour, only open roads that were ſubject to ſoutherly winds; and upon every ſuch wind, he muſt put to ſea for his ſafety. He conſider'd, that if this ſhould happen when his troops were aſhore, and he not able to reach the land in a fortnight, or more, which is a thing ordinary, what a deſperate caſe he ſhould put himſelf into, eſpecially in ſo great a want of victuals; and ſo concluding, that he had ſeen the end of all his hopes by the eſcape of the fleet, he embarked himſelf and army, though with ſome difficulty, the ſeas were now grown ſo high.

By this time the one half of the fleet that rid in *Punta Delgada* made away for *Villa Franca*; and thoſe that remain'd behind, being thought by a ſhip of *Braſil* to be the *Spaniſh* fleet, ſhe came in amongſt them, and ſo was betray'd. After her there follow'd a carrack, who had been ſerv'd in the like manner, but for the haſty and indiſcreet weighing of a *Hollander*, which made her run aſhore under the caſtle. When the wind leſſen'd, Sir *William Monſon* weighed with the *Rainbow*, thinking to give an attempt upon

1597. on her, notwithſtanding the caſtle; which ſhe perceiving, as he drew near unto her, ſhe ſet herſelf on fire, and burned down to the very keel. She was a ſhip of fourten hundred tuns burden, that the year before was not able to double the cape of *Good-Hope* in her voyage to the *Eaſt Indies*, but put into *Brazil*, where ſhe was laden with ſugars, and afterwards thus deſtroyed. The *Spaniards*, who preſumed more upon their advantages than valour, and thought themſelves in too weak a condition to follow us to the iſlands, and put their fortunes upon a day's ſervice, ſubtilly deviſed how to intercept us as we came home, when we had leaſt thought or ſuſpicion of them and their fleet, which was all this while in the *Groyne* and *Ferrol*, not daring to put forwards while they knew ours to be upon the coaſt. Their general, the *Adelantado* came for *England*, with a reſolution to land at *Falmouth*, and fortify it; and afterwards with their ſhips to keep the ſea, and expect our coming home ſcattered; and having thus cut off our ſea-forces, and poſſeſſing the harbour of *Falmouth*, they thought with a ſecond ſupply of thirty ſeven *levantine* ſhips, which the marquis *Arumbullo* commanded, to have returned and gained a good footing in *England*.

We may ſay, and that truly, that God fought for us: for the *Adelantado* being within a few leagues of the iſland of *Silly*, he commanded all his captains on board him to receive his directions; but whilſt they were in conſultation, a violent ſtorm took them at eaſt, inſomuch that the captains could hardly recover their ſhips, but in no caſe were able to ſave their boats: the ſtorm continued ſo furious, that happy was he who could recover home, ſeeing their deſign [illegible] overthrown by the loſs of their boats, without by the means of landing was taken away. Some who were willing to ſtay, and receive the farther commands of the general, kept the ſeas ſo long upon our coaſt, that in the end they were taken; others put themſelves into our harbours for refuge and ſuccour; and it is certainly known, that in this voyage the *Spaniards* loſt eighteen ſhips, the *St. Luke* and the *St. Bartholomew* being two, and in the rank of his beſt galleons.

We muſt aſcribe this loſs of theirs to God only; for certainly the enemies deſigns were dangerous, and not diverted by our force, but by his will, who from time to time would not ſuffer the *Spaniards* in any one of their attempts to ſet footing in *England*, as we did in all quarters of *Spain*, *Portugal*, the *Iſlands*, and both *Indies*.

In this voyage to the iſlands, I have ſet down my lord's deſign upon the *Spaniſh* fleet lying at *Ferrol*; wherein his lordſhip required a captain he moſt relied on to have his opinion in writing. Firſt, Whether he ſhould attempt the ſhips in harbour, or no? Secondly, whether before or after his being at the *Tercera*? And, Laſtly, the manner how to aſſail them? The captain's anſwer follows, which you may read and judge of.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Essex.

"IN anſwer to your lordſhip's demand, *Whether to give an attempt upon the ſhips in* Ferrol, *before the landing your men, and the caſtles gain'd*, this I ſay, That before I can give my reſolution, I muſt deſcribe the ſtate of the harbour, and the ſituation of the forts, with the ſtrength of the ſhips; for out of theſe muſt proceed my reaſons.

"I conceive at the entrance of the harbour there are two caſtles, the one on the ſouthſide, the other on the north, both commanding any ſhip that ſhall enter: they are ſeated low by the water, the cliffs on both ſides very high, and the harbour to be chained.

"My opinion is, if your lordſhip do land your men in the bay before you take the forts, as there is no other place of landing, you muſt conſider it [illegible] open road, the coaſt ſubject to northerly winds, which beat ſo hard on the ſhore, that you cannot land your ſoldiers and their furniture with conveniency and ſafety, eſpecially being ſure to find reſiſtance at your landing.

"But your lordſhip may anſwer, That he who attempts great things, muſt run all hazards: and as it is wiſdom to forecaſt all doubts and dangers, ſo were it too great ſecurity not to hazard loſs upon hope of victory: and whereas the danger of landing by reaſon of the ſea's breaking on the ſhore is alledged, you may think we are not always ſure of a northerly wind, nor of ſo great a ſea; and therefore you muſt put your attempt in adventure.

"But for your lordſhip's ſatisfaction in this point, you muſt know that you cannot ſeize that coaſt, but with ſuch a wind as makes ſuch a ſea as renders it difficult for you to land. Or ſuppoſe, that being upon the coaſt as you were the laſt year, when you came from *Cadiz*, and that the wind ſhould now do, as then it did, chop up from the ſouthweſt to the northweſt, your lordſhip would be imbay'd, and forced to ſeek the harbour of the *Groyne* or *Ferrol*, and make good thoſe places, which then you might have done: but now you muſt conſider your army is not ſo great as it was then, and their fortifications and ſhipping are much ſtronger than they were. My opinion is, therefore, That there is little poſſibility of attempting

1597.

1597. " tempting the ſhipping without gaining " the forts; neither do I ſee any poſſibility " to poſſeſs them with your ſmall army.

" But your lordſhip may alledge, That " though the ports were impregnable, yet " they may be paſs'd with a large wind; " for every ſhot that comes from them hits " not, or if it does it kills not, but though " it ſhould, it ſinks not.

" I allow it is no great difficulty to paſs " any fort with a ſhip under ſail, being a " moveable thing, where no certain aim " can be had; yet I think no place more " dangerous than *Ferrol*, becauſe of the " highneſs of the hills, and the narrowneſs " of the entrance that makes a continual " calm, or the little wind ſo uncertain, that " every puff brings ſundry ſhift of wind. " Many of the king of *Spain*'s ſhips have " been there loſt: and therefore the ad- " vantage of a ſhip in paſſing a caſtle is " the force and largeneſs of a wind; as to " the contrary, theſe forts will be able to " annoy a ſhip upon the former reaſons.

" But allow that your lordſhip's fleet " ſhould enter ſafely; for the greateſt dif- " ficulty is not to paſs in, but to perform " the ſervice when they are within: your " fleet being entered, they will be in the " ſtate of a priſoner, that cannot get out of " a houſe without leave of his keeper; for " the wind that is good and large for them " to enter, is as much againſt their coming " out; and therefore it behoves every com- " mander, as well to think of bringing " himſelf off with diſcretion, as of falling " on with reſolution.

" Hitherto I have ſhewed the uncertainty " of your lordſhip's landing, the doubtful- " neſs of your attempt, and the danger in " not having the caſtles; but I will now " ſuppoſe the forts to be ours, and the " whole ſhipping paſſed them without any " loſs; yet will the enemy have as great an " advantage as they can wiſh; for the " number of men and ſhipping, and the " greatneſs of their veſſels, are known to " exceed ours; and where there is an equa- " lity in ſhipping on both ſides, the victo- " ry is not to be obtained on neither ſide, " whilſt there is ammunition and men on " the other ſide, unleſs it be by a general " boarding, or ſtratagem of firing; in " which the *Spaniards* ſhall have advan- " tage of us, they being in their own har- " bour, where they may be ſupplied, and " we can have no relief but what we bring " with us.

" If your lordſhip ſhall hold it convenient, " as in diſcretion I think you will not, to " ſend in her majeſty's ſhips upon this ſer- " vice, then you muſt conſider the reſt of " your fleet to be far inferior to the ene- " mies ſtrength; and ſo you will ſend them " apparently to their own deſtruction, 1597. " ſlaughter, and ruin.

" As I am againſt the attempt of *Ferrol* " before you return from the iſlands, ſo I " am alſo againſt your lordſhip's preſent- " ing yourſelf upon that coaſt; for in " thinking to entice forth the fleet, beſides " that you ſhall diſcover your own ſtrength, " you ſhall give them occaſion to arm their " country; and beſides, it will be in their " choice, whether to fight with you, or no; " for they will be able to diſcover and " judge of your forces; and ſuch is their " diſcipline, that though they had your " lordſhip upon advantage, yet they dare not " attempt you without a ſpecial order from " the king; which your lordſhip found by " experience in the count *de Fuentes*'s an- " ſwer to your lordſhip's challenge at the " walls of *Lisbon*. And to conclude, " ſince your lordſhip intends to go from " *Ferrol* to *Tercera*, it were much better, " in my opinion, firſt to attempt that " iſland, whilſt your army is ſtrong and in " health. It is a place of much more im- " portance, and more likelihood of pre- " vailing than in your enterprize upon the " ſhipping: that iſland being poſſeſſed, will " draw contributions from the reſt to main- " tain it: your lordſhip will cut off the ſup- " plies the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe* receive " from both the *Indies*, *Guinea*, and *Bra- " zil*: your lordſhip will provide a place " of refuge for our fleet hereafter; from " whence they may with eaſe keep the ſeas, " and endanger all the trades aforeſaid: " your lordſhip will unite that iſland to " the crown of *England*; and if there be an " agreement of peace betwixt the two na- " tions, you will gain advantageous con- " ditions to the ſtate of *England* upon a " treaty: your lordſhip will be in a poſſi- " bility of drawing the *Armada* of *Ferrol* " to purſue you thither, that iſland import- " ing them ſo much to defend; and then " your lordſhip will have your deſire to " fight them upon equal terms at ſea. If " you attempt *Ferrol* at firſt, and ſhould " happen to be repulſed, your lordſhip will " confeſs, it will be ſo great a diſhonour " and loſs, that you will not be able to re- " ſolve upon any other ſervice; and then " will your expedition for the *Terceras* be " utterly void: whereas if you would pleaſe " to make your attempt upon the *Terceras* " firſt, it will not take away your hope of " *Ferrol* afterwards; for in your return from " thence, you will find the ſhipping either " in the ſame ſtate you left them in har- " bour; or if you meet them at ſea, you " will encounter them upon advantage. " Thus have I anſwered your lordſhip's " demand as you required."

W. M.

The Lord Thomas Howard *Admiral in the* Downs, *from whence he returned in a Month,* Anno 1599.

Ships.	Commanders.
The Elizabeth Jonas,	The Lord *Thomas Howard.*
The Ark Royal,	Sir *Walter Raleigh.*
The Triumph.	Sir *Fulke Grivel.*
The Mere-honour,	Sir *Henry Palmer.*
The Repulſe,	Sir *Thomas Vavaſor.*
The Garland,	Sir *William Harvey.*
The Defiance,	Sir *William Monſon.*
The Nonpereille,	Sir *Robert Croſs,*
The Lion,	Sir *Richard Lewſon.*
The Rainbow.	Sir *Alexander Clifford.*
The Hope,	Sir *John Gilbert.*
The Foreſight,	Sir *Thomas Sherley.*
The Mary Roſe,	Mr. *Forteſcue.*
The Bonaventure,	Captain *Troughton.*
The Crane,	Captain *Jonas.*
The Swiftſure,	Captain *Bradgate.*
The Tremontain,	Captain *Slingsby.*
The Advantage,	Captain *White.*
The Quittance,	Captain *Reynolds.*

1599. I Cannot write of any thing done in this year of 1599. for there was never greater expectation of war, with leſs performance. Whether it was a miſtruſt the one nation had of the other, or a policy held on both ſides, to make peace with ſword-in-hand, a treaty being entertained by conſent of each prince, I am not to examine; but ſure I am, the preparation was on both ſides very great, as if the one expected an invaſion from the other; and yet it was generally conceived, not to be intended by either; but that ours had only relation to my lord of *Eſſex*, who was then in *Ireland*, and had a deſign to try his friends in *England*, and to be revenged of his enemies, as he pretended, and as it proved afterwards by his fall. Howſoever it was, the charge was not ſo great as neceſſary; for it was commonly known, that the *Adelentado* had drawn both his ſhips and galleys to the *Groyne*; which was not uſually done, but for ſome action intended upon *England* or *Ireland*, though he converted them afterwards to another uſe; for the galleys were ſent into the *Low Countries*, and paſſed the narrow ſeas, whilſt our ſhips lay there; and with the fleet the *Adelentado* purſued the *Hollanders* to the iſlands, whether he ſuſpected they were gone. This fleet of *Hollanders*, which conſiſted of ſeventy three ſail, were the firſt ſhips that ever diſplay'd their colours in warlike ſort againſt the *Spaniards*, in any action of their own; for how cruel ſoever the war ſeemed to be in *Holland*, they maintained a peaceable trade in *Spain*, and abuſed us. This firſt action of the *Hollanders* at ſea proved not very ſucceſsful; for after the ſpoil of a 1599. town in the *Canaries*, and ſome hurt done at the iſland of *St. Tome*, they kept the ſea for ſeven or eight months; in which time their general and moſt of their men ſickened and died, and the reſt return'd with loſs and ſhame. Another benefit which we received by this preparation, was, That our men were now taught ſuddenly to arm, ever man knowing his command, and how to be commanded, which before they were ignorant of; and who knows not, that ſudden and falſe alarms in an army are ſometimes neceſſary? To ſay truth, the expedition which was then uſed in drawing together ſo great an army by land, and rigging ſo great and royal a navy to ſea, in ſo little a ſpace of time, was ſo admirable in other countries, that they received a terror by it; and many that came from beyond ſea, ſaid, *The queen was never more dreaded abroad for any thing ſhe ever did.*

Frenchmen that came aboard our ſhips did wonder (as at a thing incredible) that her majeſty had rigged, victualled, and furniſhed her royal ſhips to ſea in twelve days time: and *Spain*, as an enemy, had reaſon to fear and grieve to ſee this ſudden preparation; but more, when they underſtood how the hearts of her majeſty's ſubjects joined with their hands, being all ready to ſpend their deareſt blood for her, and her ſervice. *Holland* might likewiſe ſee, that if they became inſolent, we could be as ſoon provided as they; nor did they expect to find ſuch celerity in any nation but themſelves.

It

1599. It is probable too, that the king of *Spain*, and the archduke, were hereby drawn to entertain thoughts of peace: for as ſoon as our fleet was at ſea, a gentleman was ſent from *Bruſſels* with ſome overtures, though for that time they ſucceeded not. However, whether it was that the intended invaſion from *Spain* was diverted, or that her majeſty was fully ſatisfy'd of my lord of *Eſſex*, I know not; but ſo it was, that ſhe commanded the ſudden return of her ſhips from ſea, after they had lain three weeks or a month in the *Downs*. 1599.

Sir Richard Lewſon *to the Iſlands.* Anno Dom. 1600.

Ships.	Commanders.
The Repulſe,	Sir *Richard Lewſon.*
The Warſpite,	Captain *Troughton.*
The Vanguard,	Captain *Sommers.*

1600. THE laſt year, as you have heard, put all men in expectation of war, which yet came to nothing. This ſummer gave us great hope of peace; but with the like effect; for by conſent of the queen, the king of *Spain*, and the archduke, their commiſſioners met at *Bologne* in *Picardy*, to treat of peace, a place choſen indifferently, the *French* king being in league and friendſhip with them all. Whether this treaty were intended but in ſhew only, or that they were out of hopes to come to any concluſion, or what elſe was the true and real cauſe of its breaking off ſo ſuddenly, I know not; but the pretence was ſlender: for there grew a difference about precedency betwixt the crowns of *Spain* and *England*; and ſo the hopes of peace were fruſtrated, though had it been really intended, matters might eaſily have been accommodated. 1600.

The queen ſuſpected the event hereof before their meeting; and the rather, becauſe the *Spaniards* entertained her with the like treaty in 1588. when at the ſame inſtant their navy appeared upon her coaſt to invade her: therefore, leſt ſhe ſhould be guilty of too great ſecurity, in relying upon the ſucceſs of this doubtful treaty, ſhe furniſhed the three ſhips before named, under pretence to guard the weſtern coaſt, which at that time was infeſted by the *Dunkirkers*.

And becauſe there ſhould be the leſs notice taken, part of the victuals was provided at *Plimouth*, and Sir *Richard Lewſon*, who was then admiral of the narrow ſeas, was appointed general, for the more ſecret carrying on of the buſineſs; ſo as it could not be conjectured, either by their victualing or by their captain, being admiral of the narrow ſeas, that it was a ſervice from home. As they were in a readineſs at *Plimouth*, expecting orders, the queen being fully ſatisfy'd that the treaty of *Bologne* would break off without effect, ſhe commanded Sir *Richard Lewſon* to haſten to the iſlands, there to expect the carracks and *Mexico* fleet. The *Spaniards*, on the other ſide, being as circumſpect to prevent a miſchief, as we were ſubtile to contrive it; and believing (as we did) that the treaty of peace would prove a vain hopeleſs ſhew of what was never meant, furniſhed eighteen tall ſhips to the iſlands, as they had uſually done ſince the year 1591. The general of this fleet was Don *Diego de Borachero*.

Our ſhips coming to the iſlands, they and the *Spaniards* had intelligence of one another, but not the ſight; for that Sir *Richard Lewſon* hailed ſixty leagues weſtward, not only to avoid them, but in hopes to meet with the carracks and *Mexico* fleet, before they could join them. But the carracks being formerly warned by the taking of one of them, and burning of another, in 1591. had ever ſince that year endeavoured to ſhun the ſight of that iſland; ſo that our fleet being now prevented, as they had often before been, (nothing being more uncertain than actions at ſea, where ſhips are to meet one another caſually,) they returned home, having conſumed time and victuals to no purpoſe, and ſeen not ſo much as one ſail, from the time they quitted the coaſt of *England*, till their return, two ſhips of *Holland* excepted, that came from the *Eaſt Indies*, (for then began their trade thither,) which ſhips Sir *Richard Lewſon* relieved, finding them in great diſtreſs and want.

Sir

Sir Richard Lewſon *into* Ireland, *Anno* 1601.

Ships.	Commanders.
The Warſpite,	Sir *Richard Lewſon*.
The Garland,	Sir *Ames Preſton*.
The Defiance,	Captain *Goer*.
The Swiftſure,	Captain *Sommers*.
The Crane,	Captain *Mainwaring*.

1601. IN the year 1600. and part of the year 1601. there was a kind of ceſſation from arms, though not by agreement; for this year gave a hope of peace, which failing, the former courſe of annoying each other was revived; we in relieving the *Low Countries*, the *Spaniards* in aſſiſting the rebels in *Ireland*. This was the ſummer that the archduke beſieged *Oſtend*, which was bravely defended, but principally by the ſupplies out of *England*. And towards winter, when the *Spaniards* thought we leaſt look'd for war, *Don Diego de Borachero*, with forty eight ſail of ſhips, and four thouſand ſoldiers, was ſent to invade *Ireland*.

In his way thither he loſt the company of his vice admiral *Siriago*, who returned to the *Groyne*; which when the king heard, he was much diſtaſted with *Siriago*, and commanded him, upon his allegiance, to haſten with all ſpeed for *Ireland*, as he was formerly directed. Don *Diego*'s landing was known in *England* when it was too late to prevent it; yet, leſt he ſhould be ſupply'd with further forces, Sir *Richard Lewſon* valiantly entered the harbour, drew near their fortifications, and fought the enemy for the ſpace of one whole day, his ſhip being an hundred times ſhot through, and yet but eight men ſlain. God ſo bleſſed him, that he prevailed in his enterprize, deſtroyed their whole ſhipping, and made *Siriago* fly by land into another harbour, where he obſcurely embarked himſelf in a *French* veſſel for *Spain*. All this while the main army, which landed with their general Don *Juan de Avila*, was at *Kingſale*, expecting the aid of *Tyroen*, who promiſed every day to be with them. Our 1601. army, commanded by the lord *Montjoy*, lord deputy of *Ireland*, beſieg'd the town, ſo that he prevented their meeting, and many skirmiſhes paſſed betwixt them.

The ſiege continued with great miſeries to both the armies, and not without cauſe, conſidering the ſeaſon of the year, and the condition of the country, that afforded little relief to either. Some few days before *Chriſtmas*, *Tyroen* appeared with his forces, which was ſome little heartening to the enemy, in hopes to be freed of their impriſonment; for ſo may I call it, they were ſo ſtrictly beleaguered. The day of agreement betwixt the *Spaniards* and *Tyroen* was *Chriſtmas-Eve*, on which day there happened an earthquake in *England*; and as many times ſuch ſigns prove *aut bonum*, *aut malum omen*, this proved fortunate to us, the victory being obtained with ſo little loſs as is almoſt incredible.

This was the day of trial, whether *Ireland* ſhould continue a parcel of our crown, or no; for if the enemy had prevail'd in the battle, and a treaty had not afterwards obtained more than force, it was to be feared *Ireland* would hardly have been ever recovered. The *Spaniards* in *Ireland* ſeeing the ſucceſs of *Tyroen*, and the impoſſibility for him to reinforce his army, being hopeleſs of ſupplies out of *Spain*, and their poverty daily increaſing, they made offers of a parley; which was granted, and a peace enſued; the conditions whereof are extant in print. They were furniſhed with ſhips, and ſecured of their paſſage into *Spain*, where arriving in *Engliſh* veſſels, the ſhips returned back for *England*.

Sir

Sir Richard Lewſon *and Sir* William Monſon *to the Coaſt of* Spain, *Anno* 1602.

Ships.	Commanders.
The Repulſe,	Sir *Richard Lewſon* admiral.
The Garland,	Sir *William Monſon* vice-admiral.
The Defiance,	Captain *Goer.*
The Mary Roſe,	Captain *Slingsby.*
The Warſpight,	Captain *Sommers.*
The Nonpareille,	Captain *Reynolds.*
The Dreadnought,	Captain *Mainwaring.*
The Adventure.	Captain *Trevor.*
The Engliſh Carvel,	Captain *Sawkel.*

1602. THE laſt attempt of the *Spaniards* in *Ireland* awaken'd the queen, who, it ſeems, for two or three years together, entertained the hopes of peace, and therefore was ſparing in ſetting forth her fleets; but now perceiving the enemy had found the way into *Ireland*, and that it behoved her to be more vigilant than ever, ſhe reſolv'd, as the ſafeſt courſe, to infeſt the *ſpaniſh* coaſts with a continual fleet, and this year furniſhed the ſhips aforeſaid, having promiſe from the ſtates of *Holland* to join to them twelve ſail of theirs; and becauſe this important ſervice required great ſpeed, ſhe had not time enough to man them, or ſupply them with proviſions altogether ſo well as they were uſually wont to be, but was content with what could be got in ſo ſhort a warning, ſo deſirous was ſhe to ſee her ſhips at ſea.

Sir *Richard Lewſon* ſet ſail with five of them the 19th of *March*, and left Sir *William Monſon* behind with the other four, to attend the coming of the *Hollanders*; though within two or three days after Sir *William* received command from the queen to haſten with all ſpeed to Sir *Richard Lewſon*; for that ſhe was advertis'd, that the ſilver ſhips were arrived at the *Terceras*. Sir *William Monſon* hereupon neglected no time, nor ſtay'd either to ſee himſelf better mann'd, or his ſhips better furniſhed, but put to ſea the 26th of *March*.

This intelligence of the queen's was true; for the plate-fleet had been at the *Terceras*, and departing thence, in their courſe for *Spain*, Sir *Richard Lewſon*, with his few ſhips, met them; but to little purpoſe, wanting the reſt of his fleet, and the help of the twelve *Hollanders*. We may very well account this not the leaſt error or negligence that has been committed in our voyages; for if the *Hollanders* had kept touch, according to promiſe, and the queen's ſhips had been fitted out with care, we had made her majeſty miſtreſs of more treaſure than any of her progenitors ever enjoy'd.

Sir *Richard Lewſon*'s deſign againſt the *Indian* fleet, notwithſtanding his great valour, being thus fruſtrated, and by the *Hollanders* ſlackneſs croſſed, he plyed towards the rock, to meet Sir *William Monſon*, as the place reſolved on between them; but Sir *William* having ſpent fourteen days thereabouts, and hearing no tidings of him, went round to the ſouthward *Cape*, where he was likewiſe fruſtrated of a moſt promiſing hope; for meeting with certain *Frenchmen* and *Scots*, at the ſame inſtant he deſcried three ſhips of ours, ſent by Sir *Richard* to look him. Theſe *French* and *Scotch* ſhips came from *St. Lucar*, and gave an account of five galleons, ready the next tide to ſet ſail for the *Indies*: they likewiſe told him of two others that departed three days before, wherein went Don *Pedro de Valdes* to be governor of the *Havana*, who had been priſoner in *England* in 1588. 1602.

Theſe two latter ſhips were met one night by the *Warſpight*, whereof captain *Sommers* was commander; but whether it was by the darkneſs of the night, or by what other caſualty, (for the ſea is ſubject to many,) I know not; but they eſcaped.

This news of the five galleons, and the three ſhips of the queen's ſo happily meeting together, made Sir *William* direct his courſe into the latitude the *Spaniards* were moſt likely to fail in; and coming to it, he had ſight of five ſhips, which, in reſpect of their number and courſe, he made reckoning to be the five galleons; and thought that day ſhould fully determine and try the difference between the ſtrength and puiſſance of the *Engliſh* and *Spaniſh* ſhips, their number and greatneſs being equal. But his joy was ſoon abated; for coming up with them, he found them to be *Engliſh* ſhips from the *Streights*, and bound home. Yet this did not leſſen the hope he had conceived that the *Spaniards* might be met withal; and the next day he gave chaſe to one ſhip alone, that came out of the *Indies*, which he took, though he had

1602. had been better without her; for ſhe brought him ſo far to leeward, that at night the galleons paſſed to windward, not above eight or ten leagues off us, by report of an *Engliſh* pinnace that met them, who came into our company the day following. Theſe misfortunes lighting firſt upon Sir *Richard*, and after upon Sir *William*, might have been ſufficient reaſons to diſcourage them: but they knowing the accidents of the ſea, and that fortune could as well laugh as weep, having good ſhips under foot, their men ſound and in health, and plenty of victuals, they did not doubt but that ſome of the wealth which the *Indies* ſent forth into *Spain* would fall to their ſhares.

Upon *Tueſday* the firſt of *June*, to begin our new fortune with a new month, Sir *Richard Lewſon* and Sir *William Monſon*, who ſome nights before, had met accidentally in the ſea, were cloſe on board the rock, where they took two ſhips of the *eaſt* country, bound for *Lisbon*; and while they were rummaging theſe ſhips, they deſcried a carvel from cape *Eſpichel* bearing with them, which, by ſigns ſhe made, they perceived had a deſire to ſpeak with them. Sir *Richard* immediately chaſed her, and left Sir *William* with the two Eaſterlings to abide about the rock till his return. The carvel being fetch'd up, gave account, that a carrack and eleven galleys were in *Cerimbra* road, and that ſhe was ſent by two ſhips of ours, the *Nonpareille* and the *Dreadnought*, which lay thereabouts, to look out the admiral. With what joy this news was apprehended may be eaſily imagined: Sir *Richard* made ſigns to Sir *William* to ſtand with him, and leſt he ſhould not be diſcern'd, he cauſed the carvel to ply up with him, wiſhing him to repair to him; but before they could approach the cape it was midnight, and nothing chanced all that time but the exchanging of ſome ſhot that paſs'd betwixt the admiral and the galleys.

Upon wedneſday, the ſecond of *June*, every man look'd early in the morning what ſhips of her majeſty's were in ſight, which were five in number; the *Warſpight*, wherein Sir *Richard* was; for the *Repulſe* he had ſent for *England* ſome days before, by reaſon of a leak; the *Garland*, the *Nonpareille*, the *Dreadnought*, and the *Adventure*, beſides the two Eaſterlings taken the day before. All the captains reſorted on board the admiral to council, which took up moſt part of the day. At firſt there was an oppoſition by ſome, who alledged the danger and impoſſibility of taking the carrack, being defended by the caſtle and eleven galleys: but Sir *William Monſon* prevailed ſo far, as that all conſented to go upon her the next day, and concluded upon this courſe following, That he and Sir *Richard* ſhould anchor as near the carrack as they could, the reſt to ply up and down, and not anchor. Sir *William* was glad of this occaſion, to be revenged of the galleys, hoping to requite the ſlavery they put him to when he was priſoner in them, and ſingled himſelf from the fleet a league, that the galleys might ſee it was in defiance of them; and ſo the marquis of *St. Cruz* and *Frederick Spinola*, the one general of the *Portugueſe*, the other of the *Spaniſh* galleys, apprehended it, and came forth with an intent to fight him; but being within ſhot, were diverted by one *John Bedford*, an *Engliſhman*, who undertook to know the force of the ſhip, and Sir *William* that commanded her.

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Before I go farther, I will a little digreſs, and acquaint you with the ſituation of the town, and the manner of placing the galleys againſt us. The town of *Cerimbra* lies in the bottom of a road, which is a good ſuccour for ſhips with a northerly wind. It is built with free-ſtone, and near the ſea is erected a ſtrong and ſpacious fort, well repleniſhed with ordnance: above the town, upon the top of a hill, is ſeated an ancient ſtrong friery, whoſe ſituation makes it impregnable, and able to command the town, caſtle, and road: cloſe to the ſhore lay the carrack, like a bulwark to the weſt ſide of the caſtle, ſo as it defended both that and the eaſt part of the town. The eleven galleys had flank'd and fortify'd themſelves with the ſmall neck of a rock on the weſt ſide of the road, with their prows right forward, to play upon us, every one carrying a cannon in her beak, beſides other pieces in their prows; and they were no way to be damaged by us, till our ſhips came ſo nigh the town, that all theſe forces might play upon us in one inſtant.

The galleys being placed to this great advantage, they made account (as a captain of one of them we took confeſs'd,) to have ſunk our ſhips of themſelves, without any farther help. We ſaw the tents pitched, and great troops of ſoldiers drawn together, which was no leſs than the whole country in arms againſt us: the boats paſſed betwixt the ſhore and the carrack all the day long, which we ſuppoſed was to unlade her; but we found afterwards it was rather to ſtrengthen her with men and ammunition. Here appear'd many difficulties and dangers, and little hope of taking, but rather of ſinking or burning her, as moſt men conjectur'd. The danger from the galleys was great, they being flank'd with the point of a rock at our entrance, as you have heard, it being likewiſe calm, and they ſhooting low: another danger was, that of the

1602. the wind; for if it had come from the ſea, the road being open, and the bay deep, our attempt muſt have been in vain. And notwithſtanding theſe, and many more apparently ſeen, and that there was no man but imagin'd that moſt of the carrack's lading was aſhore, and that they would hale her a-ground under the caſtle, where no ſhip of ours ſhould be able to come at her; all which objections, with many more, were alledg'd, yet they little prevail'd. Procraſtination was perilous, and therefore with all expedition they thought convenient to charge the town, the fort, the galleys, and carrack, all at one inſtant: and they had determin'd, if the carrack had been a-ground, or ſo nigh the ſhore, that the queen's ſhips could not reach her, that the two Eaſterlings, the day before taken, ſhould board and burn her.

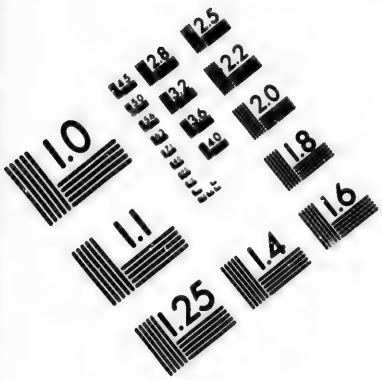
Thurſday the third day, early in the morning, every man commending himſelf to God's tuition and protection, expected when to begin, according to the agreement the day before. A gale of wind happening about ten of the clock, the admiral weigh'd, ſhot off a warning-piece, and put forth his flag in the main-top. The vice-admiral did the like in his fore-top, according to the cuſtom of the ſea. Every captain encourag'd his men; which ſo emboldened them, that though they were weak and feeble before, they now revived and beſtirred themſelves, as if a new ſpirit had been infus'd into them. The admiral was the firſt that gave the charge; after him follow'd the reſt of the ſhips, ſhewing great valour, and gaining great honour. The laſt of all was the vice-admiral, who entering into the fight, ſtill ſtrove to get up as near the ſhore as he could, where he came to an anchor, continually fighting with the town, the fort, the galleys, and carrack, all together; for he brought them betwixt him, that he might play both his broad-ſides upon them. The galleys ſtill kept their prows towards him. The ſlaves offer'd to forſake them, and ſwim to us; and every thing was in confuſion amongſt them: and thus they fought till five of the clock in the afternoon.

The vice-admiral was anchor'd in ſuch a place, that the galleys rowed from one ſide to another, ſeeking to ſhun him, which Sir *Richard Lewſon* obſerving, came on board him, and openly, in the view and hearing of his whole company, embraced him, and told him, *He had won his heart for ever.*

The reſt of the ſhips, as they were directed, plied up, except the admiral; who by the negligence of his maſter, or ſome other impediment, when he ſhould have anchor'd, fell ſo far to leeward, that the wind and tide carried him out of the road, 1602. ſo that it was the next day before his ſhip could be fetch'd in again; whereat the admiral was much enrag'd, and put himſelf into the *Dreadnought*, and brought her to an anchor, cloſe to the vice-admiral, about two of the clock in the afternoon. There was no opportunity let paſs; for where the admiral ſaw defect in any other ſhip, he preſently cauſed it to be ſupplied; and the Eaſterlings, who were appointed to board the carrack, beginning to faint, and fail of obſerving the directions given them, the vice-admiral perceiving it, went on board them himſelf, vowing, that if they ſeem'd backward in putting in execution the deſign of firing the carrack, they ſhould look for as little mercy from the *Engliſh*, as they could expect from the enemy. Whilſt the vice-admiral was thus ordering things, Sir *Richard Lewſon* came to him, and would in no caſe ſuffer him to board the carrack himſelf, but carried him into the *Dreadnought*, where they conſulted how to preſerve the carrack, and enjoy her.

The reſult of this conſultation was, to offer her parley, which they preſently put in practice, and commanded all the ſhips to leave ſhooting till the return of the meſſenger. The man employed was one captain *Sewell*, who had eſcaped, and ſwam to us, having been four years priſoner in the galleys, as did many *Turks* and chriſtians. The deſign of this parley was to perſuade them to yield, promiſing honourable conditions; and he was to intimate, as from himſelf, that the galleys, whoſe ſtrength they preſum'd upon, were beaten, ſome burnt, the reſt fled; that we had the poſſeſſion of the road, the caſtle not being able to abide our ordnance, much leſs the carrack; and if they refuſed this offer of mercy, they were to expect all the cruelty and rigour that a conqueror could impoſe upon his enemy. After ſome conference to this effect, the captain of the carrack told him, he would ſend ſome gentlemen of quality, with commiſſion to treat, and deſir'd that ſome of like quality from us might repair to him to the ſame purpoſe.

Theſe gentlemen came aboard the *Dreadnought*, where the admiral and vice-admiral were, attending the return and ſucceſs of captain *Sewell*. After the delivery of their meſſage, they would needs haſten on board the carrack again; for that, as it ſeem'd, there was an uproar and a diviſion in her, ſome being of opinion to entertain a parley, others to ſave themſelves, and ſet her on fire; which Sir *William Monſon* hearing, without further delay, or conference with Sir *Richard* what was to be done, he leaped ſuddenly into his boat, and rowed to the carrack. When he drew near to her, he



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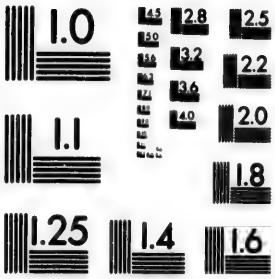

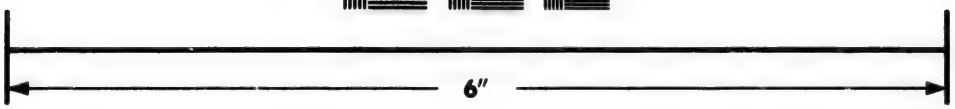

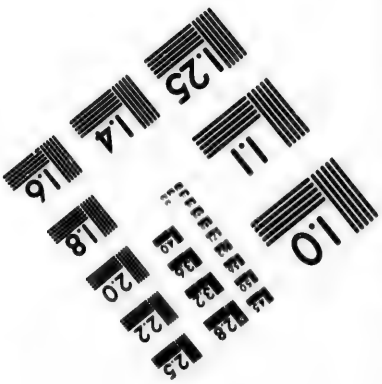

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1602. he was known by divers gentlemen on board her, as having once been a priſoner among them: they ſeem'd to be very glad of this meeting, and they embrac'd in remembrance of their old acquaintance: the captain was Don *Diego Lobo*, a gallant young gentleman, of a noble houſe: he came down upon the bend of the ſhip, and commanded his men to ſtand aſide; Sir *William* did the like to his company in the boat. The captain demanded of him if he had the *Portugueſe* language. He told him he had enough to treat of that buſineſs; acquainted him of the place he commanded in the fleet, intimated the affection and reſpect he bore to the *Portugueſe* nation, and that the treaty which was offer'd was his motion, and wiſhed him to make his propoſals, which were as follows. The firſt demand he made was, *That they ſhould be ſafely put aſhore with their arms.* The ſecond, *That it ſhould be done the ſame night.* The third, *That they ſhould enjoy their ſhip and ordnance, as appertaining to the king, but we the wealth.* The fourth, *That the flag and ancient ſhould not be taken down, but worn while the carrack was unlading.* His ſpeech being ended, Sir *William* told him, *That his demands gave ſuſpicion, that under pretence of parley, they meant treachery, or that their hopes were greater than there was cauſe; and but that he knew it was the uſe of ſome men to demand great things, when leſs would ſerve them, he would not loſe his advantage to entertain a parley.* He deſired that what they intended might be quickly concluded, for night growing on might advantage them, and for his reſolution he ſhould underſtand it in few words, *viz.* To his firſt demand, *He was willing to yield, that they ſhould be put aſhore with their arms.* To the ſecond, *That he was content they ſhould be ſet aſhore that night, except eight or ten of the principal gentlemen, whom he would detain three days.* To the third, *He held it idle and frivolous to imagine he would conſent to ſeparate ſhip and goods, and look'd upon it as a jeſt.* To the fourth, *He would not conſent, being reſolv'd never to permit a* Spaniſh *flag to be worn in the preſence of the queen's ſhips, unleſs it were diſgracefully, over the poop.* There was long expoſtulation upon theſe points; and Sir *William Monſon* ſeeing the obſtinacy of the captain, offer'd in a great rage to leap into his boat, reſolving to break the treaty; which the reſt of the gentlemen perceiving, and that he had propounded nothing but what might very well ſtand with their reputation, they intreated him once more to aſcend into the carrack, and they would enter into new capitulations: the effect whereof, as it was agreed upon, were theſe that follow:

That a meſſenger ſhould be ſent to the admiral, to have his confirmation of the points concluded on; and that in the mean time the flag and ancient ſhould be taken down; and if the admiral ſhould not conſent to the agreement, they to have leiſure to put out their flag and ancient before the fight ſhould begin. That the company ſhould be preſently ſet on ſhore; but the captain, with eight others of the principal gentlemen, three days after. That the ſhip, with her goods, ſhould be ſurrendered, without any practice or treaſon. That they ſhould uſe their endeavours, that the caſtle ſhould forbear ſhooting whilſt we rid in the road; and this was the effect of the conditions agreed upon. This carrack winter'd in *Moſembique*, in her return from the *Indies*, a place of great infection, as appear'd by the mortality among them; for of ſix hundred and odd men, twenty liv'd not to return home. After a great deal of calamity and mortality, ſhe arriv'd at this port of *Cerimbra*, as you have heard, the viceroy of *Portugal* having ſent eleven galleys to her reſcue, and four hundred *Mocas du Camera*, which is a title of gentlemen that ſerve the king upon any honourable occaſion, when they are commanded. That ſhe was brought to this paſs, and forced to yield on theſe conditions, Sir *Robert Cecil* was wont to impute to the gentlemens acquaintance with Sir *William Monſon*. Though three days were limited for ſetting the captain on ſhore, yet it was held diſcretion not to detain them longer than till the carrack was brought off ſafely to our ſhips; and therefore Sir *William Monſon* having carried the captain, and the reſt of the gentlemen aboard him, where they ſupped, had variety of muſick, and ſpent the night in great jollitry. The morning following he accompanied them aſhore himſelf, whither the *Conde de Vidigueira* had drawn down all the force of the whole country, amounting to the number of twenty thouſand men.

I muſt not omit to deſcribe the behaviour of the galleys in the fight, that every man may have that honour that is due to him. Thoſe of *Portugal*, being of the ſquadron of the marquis of *St. Cruz*, betook themſelves, with their general, to flight in the middle of the fight; but *Frederick Spinola*, who was to convey his galleys out of *Spain* into the low countries, follow'd not the example of the marquis, but made good the road; which the other ſeeing, with ſhame return'd, but to both their coſts; for before they departed, they found the climate ſo hot, that they were forced to fly, their galleys being ſo miſerably beaten, and their ſlaves ſo pitifully ſlain, that there wanted nothing but boats to poſſeſs them all, as well as the two we took and burnt; which

1602. which is a thing has been ſeldom ſeen or heard of, for ſhips to take and deſtroy galleys. The number of men ſlain in the town, the caſtle, the carrack, and galleys, is unknown, though they could not chuſe but be many. The wealth of the carrack could then as ill be eſtimated, though after found to be great. The value of the two galleys burnt, with their loading of powder, is hard to judge, though it's known to have been a ſervice of great importance. For our loſs, it was not much, only one man kill'd in the fly-boat, five ſlain, and as many hurt in the *Garland*, and one hurt in the *Adventure*. Sir *William Monſon* had the left wing of his doublet ſhot off, but receiv'd no other hurt. 1602.

The day following, with a favourable wind, we ſtood our courſe for *England*, which brought us into forty ſeven degrees; and there we met a pinnace, ſent with a packet from the lords, ſignifying the readineſs of a ſecond fleet to ſupply us, and the ſetting out of the *Hollanders* which were ſo long look'd for; which fleet of *Holland* was in view of the pinnace the ſame night, but paſſed by us unſeen. This unlook'd-for accident made the admiral and vice-admiral conſider what to do, and concluded they could not both appear at home, and leave a fleet of ſo great importance upon the enemies coaſt without a guide or head; and therefore they held it fit the vice-admiral ſhould put himſelf into the *Nonpareille*, as the ableſt ſhip of the fleet, and make his return once more to the coaſt of *Spain*. But he having taken his leave, and ſtanding his courſe for the coaſt, a moſt violent ſtorm, with a contrary wind, took him, which continued ten days, and diſcovered the weakneſs of his ſhip, who had like to have founder'd in the deep. The carpenters and company ſeeing the apparent danger, if he bore not up before the wind, preſented him with a petition, beſeeching him to have regard to their lives; for by keeping the ſeas, they ſhould all periſh. Thus was he forc'd by mere extremity to bear for *England*; and coming for *Plimouth*, he found the carrack ſafely arriv'd, and the fleet he went back to take charge of, not to have quitted the coaſt of *England*.

Though it be ſomewhat impertinent to this voyage, to treat of more than the ſucceſs thereof, yet I will a little digreſs, and relate the misfortune of that worthy young gentleman Don *Diego Lobo*, captain of the carrack; and becauſe his worth will more appear by his anſwer to Sir *William Monſon's* offer to him when he was his priſoner. Thus it was; Sir *William Monſon* told him, he doubted, that by the loſs of the carrack, he had loſt his beſt means; for that he ſuppoſed, what he had gain'd in the *Indies* was laden in her, and therefore offered, That what he would challenge upon his reputation to be his own, he ſhould have freedom to carry along with him. The gentleman acknowledg'd the favour to be extraordinary; but replied, That what he had, he gain'd by his ſword; and that his ſword, he doubted not, would repair his fortunes again, utterly refuſing to accept any courteſy in that kind. But, poor gentleman, ill fortune thus left him not; for the viceroy, Don *Chriſtoval de Mora*, holding it for a great indignity to have the carrack taken out of the port that was defended by a caſtle, and guarded with eleven galleys, and eſpecially in his hearing of the ordnance to *Lisbon*, and in the view of thouſands of people who beheld it; ſome of them feeling it too, by the loſs of their goods that were in her, others grieving for the death of their friends that were ſlain; but every man finding himſelf touched in reputation.

The Names of the Carrack and eleven Galleys.

The *St. Valentine*, a carrack of one thouſand ſeven hundred tuns.
The *Chriſtopher*, the admiral of *Portugal*, wherein the marquis *de Santta Cruz* went.
The *St. Lewis*, wherein *Frederick Spinola* went general of the galleys of *Spain*.
The *Forteleza*, vice-admiral to the marquis.
The *Trividad*, vice-admiral to *Frederick Spinola*, burnt.
The *Leva*, in which Sir *William Monſon* was priſoner, 1591.
The *Occaſion*, burnt, and the captain taken priſoner.
The *St. John Baptiſt*.
The *Lazar*.
The *Padilla*.
The *Philip*.
The *St. John*.

And the viceroy not knowing how to clear himſelf ſo well as by laying it upon the gentlemen he put on board her, the ſame night they return'd to their lodging, he cauſed moſt of them, with their captain, to be apprehended, imputing the loſs of the carrack to their cowardice and fear, if not treaſon and connivance with the enemy. After ſome time of impriſonment, by mediation of friends, all the gentlemen were releas'd

1602. leaſed but the captain; who received ſecret advice, that the viceroy intended his death; and that he ſhould ſeek by eſcape to prevent it. Don *Diego* being thus perplexed, practiſed with his ſiſter; who finding means for his eſcape out of a window, he fled into *Italy*, where he lived in exile from 1602. when this happened, till 1615. His government of *Malaca* in the *Indies*, for which he had a patent in reverſion, was confiſcate, and he left hopeleſs ever to return into his native country, much leſs to be reſtored to his command; an ill welcome after ſo long and painful a navigation. Having thus ſpent thirteen years in exile, at the laſt he adviſed with friends, whoſe counſel he followed, to repair into *England*, there to enquire after ſome commanders that had been at the taking of the carrack, by whoſe certificate he might be cleared of cowardice or treaſon in the loſs of her, which would be a good motive to reſtore him to his government again. In the year 1515. he arrived in *London*, and after ſome enquiry found out Sir *William Monſon*, to whom he complained of his hard miſhap, craving the aſſiſtance of him and ſome others, whom Sir *William* knew to be at the taking of the carrack, and deſired him to teſtify the manner of ſurprizing her, which he alledged, was no more than one gentleman was bound to afford another in ſuch a caſe. 1602.

Sir *William* wondered to ſee him, and eſpecially upon ſuch an occaſion: for the preſent he entertain'd him with all courteſy; and the longer his ſtay was in *England*, the courteſies were the greater which Sir *William* did him, who procured him a true and effectual certificate from himſelf, Sir *Francis Howard*, Captain *Barlow*, and ſome others who were witneſſes of that ſervice; and to give it the more reputation, he cauſed it to be inrolled in the office of the admiralty. The gentleman being well ſatisfy'd with his entertainment, and having what he deſired, returned to *Flanders*, where he preſented his certificate to the archduke and the *Infanta*, by whoſe means he got aſſurance, not only of the king's favour, but of reſtitution likewiſe to his government. The poor gentleman having been thus toſs'd by the waves of calamity from one country to another, and never finding reſt, death, that maſters all men, now cut him off ſhort in the midſt of his hopes, as he was preparing his journey for *Spain*; and this was the end of an unfortunate gallant young gentleman, whoſe deſerts might juſtly have challenged a better reward, if God had pleaſed to afford it him.

Sir William Monſon *to the Coaſt of* Spain, Anno 1602.

Ships.	Commanders.
The Swiftſure,	Sir *William Monſon.*
The Mary Roſe,	Captain *Trevers.*
The Dreadnought,	Captain *Cawfield.*
The Adventure,	Captain *Norris.*
The Anſwer,	Captain *Brodgate.*
The Acquittance,	Captain *Browne.*
The Lion's Whelp,	Captain *May.*
The Paragon, a merchant,	Captain *Jaſon.*
A ſmall Carvel,	Captain *Hooper.*

1602. THE fleet of Sir *Richard Lewſon* being happily returned, with the fortune of a carrack, as you have heard, and the queen having now no ſhips upon the *Spaniſh* coaſt, to impeach the enemies preparations, ſhe feared the fleet which was ready at the *Groyne*, would give a ſecond aſſault upon *Ireland*; whereupon Sir *William Monſon*, who by this time was arrived at *Plimouth*, was ſent for in great haſte by her majeſty, to adviſe about, and take on him the charge of the fleet then at *Plimouth*. After a long conference with Sir *William Monſon*, in the preſence of her majeſty, her lord admiral, treaſurer, and ſecretary, it was reſolved, That Sir *William* ſhould repair to *Plimouth*, and with all ſpeed get forth thoſe ſhips, and others that were there making ready. His directions were to preſent himſelf before the harbour of the *Groyne*, being the place where the *Spaniards* made their rendezvous; and if he found any likelihood of a deſign upon *Ireland*, not to quit that coaſt till he ſaw the iſſue; but if he found *Ireland* ſecure, and the enemies preparations to be intended only for defence of their own coaſts, then his inſtructions led him thence, to the place where the *Holland* fleet had order to attend and expect him: and afterwards the whole carriage of the action was referred to his diſcretion; but with this caution, that above all reſpects of other profit or advantage, he attended the affair of *Ireland*. The wind this part of the ſummer hung contrary, and it was ſix weeks before he could clear the coaſt, during which time he 1602.

loſt

1602. loſt his greateſt hopes, by the return of the carracks of the *Indian* fleet, which happen'd a full month before his arrival. He ſet ſail from *Plimouth* the laſt of *Auguſt*, with a ſcant wind, which continued with foul weather till he recovered the *Groyne*, chuſing rather to keep the ſea, than hazard the overthrow of the voyage by his return.

He ſtay'd at the *Groyne* till he underſtood that the fleet, which was ſuſpected to be prepared for *Ireland* was gone to *Lisbon*, to join with Don *Diego de Borachero*, who all that ſummer durſt not budge forth for fear of our fleet that made good the coaſt thereabouts. Sir *William* in his way to the *Rock*, commanded his carvel to repair to the iſlands of *Bayona*, as the likeliſt place to procure intelligence of the ſtate of thoſe parts. As the carvel drew near the iſlands, ſhe diſcerned the *Spaniſh* fleet, conſiſting of twenty four ſail, whoſe deſign was, as ſhe underſtood by a boat ſhe took, to look out the *Engliſh* fleet, whoſe coming they daily expected upon the coaſt; and meeting Sir *William* with this news, he held it a good ſervice to be thus warned of them. Here he took two goodly ſhips of *France*, bound for *Lisbon*, which harbour he put them from, and took pledges, that they ſhould directly return into *France*, without touching in any harbour of *Spain*; for that he underſtood the *Spaniſh* fleet was ill provided of men, and many other things, which theſe ſhips could ſupply. Sir *William* and the *Dreadnought* were carried with a chaſe into the road of *Cerimbra*, where the carrack was taken not long before; and after ſome fight with the caſtle, who defended the veſſel chaſed, they came to a friendly treaty, and preſents paſſed between them.

That night, while the admiral rid in the road, a carvel coming in, not miſtruſting him, was taken, but diſmiſſed in a friendly manner; by whom he underſtood the affairs of *Lisbon*, but could get no notice of the *Holland* fleet, which was appointed to attend at the *Rock*, whither once more he repaired.

Coming thither the 26th of *September*, a light was ſpied in the night, which the admiral chaſed, thinking it had been the fleet of *St. Tome*, or *Brazil*, bound for *Lisbon*, where they were expected; but drawing ſo near them, that he might hail them, he found them, by the hugeneſs of their veſſels, and the number, which anſwered the relation the carvel made, to be the *Armada* of *Spain*: whereupon he ſought means how to clear himſelf, being engaged amongſt them, and made a *Spaniard* that ſerved him call to them, but they could not hear him; the *Adventure* only and the *Whelp* were left with him, the reſt loſing company four nights before in a ſtorm. The enemy perceiving our lights, and thinking it to be ſome fleet 1602. of *Flemmings*, ſtood in amongſt us; but the *Adventure* being diſcovered to be an enemy, the alarum was ſoon taken, and they ſhot at her, and ſlew and hurt ſome of her men. As ſoon as the day appeared, the *Spaniards* beheld the three *Engliſh* ſhips a-head of them, which they chaſed; and three of them, which were better ſailors than the reſt, fetch'd upon us, and drew near the *Whelp*, who was of ſmall force to reſiſt them.

But the admiral reſolving, though it was to his own evident peril, not to ſee a pinnace of her majeſty's ſo loſt, if he could reſcue her with the loſs of his life, though it was much againſt the perſuaſions of his maſter and company, he ſtruck his two ſails for the *Whelp*, and commanded her to ſtand her courſe, while he ſtaid for the three *Spaniſh* ſhips, with hope to make them have little liſt to purſue us. The admiral of the *Spaniards* perceiving how little he cared for his three ſhips, in that he lingered for their coming up, took in with the ſhore, and ſhot off a piece for his three ſhips to follow him. It may appear by this, as by ſeveral other expeditions of ours, how much the ſwift ſailing of ſhips does avail, being the principal advantage in ſea-ſervice; and indeed the main thing we could preſume upon in our war againſt the *Spaniards*. Sir *William* having thus eſcaped the enemy, in his traverſe at ſea there happened, as there does upon all coaſts where there is plenty of trade, divers occaſions of chaſes; and one day Sir *William* following one ſhip, and the *Adventure* another, they loſt company for the whole voyage.

Sir *William* was advertiſed by a ſhip he took, being a *Frenchman*, who came from *St. Lucar*, that the *St. Domingo* fleet was looked for daily; which intelligence made him bear up for the *South Cape*, as well in hopes to meet with them, as to have news of his fleet.

He was no ſooner come to the cape, but he was informed by ſome *Engliſh* men of war, that the *St. Domingo* fleet was paſſed by two days before: here he met with ſhips of ſeveral nations; ſome he reſcued from pyrates, and to others that were in league with her majeſty, he gave his ſafe-conduct for their free paſſage on the ſea. He kept that coaſt till the 21ſt of *October*, on which morning he gave chaſe to a galleon of the king of *Spain*, who recovered the caſtle of *Cape St. Vincent* before he could fetch her up; though he knew the ſtrength of the caſtle, yet he attempted, and had carried her, had it not been for the fear and cowardice of him at the helm, who bore up when he was ready to board her. The fight was not long, but ſharp and dange-

rous;

1602. rous; for there never paſt ſhot between them, till they were within a ſhip's length one of another. The caſtle play'd her part, and tore the *Swiftſure*, ſo that a team of oxen might have crept through her under the half-deck, and one ſhot killed ſeven men. Between the caſtle and the galleon they ſlew in the admiral ten men, and hurt many more, in the view of *Siriago* and his ſquadron to the weſtward, and of divers *Engliſh* men of war to the eaſtward, who durſt not put themſelves upon the reſcue of Sir *William*, for fear of the caſtle. Sir *William* being now left alone, and ſeeing what head-land ſoever he came to, he was to encounter a *Spaniſh* ſquadron, ſtood his courſe that night to ſea, thinking to try if the iſlands of *Tercera* would afford him any better fortune; but coming within forty or fifty leagues of the iſlands, he was taken ſhort with the wind, yet ſtill bearing up what he could for the rock; but at length finding his victuals grew ſhort, his maſt periſhed, and the dangers he was expoſed to, by keeping that coaſt, he directed his courſe for *England*, and came to *Plimouth* the 24th of *November*, where he found the *Mary Roſe* and *Dreadnought*, moſt part of their men being dead or ſick.

The *Adventure* arrived within an hour after him, who in her way homewards fell amongſt the *Brazil* fleet, and encountering with them, loſt divers men, but took none. The *Paragon* was at home long before, with a prize of ſugar and ſpices, which countervailed the charge of the voyage. The *Quittance* in her return, met two ſhips of *Dunkirk*; and in fight with them, her captain was ſlain; but ſhe acquitted herſelf very well, without further harm. This fleet, as you have heard, was to keep the enemy buſied at home, that he might be diverted from the thoughts of *Ireland*; what hazard it endured by the enemy, the fury of the ſea, and foul weather, does appear: and no marvel; for it was the lateſt fleet in winter that ever kept upon the *Spaniſh* coaſt; as it was likewiſe the laſt fleet her majeſty employ'd; for in *March* after ſhe died, and by her death all war ceaſed. As Sir *William Monſon* was general of this laſt fleet, ſo he was a ſoldier, and a youth, at the beginning of the wars; and was at the taking of the firſt *Spaniſh* prize that ever ſaw the *Engliſh* coaſt, which yet was purchaſed with the loſs of twenty five of our men, beſides fifty hurt. This prize was afterwards a man of war, and ſerved againſt the *Spaniards*, and was in thoſe days reckoned the beſt ſhip of war we had: ſhe was called the *Commander*, and belonged to Sir *George Carew*, then governor of the *Iſle of Wight*. 1602.

Sir Richard Lewſon *and Sir* William Monſon *into the Narrow Seas*, Anno 1603.

Ships.	Commanders.
The Repulſe,	Sir *Richard Lewſon*.
The Mere-honour,	Sir *William Monſon*.
The Defiance,	Captain *Goer*.
The Warſpight,	Captain *Seymers*.
The Rainbow,	Captain *Trevor*.
The Dreadnought,	Captain *Reynolds*.
The Quittance,	Captain *Howard*.
The Lion's Whelp,	Captain *Polwheele*.

1603. SIR *William Monſon* returning with his fleet in *November*, there was a reſolution to furniſh another againſt *February*, which ſhould be recruited with freſh ſhips, men, and victuals, in *June*. Sir *Richard Lewſon* was to command the firſt fleet, and Sir *William Monſon* the latter; for the queen found it a courſe both ſecure and profitable, to keep a continual force upon the *Spaniſh* coaſt, from *February* to *November*, that being the time of the greateſt peril to her majeſty; and ſhe was the rather encouraged thereto, by the ſafety ſhe found the laſt ſummer, and the wealth and riches ſhe had from time to time taken from the enemy. The complaint of the ill furniſhing out of her ſhips in other voyages, made it more carefully to be looked to now, and there was better choice of victuals and men than uſually had been; but in the mean time, it pleaſed God to viſit her majeſty with ſickneſs, which cauſed a lingering, though no abſolute diſſolving of the fleet; but when her danger was perceived to increaſe, the ſhips were haſtened out to ſea, it being a point of good policy, to keep our ſeas guarded from any foreign attempt, till his majeſty ſhould be peaceably ſettled in *England*. 1603.

This

1603. This fleet departed from *Queensborough* the 22d of *March*, and arriv'd in the *Downs* the 25th of the ſame, being the day after her majeſty's death. The news whereof, and commandment to proclaim king *James* the ſixth of *Scotland* our lawful king, and the rightful inheritor to the crown, arriv'd both together; which put us into two contrary paſſions, the one of grief, the other of joy; grief for the loſs of the queen, joy for accepting of the king in that peaceable manner; which was a happineſs beyond all expectation, either at home or abroad. 1603.

As the deſign of this fleet was to guard and defend our own coaſts from any incurſion that might be made out of *France* or the low countries; ſo the commanders were vigilant to appear on thoſe coaſts once in two days, to diſhearten them, in caſe they had any ſuch thought: but the truth is, it was beyond their abilities, whatever was in their hearts, to impugn his majeſty: and becauſe the archduke would make the candideſt of his intention apparent to the world, he call'd in his letters of repriſal againſt the *Engliſh*, and publiſhed an edict for a free and unmoleſted traffick into *Flanders*; ſo that now our merchants might again trade peaceably into thoſe parts, from which they had been debarr'd the ſpace of eighteen years. The king finding that *France* neither impeach'd his right, nor gave any jealouſy by the raiſing of an army; and that the archduke made a demonſtration of his deſire of peace, his majeſty did the like, acknowledging the league he had with thoſe princes, with whom the late queen had wars; for wars betwixt countries are not hereditary, but commonly end with the death of their kings; wherefore he commanded his ſhips to give over their ſouthern employment, and to repair to *Chatham*, giving manifeſt teſtimonies, how deſirous he was that his ſubjects ſhould recover that wealth and freedom by peace, which they had formerly loſt by war.

The Voyage of the Earl of Cumberland *to the Iſland of* Puerto Rico, *and the Reaſons why it is inſerted at the End of this firſt Book.*

I SHALL exceed my firſt deſign, by adding this voyage to *Puerto Rico* to the reſt of her majeſty's actions, or thoſe where her ſhips were employed at the charge of others; yet becauſe this was the greateſt undertaking by ſubjects, without the help or aſſiſtance of the queen, both in number of ſhips and land forces, being furniſh'd as well for land as ſea ſervice, as alſo becauſe ſo great a perſon as the earl of *Cumberland* took upon him the command of it, having by ſeveral voyages before attain'd to a perfect knowledge in ſea-affairs; for theſe reaſons I have inſerted this action to *Puerto Rico* among the reſt of the queen's, aforeſaid.

The earl being naturally addicted to the ſea from his youth, as may appear by his undertakings, the firſt ſhew whereof was in a voyage he undertook at his great charge and expence in 1586. intending his ſhips ſhould paſs to the *South Sea* by the *Streights* of *Magellan*; but unadviſedly they ſail'd. After this he made ſundry adventures in his own perſon, as in the former diſcourſe is declar'd; and he often obtain'd the favour of her majeſty, to aſſiſt him with ſome of her ſhips; which ſhe was the more willing to grant, to encourage him in his enterprizes, and to cheriſh the forward ſpirit of ſo great a perſon.

But at laſt my lord began diſcreetly to conſider the obligation he had to the queen, for the loan of her ſhips from time to time, and withal weigh'd what fear and danger he brought himſelf into, if unluckily any of thoſe ſhips ſhould miſcarry; for he valued the reputation of the leaſt of them at the rate of his life.

Upon theſe conſiderations, no perſuaſions being of force to divert him from his reſolution of attempting ſome great action on the ſea, where he had ſpent much time and money, and thinking thereby as well to enrich himſelf, as to ſhew his forwardneſs to do his prince and country ſervice, he reſolved to build a ſhip from the ſtocks, that ſhould equal the middle rank of her majeſty: an act ſo noble and ſo rare, it being a thing never undertaken before by a ſubject, that it deſerv'd immortal fame.

This ſhip, which he nam'd the *Malice-Scourge*, (for by that name it ſeems he taſted the envy of ſome that repin'd at his honourable atchievement,) was eight hundred tuns burthen, proportioned in all degrees to equal any of her majeſty's ſhips of that rank, and no way inferior to them in ſailing, or other property or condition of ſhips.

When built, ſhe had ſeveral employments to ſea, whilſt my lord was owner of her, and prov'd as all other ſhips and men uſually do, ſometimes fortunate, and ſometimes otherwiſe; for there is nothing that a man can account firm or ſtable in this world, eſpecially where the ſea hath the moſt predominant power.

And for her laſt farewel to ſea, my lord perform'd this voyage to *Puerto Rico* in her; where he had trial of her goodneſs and wholeſomeneſs in the ſea, by the violent

1603. ſtorms h' endur'd, better than moſt part of his fleet.

It was not the ceaſing of warlike actions by the king's coming to his crown, who brought peace with him, that made this ſhip ceaſe from doing the part for which ſhe was built: but another, while ſhe was employed by the merchants of the *Eaſt Indies*, who bought her for that trade, and whither ſhe reſorted, and made two happy returns: but in her third, what by foul play and treachery, ſhe became a prey to the *Hollanders*, where ſhe ended her days in fire, being worthy of a far better funeral.

My lord being aboard this ſhip, (the *Malice-Scourge*,) and having divers others of burthen and ſtrength under his command, he ſet ſail from *Plimouth* the 6th of *March*, 1597. Beſides his general deſign to take, to deſtroy, or any way elſe to impoveriſh and impeach the king of *Spain*, or his ſubjects, he grounded his voyage upon two hopes, the firſt more probable than the ſecond, in my opinion, who undertake, as I have ſaid before, to obſerve the errors committed in ſuch voyages.

From *Plimouth* he directed his courſe to the mouth of the river *Tagus*, upon which river the city of *Lisbon* is ſeated, that ſends forth yearly a number of ſhips to the *Eaſt Indies*, called carracks, and that in the month of *April*. There was no queſtion to be made of the certainty of their departure, becauſe if they ſtay beyond that month, they meet with much bad weather, and cannot weather the capes ſouth of the line in their voyage to the *Indies*, but particularly that of *Good Hope*.

My lord's principal end in this voyage was to intercept thoſe carracks, which for burthen exceed all other ſhips in *Europe*, and go full freighted with commodities for the *Eaſt Indies*, beſides the abundance of money tranſported in them, which would have enrich'd my lord abundantly, and the reſt of the adventurers.

Againſt the time they ſhould depart out of harbour, my lord appear'd with his fleet before it, which did ſo much diſhearten and diſmay the *Portugueſe*, that rather than they would put themſelves in hazard of him and his fleet, they choſe to give over their voyage, and loſe the exceſſive charge they had been put unto in furniſhing their ſhips, by means whereof their carracks lay at home, without employment the whole year after.

Beſides the profit my lord propoſed to himſelf by this project thus fruſtrated, it tended to a matter of greater conſequence to the ſtate of *England*, if it had prov'd ſucceſsful; for you muſt underſtand that in the *Eaſt Indies* they are prohibited planting of vines, and want many other things for their ſuſtenance, with which they are ſupplied 1603. yearly out of *Portugal*, that the *Indies* may not ſubſiſt without *Portugal*. Then let us conſider what hindrance and loſſes both *Portugal* and the *Indies* receiv'd, by hindering their ſhips from going to the *Indies* that year.

And if one year prov'd ſo prejudicial to them, what would three or four years have done, if they had been ſo ſerv'd and prevented? It would have reduc'd them to great want, and forc'd them to accept of a friendly traffick with us; or in time we might have divided the *Indies* from *Portugal*, eſpecially if we had carried a younger ſon of Don *Anthony*, whom no doubt they might have been forc'd to accept as king.

The error committed in the proſecution of this voyage, muſt be imputed to my lord himſelf, in not forecaſting how to prevent the hazard and fears that might be impediments to his deſign; therefore he worthily deſerv'd blame, to preſent himſelf and fleet in the eye of *Lisbon*, to be there diſcover'd, knowing that the ſecret carriage thereof gave life and hope to the action. By a familiar example of a man that being ſafely ſeated in a houſe, and in danger of an arreſt, knows that catchpoles lie to [illegible]k him, and yet notwithſtanding wo[illegible]ure abroad, and not ſeek to avo[illegible]; ſo fared it with the carracks at t[illegible] time, who rather choſe to keep themſelves in harbour, than venture upon an unavoidable danger.

If my lord had done well and providently, his fleet ſhould have been furniſhed without rumour, noiſe, or notice, in ſeveral harbours in *England*; the men that went in them not to know or imagine the deſign of their voyage, or that they ſhould meet to compoſe a main fleet, ti'l they were come to the heighth the carracks were to ſail in; and after that each captain to have open'd their directions, with a ſpecial caution not to appear within ſight of the ſhore, for fear of diſcovery. This way, and no other there was, to lull the *Portugueſe* into ſecurity, or to avoid miſtruſt, till they had fallen into their hands.

My lord's other hope, if this ſhould fail, was to give an attempt with his land forces, either upon ſome iſland or town that would yield him wealth and riches, being the chief end of his undertaking; and after many propoſitions made at council, his reſolution was to make an attempt upon the iſland of *Puerto Rico*, in which iſland there is a town of convenient bigneſs and ſtrength, which my lord not long after took and poſſeſſed, with little loſs of men on either ſide, becauſe they came to compoſition.

Herein lies my part to except againſt this deſign of my lord's, as I promis'd in my former

1603. former relations; for whereas all mens actions have a reaſonable ſhew of likelihood of good to redound to them in their intended enterprizes, yet cannot I conceive how a land attempt upon towns could yield my lord any profit, or the merchants that adventur'd with him; for my lord by experience well knew, having been himſelf at the taking of ſome towns, that they afforded little wealth to the taker, becauſe riches of value will be either buried, or ſecretly conveyed away. And for merchandizes of great bulk, which that poor iſland yielded, it was only ſome few hides, black ſugar, and ginger, which would not amount to any great matter, to countervail the charge of ſo coſtly a journey.

Commonly that iſland ſends out two or three ſhips of a reaſonable burthen to tranſport the yearly commodities it yieldeth, for though it have the name of being in the *Indies*, yet it is a place remote, and unfrequented with traffick, either from the *Indies*, or any other place: or though the iſland ſhould be ſurprized at ſuch a ſeaſon of the year as their commodities were ripe, and ready for tranſportation, yet the value is not to be eſteem'd, where ſo many people that adventur'd with my lord were to look for a dividend according to their adventure.

And yet I will not deny, but by accident this iſland was made worthy an attempt upon it, by example of Sir *Francis Drake* and Sir *John Hawkins*, who, as you have heard, fail'd thither on their own account, *Anno* 1595. and their defeat made it the more admir'd, and purchas'd my lord's greater honour, in that he carried it with a ſmaller number of men, and leſs loſs than *Drake* was repulſed.

But becauſe time and opportunity alter the circumſtances of things, therefore, to ſatisfy theſe common and vulgar people, who judge according to event, and not to reaſon, you ſhall underſtand the difference, and the cauſe that made the difference betwixt Sir *Francis Drake* in the year 1595. and the earl of *Cumberland* in 1598.

Sir *Francis Drake* was commanded thither by directions from the queen; not that ſhe expected profit or benefit from the iſland, which ſhe well knew, of itſelf, was unworthy any enterprize; but what ſhe did was upon intelligence ſhe receiv'd of a galleon of plate; which, with the loſs of her maſt, was forced into that iſland, as I gave an account, when I treated before of that voyage of 1595. 1603.

In the mean time five frigates were preparing in *Spain* to bring home that treaſure, and in them to the number of eight or nine hundred ſoldiers, who, in their courſe to *Puerto Rico* ſurpriz'd a pinnace of Sir *Francis Drake*'s fleet, that gave intelligence of his deſign, as well againſt that place as *Nombre de Dios*, whither he was bound; by which accident his deſigns were prevented, and the enemy had leiſure to fortify, ſtrengthen, and man the town with the ſoldiers brought in by the frigats, which made Sir *Francis Drake* ſuddenly and diſhonourably retire, with the loſs of divers gentlemen and others of good quality. This misfortune was ſuppoſed to haſten the death of Sir *John Hawkins*, who then died, after he had ſeen himſelf thus repulſed.

My lord might as well have conſider'd, that no uſe could be made of the ſituation of that iſland, as of other iſlands of leſs value and riches there might be; as for inſtance, the *Tercera*, which, though the ſoil yields not that plenty and profit *Puerto Rico* does, yet by our inhabiting it, the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe* would find great annoyance in their returns from their *Indies*, *Braſil*, and *Guinea*; in which ſeas our ſhips would continually lie, and endeavour cutting them off: as on the contrary, *Puerto Rico* is ſeated ſo loneſome, that they have ſcarce the ſight of a ſhip in the whole year, except thoſe few of their own I have formerly ſpoke of.

And thus much for my exception againſt my lord's voyage to *Puerto Rico*. Now will I collect ſome brief proceedings in that voyage, taken out of the printed copy publiſh'd by Dr. *Lafeild*, chaplain to my lord in that expedition.

Ships.

1603.	Ships.	Commanders.	1603.
	The Malice Scourge,	The earl of *Cumberland.*	
	The Merchant Royal,	Sir *John Bartley.*	
	The Aſcenſion,	Captain *Flicke.*	
	The Sampſon,	Captain *Clifford.*	
	The Alcedo,	Captain *Coach.*	
	The Conſent,	Captain *Slingsby.*	
	The Proſperous,	Captain *Langton.*	
	The Centurion,	Captain *Palmer.*	
	The Galleon Conſtance,	Captain *Foliambe.*	
	The Affection,	Captain *Fleming.*	
	The Gueanna,	Captain *Caletburſt.*	
	The Scout,	Captain *Jolliffe.*	
	The Anthony,	Captain *Careleſs.*	
	The Pegaſus,	Captain *Goodwyn.*	
	The Royal Defence,	Captain *Bromley.*	
	The Margaret and John,	Captain *Dixon.*	
	The Bartley Bag,	Captain *Lea.*	
	The Old Frigat,	Captain *Harper.*	

My lord, with the ſhips aforeſaid, being furniſhed with all things neceſſary for ſuch a fleet, ſet ſail from *Plimouth* the 6th of *March*, 1597. and directed his courſe for cape *Finiſter*, the northermoſt cape of *Spain*.

But before he could reach that coaſt, he found a defect in his main maſt, which was almoſt periſhed, and he forced to favour it with a ſlack ſail, until he arrived at the iſland of the *Burlings*, over againſt *Peniche* in *Portugal*, where he anchor'd, and commanded his fleet to keep a good diſtance off at ſea, to avoid being diſcovered from the ſhore, knowing that the hopes of his voyage conſiſted in ſecrecy.

He was not many days fitting his maſt, having carpenters and materials enough for diſaſters: but notwithſtanding his directions to his ſhips to ſtand off to ſea, it could not keep the enemy from knowledge of them at *Lisbon*, where the carracks lay ready to depart; and thus the expectation of my lord's voyage was fruſtrated; for the carracks being fallen down as low as the bay, ready to ſail, they were inſtantly commanded to give over their voyage, and return to *Lisbon*.

My lord finding it bootleſs to expect any good of the carracks, upon which the grounds of his voyage depended, directed his courſe to the *Canaries*, rather to refreſh his men aſhore, who were raw ſoldiers, and wearied at ſea, than out of expectation of gain, or any way to annoy the enemy: he landed without reſiſtance at the poor iſland of *Lanſarotte*, and the rather, becauſe he was made believe a marquis liv'd there, who, being taken priſoner, would yield ten thouſand pounds ranſom; but the projector knew as little of the truth thereof, as he did of the place when he came to land.

This miſerable iſland afforded nothing but earth to walk on, and ſome little ſtore of wine, not worth the ſpeaking of; and yet, as ſmall a quantity as it was, it put his company into a mutinous diſorder of drunkenneſs, that to pacify them, my lord was forc'd to uſe threats and the rigour of his commiſſion, and to admoniſh them how to carry themſelves ever after, upon danger and peril of their lives.

The 21ſt of *April* he ſet ſail from thence, and being off at ſea, he call'd a council; in which he propoſed to his captains, Whether, in their opinions, it was better to direct his courſe for *Fernan-Buco* in *Brazil*, or *Dominica* in the *Weſt Indies*, and there to take a new conſultation. After long diſcuſſing this point, every man having the liberty to uſe his beſt argument, it was at laſt reſolved for *Dominica*, whither he haſten'd, and landed there on the 23d of *May*. Having water'd, (for the iſland afforded nothing elſe,) he ſtood for the iſland of *Virgines*, a place unpeopled, where he landed, and muſter'd his ſoldiers, and found the greateſt part of them both rude and raw.

At this iſland he was not far from *Puerto Rico*, whither his former reſolution led him: my lord himſelf went in his boat to view a convenient landing-place, and found a ſandy bay fit for his purpoſe; whereupon he inſtantly put his men aſhore on the 6th of *June*, where he found no reſiſtance; and becauſe there needs no long account of the aſſault he gave to the outworks, before his approach to the town, I ſhall ſay no more, to avoid prolixity, but that in two days he took both town, fort, and what elſe were impediments to his enterprize.

Having brought the enemy to his mercy, he carry'd himſelf both nobly and with pity: and whereas in ſuch tumults diſorders cannot be avoided, yet if they appeared, or were made known to him, he puniſhed

1603. niſhed the actors with great ſeverity, and in ſight of the *Spaniards*, who beheld the juſtice of his carriage.

We have one inſtance of it in a valiant ſoldier, who otherwiſe had deſerved well, and whom, for having committed violence upon the wife of a *Spaniard*, my lord, without hearkening to mediation or mercy, hanged in the publick market-place. A ſailor had been ſo ſerv'd for defacing the church, but by the importunity of other ſailors (for at that time there was occaſion to pleaſe them above ſoldiers) my lord forbore his execution after he was brought to the gibbet. As the fleet lay in harbour, upon *St. Peter's-Day* there was a ſhip came bearing in amongſt them from *Angola* in *Africk*, laden with blacks, a commodity that country does chiefly deal in, and was there ſecured: another had been ſo ſerved, but that ſeeing ſo many ſhips in the harbour, ſhe ſuſpected they could not be *Spaniards*, and ſo eſcaped. There was another which came from *Trinidad*; but of ſo ſmall value, that ſhe is not worth mentioning.

After all things were thus quieted and ſettled in the town, there was a conſultation whether it ſhould be kept or quitted; but in the end one reaſon prevailed againſt all objections, which was a ſudden ſickneſs among the ſoldiers, which in a few days ſwept away four hundred of them.

There was nothing more to do now but to embark ordnance, and goods as the town afforded, which conſiſted of hides, ginger, and coarſe ſugar, things of ſmall value to countervail ſo great an expence as that of this voyage: in fine, he returned into *England*. It is needleſs to ſet down accidents at ſea; but he arriv'd ſafely in the month of *October* following.

And thus much concerning the voyages, ſucceſſes, deſigns, and commanders, from the year 1585 to 1603, that the wars ceaſed; wherein it plainly appears how conquering and victorious our nation has been in their latter actions at ſea: and to add the more to their honour, you muſt obſerve the exploits they have performed by land in the land-voyages, in taking and ſpoiling of towns, ports, fortreſſes, and other places of moment, which for a time they have enjoyed and poſſeſs'd in the ſeveral dominions of the kings of *Spain*, as namely, in the *Indies*, *Brazil*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, the iſlands; and farther than all theſe, in the *South Sea*, which at that time no nations ſailed to but the *Spaniards* themſelves, till the voyage of Sir *Francis Drake* and Mr. *Cavendiſh*.

The Taking of theſe Places following is to be juſtify'd by the Lawfulneſs of a War begun 1585. *betwixt* England *and* Spain. 1603.

Sir *Francis Drake* at his firſt voyage, which was in the year 1585. took theſe places following in the *Weſt Indies*.

Playa, *St. Jago*, } in *Cape Verde*.
St. Domingo in *Hiſpaniola*.
Carthagena in *Terra Firma*.
St. Antonio in *Florida*.
St. Hellena and the fort of *St. John* in *Florida* likewiſe.
Rio de la Hacha.
Tapia.
Rancheria.

Sir *Francis Drake* in the *Weſt Indies*, 1595.

Sancta Maria.
Nombre de Dios.
Porto Bello.

Captain *Preſton* in the *Weſt Indies*, 1595.

Puerto Sancto.
Choco.
Chapa.
St. John de Lima.
Cumena.

Captain *Parker* in the *Weſt Indies*, 1601.

St. Vincent in *Cabo Verde*.
Porto Bello once more.
The fort of *St. Jago*.
Triana.
Campeachy.

The earl of *Cumberland*, 1597.

The iſland of *Lançarete*, one of the *Canaries*.
The iſle and town of *Puerto Rico*.

Captain *Newport* in the *Weſt Indies*, 1591.

Taguana, *Oieda*, *Truxilo*. } in *Hiſpaniola*.

Sir *John Burroughs* took a town in the iſland of *Trinidad* in the *Weſt Indies*, and Sir *Walter Raleigh* another after.

Mr. *Cavendiſh*'s firſt voyage about the world, 1586.

A fort and ordnance in the *Streights of Magellan*.

1603. *Sancta Maria.*
Marmaroma.
Arica.
Piſco.
Paraca.
Cheriſca.
Paito.
The iſle of *Puna.*
Acapulco in *New Spain.*
The port of *Nanidad.*
The port of *St. Jago.*
The bay of *Compoſtella.*
The iſle of *St. Andrea.*
The bay of *Maſcallan.*

All in the *South Sea.*

Mr. *Cavendiſh*'s ſecond voyage to *Brazil*, 1591.
Sanctos.
St. Vincent.
Fernando Buco taken and quitted, and the carracks and goods brought from thence by captain *Lancaſter* and others.

Captain *Langton* in the *Weſt Indies*, 1593. burnt and ranſomed ſeveral farms and plantations in *Margarita*, *Hiſpaniola*, and *Jamaica.*

Drake to the bay of *Cadiz*, 1587 and 1589. took two or three forts upon cape *St. Vincent* and cape *Sagre.*

He and Sir *John Norris* took, in the voyage to *Portugal*, *Peniche*, and ſeveral villages: in Sir *John Norris*'s march to *Lisbon* he took the ſuburbs of *Lisbon*, and *Drake* took *Caſcais.*

1589. The earl of *Cumberland* took the iſland of *Fayal*, and made *Gracioſa*, the iſland of *Flores*, and *Cuervo*, give him relief.

1596. The earl of *Eſſex* and the lord admiral took the city of *Cadiz*, the bridge of *Swaſe*, and the town of *Faro* in *Portugal*, (a biſhop's ſeat.)

1597. The earl of *Eſſex* took the iſland and town of *Fayal*, and *Villa Franca* in the iſland of *St. Michael.*

I omit divers other places taken by private ſhips of war.

The names of ſuch private perſons as went to to the Weſt-Indies *upon their own account, with ſuch prizes as they took; by which may appear how little hurt we have done or can do to the* Spaniards *in the* Weſt Indies, *in compariſon of other places we have annoy'd them in, as I have more largely proved in my ſecond book.*

1587. Sir *George Cary* ſet out three ſhips; two of which took nothing, and the third took a prize, and brought her into *Briſtol*, worth 2000 *l.*

1589. Captain *Michelſon*, in the *Dog*, 160 took three ſhips, but of no value, none of which he brought for *England.*

1593. A ſmall ſhip of Sir *George Cary*'s took nothing; but had like to be taken her ſelf.

In the ſame year captain *Newport* return'd with the like ſucceſs.

1594. Theſe ſhips following were ſet forth:
Captain *Lane* with three ſhips of Mr. *Wats*'s.
Captain *Roberts* in a ſhip of *Briſtol.*
Captain *Benjamin Wood* with four ſhips of my lord *Thomas.*
Captain *Kevill* of *Lime-Houſe*; and captain *King* of ——: in all thirteen, which return'd not the charge of their voyage.

1594. Sir *Robert Dudley*, having two ſhips and two pinnaces, did not countervail his charges.

1596. Sir *Anthony Shirley* and captain *Parker* took ſome towns; but no profit to them.

1596. My lord of *Cumberland*, as I have ſaid, took *Puerto Rico* without profit.

1593. Two ſhips and a pinnace of my lord of *Cumberland* did ſome ſpoil to the *Spaniards*, but little good to themſelves.

1601. Captain *Parker* did ſome ſpoil upon towns, but they were like the reſt in profit.

David Middleton brought home a prize of one hundred and forty tuns of *Campeachy* wood, but of little value.

1595. Sir *Walter Raleigh* to *Guiana*, no profit at all; and the year before Sir *John Burroughs* with the like ſucceſs.

There were divers pinnaces that went ſeveral years to diſcover *Guiana*, and the river of *Amazons*, but never any of them returned with profit.

1601. Captain *Cleive*, with a ſhip and a pinnace, took a prize of hides, which he reſtored at his return, the peace being concluded between the two kingdoms in the time of his abſence.

Theſe private voyages being compared with the reſt of the queen's that went before, a man may plainly perceive that they produced greater loſs, ſpoil, and damage, to the *Spaniards*, than profit or advantage to the *Engliſh*; for computing the expence of our publick actions and private adventures with the gain that aroſe out of them, we ſhall find they were much more chargeable than gainful to us; though I confeſs, in that caſe we are not to value the expence and loſs in our diſburſements; for it was repaid with the honour we gain'd, which will immortalize our nation.

1602. 1603.

The Advantages of keeping a Fleet on the Coaſt of Spain *in Time of War.*

I Omit in this firſt book to inſert a treatiſe I was required by Sir *Robert Cecill*, then principal ſecretary of ſtate, to write, concerning the abuſes and corruptions at ſea, which then began to creep in, not only in ſhips, men, and victuals, but in the deſigns; with a remedy how to amend and redreſs them. But becauſe it is more proper for my third book, where I treat of projects, a reformation of the abuſes of the navy, as alſo how to make an offenſive and defenſive war upon our neighbouring countries that oppoſe us on the ſeas, I refer you to that book, and have gathered by this that follows, That whilſt the *Spaniards* were employed at home by our yearly fleets, they never had opportunity nor leiſure either to make an attempt upon us, or to divert the wars from themſelves; by which means we were ſecured from any attempt of theirs, as will appear by what follows.

The *Spaniards* ſtood ſo much in awe of her majeſty's ſhips, that when a few of them appeared on the coaſt, they commonly diverted their enterprizes; as namely, in the year 1587. when Sir *Francis Drake* with twenty five ſhips prevented an expedition that ſummer out of *Cadiz-Road* for *England*, which the next year after they attempted, in 1588. becauſe not moleſted as the year before.

Our action in *Portugal* following ſo quick upon the overthrow in 1588. made the king of *Spain* ſo far unable to offend, that if the undertaking had been proſecuted with judgment, he had been in ill circumſtances to defend it, or his other kingdoms.

From that year to the year 1591. he grew great by ſea, becauſe he was not buſied by us as before; which appeared by the fleet that took the *Revenge*; which *Armada* of his, it is very likely, had been employ'd againſt *England*, had it not been diverted that year by my lord *Thomas Howard*.

And for four years together after this the king employ'd his ſhips to the iſlands, to guard his merchants from the *Indies*, which made him have no leiſure to think of *England*.

The voyage to *Cadiz* in 1596. did not only fruſtrate his intended action againſt *England*, but we deſtroy'd many of his ſhips and proviſions that ſhould have been employ'd in that ſervice.

He deſigned the ſecond revenge upon *England*, but was prevented by my lord of *Eſſex* to the iſlands; which action of his, if it had been well carried, and that my lord would have believed good advice, it had utterly ruined the king of *Spain*.

The next year that gave cauſe of fear to the queen was 1599. the king of *Spain* having a whole year, by our ſufferance, to make his proviſions, and brought his ſhips and army down to the *Groyne*; which put the queen to a more chargeable defenſive war, than the value our offenſive fleet would have been maintained with upon his coaſt.

This great expedition was diverted by the fleet of *Holland*, which the *Adelantado* purſued to the iſlands.

The following years, 1600 and 1601. there was hope of peace, and nothing was attempted on either ſi- till the latter end of 1601. that he invade' *Ireland*; but with ill ſucceſs, as you have heard.

The laſt ſummer, 1602. he was braved by her majeſty's ſhips in the mouth of his harbour, with the loſs of a carrack, and rendered unable to proſecute his deſigns againſt *Ireland*; for no ſooner was Sir *Richard Lewſon* returned, but Sir *William Monſon* was ſent back again upon that coaſt, as you have heard, who kept the king's forces ſo employ'd, that he betook himſelf only to the guard of his ſhores.

It is not the meaneſt miſchief we ſhall do the king of *Spain*, if we war thus upon him, to force him to keep his ſhores ſtill armed and guarded, to the infinite vexation, charge, and diſcontent of his ſubjects; for no time or place can ſecure them ſo long as they ſee or know us to be upon the coaſt.

The ſequel of all theſe actions being duly conſidered, we may be confident, that whilſt we buſy the *Spaniards* at home, they dare not think of invading *England* or *Ireland*; for by their abſence their fleet from the *Indies* may be endangered, and in their attempts they have as little hope of prevailing.

The

1603. 1603.

The Names of ſuch Ships as her Majeſty left at her Death.

Names of Ships.	Tunnage.	Men in Harbour	Men at Sea, whereof	Mariners.	Gunners.	Sailors.
Elizabeth Jonas.	900	30	500	340	40	120
Triumph.	1000	30	500	340	40	120
White Bear.	900	30	500	340	40	120
Victory.	800	17	400	268	32	100
Mere-honour.	800	30	400	268	32	100
Ark Royal,	800	17	400	268	32	100
Saint Matthew	1000	30	500	340	40	120
Saint Andrew	900	17	400	268	32	100
Due Repulſe,	700	16	350	230	30	90
Garland,	700	16	300	190	30	80
Warſpight.	600	12	300	190	30	80
Mary Roſe.	600	12	250	150	30	70
The Hope.	600	12	250	150	30	70
Bonaventure.	600	12	250	150	30	70
The Lion.	500	12	250	150	30	70
Nonpereille.	500	12	250	150	30	70
Defiance.	500	12	250	150	30	70
Rainbow.	500	12	250	150	30	70
Dreadnought.	400	10	200	130	20	50
Antelope.	350	10	160	114	16	30
Swiftſure.	400	10	200	130	20	50
Swallow.	330	10	160	114	16	30
Foreſight,	300	10	160	114	16	30
The Tide.	250	7	120	88	12	20
The Crane.	200	7	100	76	12	20
Adventure.	250	7	120	88	12	20
Quittance.	200	7	100	76	12	20
Anſwer.	200	7	100	76	12	20
Advantage.	200	7	100	70	12	20
Tyger.	200	7	100	70	12	20
Tremontain.		6	70	52	8	10
The Scout.	120	6	66	48	8	10
The Calis.	100	5	60	42	8	10
The Charles.	70	5	45	32	6	7
The Moon.	60	5	40	30	5	5
The Advice.	50	5	40	30	5	5
The Spy.	50	5	40	30	5	5
Merlyn.	45	5	35	26	5	4
The Sun.	40	5	30	24	4	2
Synnet.	20	2				
George Hoy.	100	10				
Pennyroſe Hoy.	80	8				

Her majeſty left theſe ſhips aforenamed at her death in good condition; and whilſt ſhe lived they gained her and her realms honour, by the exploits and victories they and her ſubjects obtained; and ſhe left in every one of thoſe ſhips, officers ſerving in their ſeveral places whilſt they lay in harbour.

But as abuſes by continuance of time are crept in for want of care and overlooking, like chimneys that gather ſoot by continual fires, that may indanger the houſe if it be not prevented by ſweeping; ſo fared it with our navy at the latter end of the queen's reign; which Sir *Robert Cecill*, the principal ſecretary, carefully foreſaw, and cauſed me to write the enſuing diſcourſe how the then abuſes might be taken away, and a courſe ſettled for a reformation, that the like might not hereafter happen; which I directed to him as follows:

To

1603. *To the Right Honourable Sir* Robert Cecill, *Principal Secretary to her Majeſty.*

"I Have by your honour's command, "and my own experience and obſerva- "tion, briefly collected the abuſe of our "ſeamen, and the corruptions that are to- "lerated; and ſhew the injuries offered in "furniſhing, victualling, and manning her "majeſty's ſhips; and laſtly, how ſuch "wrongs may be reformed; all which I "humbly repreſent to your honour."

Concerning the Abuſes of our Seamen.

NOTHING breeds diſorders in our ſailors, but liberty and over-much clemency: the one they have in their ordinary ſhips of repriſal, where no diſcipline is uſed, nor authority obey'd; the other in eſcaping puniſhment when they juſtly deſerved it, which hath brought her majeſty's ſervice to be no more accounted of, than the actions of private men. It is ſtrange what miſery ſuch men will chuſe to endure in ſmall ſhips of repriſal, though they be hopeleſs of gain, rather than ſerve her majeſty, where their pay is certain, their diet plentiful, and their labour not ſo great. Nothing breeds this but the liberty they find in the one, and puniſhment they fear in the other.

The ſhips theſe men covet to go in, are neither of ſervice nor ſtrength to the ſtate, or annoyance to the enemy: their owners are men of as baſe condition as themſelves, making no more reckoning what outrages their ſhips commit at ſea, than the men themſelves that commit them. They grow ſo bold upon the lenity uſed toward them, that they as confidently detain men after they are preſſed, as if there were no law to prohibit it. Nor are they ſatisfy'd with a competent number of men in their ſhips; but commonly carry twice as many as their ſhips and victuals require; and the firſt carvel or fiſherman they take, they put their ſpare men into, who many times ſink in the ſea, famiſh for want of victuals, or are forced aſhore into *Spain*, where they muſt either be compelled to ſerve againſt their country, or die in miſery. And thus have more ſeamen been conſumed, than in all other actions or enterprizes againſt *Spain*. And no man dares reprove it, becauſe the lord admiral is intereſted in all ſuch prizes as theſe unprofitable ſhips take.

It is time to foreſee and prevent theſe inconveniencies; for it is apparent this neglect of the queen's ſervice loſt her majeſty the *Indian* fleet Sir *Richard Lewſon* met withal, being forced to leave Sir *William Monſon* with half the ſhips at *Plimouth* for want of ſailors to man them, when at the ſame time more men were ſuffered to go in private ſhips of war, than would have manned her majeſty's navy. 1603.

And yet this is not all the miſchief that enſues upon it; for theſe men being thus ſuffered to go, her majeſty's ſhips are ſupplied with fiſhermen at the ſeaſon of their voyage to *Newfoundland*; ſo that not only the poor ſailors, but the countries about them that are ſupported by that trade, are half undone. The men themſelves are ſo unſerviceable, and of ſo little ſpirit, that I look upon it as a principal cauſe of ſickneſs in her majeſty's ſhips. Theſe abuſes are well known to the *Spaniards*, which made *Siriago*, general of their ſea, covet nothing more than to board one of her majeſty's ſhips, knowing how ill they are manned in compariſon of privateers.

Beſides many private voyages have prov'd prejudicial to her majeſty's deſigns; for very often thoſe men that go in ſuch ſhips are taken priſoners, and give notice of our intentions, whereby the enemy is provided, and we prevented. As for example, the two voyages of Sir *Francis Drake* and Mr. *Cavendiſh* about the world, which though honourable to themſelves, yet it had been much better for the queen that they had not been undertaken, but with greater forces; for we have now diſcovered to the *Spaniards* our finding the way through the *Streights* of *Magellan*, which they thought to conceal from us: we have paſſed by the coaſt of *Chile* and *Peru* up to *Panama*, croſs'd over to the *Philippine* and *Molucco* iſlands, and the *Eaſt Indies*. Thus have we warn'd, without annoying them, to ſtrengthen themſelves in thoſe parts; ſo that ſuch places as had no defence, are now made able both to defend and offend, as appeared by the taking of Mr. *Hawkins* in the *South Sea*, 1594.

And ſince that time, it is apparent by three ſeveral voyages made by the *Hollanders*, the one in 1597. with five ſhips; the ſecond in 1614. with as many; but, laſtly, and eſpecially in the fleet called by the name of the *Naſſaw Fleet*, in 1623. all which fleets paſſed the *Streights* of *Magellan*, attempted landing in divers parts of *Peru* and *New Spain* with a force of three thouſand ſoldiers, and were repulſed in thoſe places which Mr. *Cavendiſh* had taken and enjoy'd, *Anno* 1587. but with thirty ſhot.

How to redreſs theſe Diſorders.

IF it be true, as it is held to be, an eaſier thing to cure than diſcover a diſeaſe, then may there be hopes of amendment of theſe enormities and abuſes: but the firſt thing that muſt be obtained, is, the conſent and countenance of the lord admiral; for I have ſhewed, that theſe abuſes are crept in

1603. in by his permiſſion, or at leaſt his officers.

The ſecond is, not to admit of all men to become owners and captains, that are able to buy or victual a ſhip; but to examine their condition, their eſtate, and qualities, and to cauſe them to give ſecurity not to connive at the abuſes here mentioned.

Thirdly, to reſtrain all private actions whilſt her majeſty's are on foot; but if they will adventure, to let it be done in the company of her ſhips, where they ſhall have a ſhare proportionable to their adventure; and I believe it will prove more beneficial than now they find it: or if they refuſe it, it ſhall be lawful for them to adventure alone four months in the year, (when it is not fit to keep the king's ſhips at ſea;) but to injoin them to return at a day limited: and the care to ſee this executed may be committed to the vice-admiral of every county, who is to take care they carry no more men than the ſhips require, nor leſs proviſion than is requiſite, leſt they run into the misfortunes above mentioned.

This will be the way to redreſs all abuſes, to make men obedient to diſcipline and command, to avoid ſickneſs in her majeſty's ſhips, to imploy none but ſuch as are ſerviceable, not to moleſt the poor labouring fiſhermen, to give the merchants ſatisfaction, and to preſerve the life and liberty of ſailors.

Now follow the Abuſes in her Majeſty's Ships.

THERE are ſo many, and ſeveral abuſes in her majeſty's ſhips, that the reforming of one is to little purpoſe, unleſs there be a reformation in the whole. And I will firſt begin with victuals upon which the lives of men depend: in this there is ſuch great abuſe in every voyage, that there is no man but has cauſe to complain.

The gunners, into whoſe charge is committed the ſtrength of the ſhip, are preferred to their places rather for money than merit: and to deſcend to the ſhips themſelves, there are ſo many impediments in them in our ſouthern voyages, that we cannot ſay any thing is ſtrong or ſerviceable about them. And though their wants be made known before their going from home, the officers of the navy, either out of frugality, or following precedents of former ages, not conſidering there was no ſuch imployment for the queen's ſhips heretofore, have not that care which is expedient. And, laſtly, the men that ſerve in them are ſo ill treated, that they alledge it for the cauſe of their backwardneſs to ſerve the queen.

The Manner how to reform theſe Abuſes. 1603.

THE way to redreſs every abuſe, is, to execute ſevere juſtice upon the chief men in office: as, firſt, the victualler, if he fail either in goodneſs or quantity of her majeſty's allowance, let his life anſwer it; for no ſubject's eſtate is able to countervail the damage her majeſty may ſuſtain by ſuch defect. And to take away all excuſes of his part, and to provide there may be no failing of the ſervice, it were convenient to have a ſurplus of victuals tranſported in other ſhips, to be exchanged, if upon view the other prove to be ill-conditioned.

Secondly, For the gunners: their frauds in powder and ſhot, and other things under their charge, are intolerable; and they have been the more embolden'd by the baſeneſs of ſome captains, who have conſented to their theft.

For reformation hereof, it were good to have a deputy appointed in every ſhip from the officers of the ordnance, to take charge of powder, ſhot, musket, *&c.* and to deliver them to ſuch men as ſhall be accountable for them at the end of the voyage; for it is no reaſon ſo great a charge ſhould be committed to the gunner, who make no conſcience to ſteal, and may ſteal without controulment when it is in their poſſeſſion.

Another thing, a captain muſt have orders to forbid, and look preciſely it be obey'd, which is the laviſhneſs of ſhooting for pleaſure at the meeting of ſhips, paſſing by caſtles, and feaſting aboard; for indeed there is more powder waſtefully ſpent in this ſort, than againſt an enemy.

For the third, which is the diſability of ſhips to the ſouthward, it is occaſioned by the great weight of ordnance, which makes them labourſome, and cauſes their weakneſs; and conſidering how few gunners are allowed to every ſhip, it were better to leave ſome of theſe pieces at home, than to peſter the ſhips with them. I muſt ſay, and with truth, that all her majeſty's ſhips are far undermanned; for when people come to be divided into three parts, the one third to tackle the ſhip, the other to ply their ſmall ſhot, and the third to manage their ordnance, all the three ſervices fail for want of men to execute them.

Neither do I ſee that more men can be contained in the queen's ſhips to the ſouthward, for want of ſtowage for victuals, and room to lodge in. No ſhip that returns from the ſouthward ſhould go to ſea again under half a year's reſpite; in which time ſhe will be well air'd, and her ballaſt muſt be chang'd.

There

1603. There ſhould be a general workman appointed in harbour, carefully to overlook the ſhips that ſhall be employed: this man ſhould go the voyage, and have the like charge at ſea. Nothing that is neceſſary for ſhips, but muſt be carried in a great abundance by a deputy from the officers of the navy, as I have formerly ſaid in the like caſe of the officers of the ordnance. All precedents of former times of furniſhing the queen's ſhips to be aboliſh'd; and whoſoever takes upon him this office as deputy, to be bound to give an account of the ſurpluſſes remaining, that what is not ſpent may be reſtor'd; which will nothing increaſe the charge in carrying them to ſea; and yet the ſhips ſhall be ſo provided, as no caſualty that can happen at ſea will bring them into diſtreſs. Beſides, they ſhall ſupply the want of ſuch prizes as they take, who by reaſon of their long voyages have conſum'd their ſails, ropes, and tackling, as in the like caſe we found by the carrack, which we could not have brought for *England*, if we had not ſupplied her want out of the queen's ſhips.

And laſtly, for the men that ſail in the ſhips, without whom they are of no uſe; their uſage has been ſo ill at the end of their voyages, that it is no marvel they ſhew their unwillingneſs to ſerve the queen; for if they arrive ſick from any voyage, ſuch is the charity of the people aſhore, that they ſhall ſooner die, than find pity, unleſs they bring money with them.

And ſeeing her majeſty muſt and does pay thoſe that ſerve, it were better for them, and much more profit and honour to the queen, to diſcharge them upon their firſt landing, than to continue them longer unpaid; for whether they are ſick, or lie idle in harbour, their pay runs on till the ſhips and they are diſcharg'd, to the great conſumption of victuals and wages, which falls upon the queen.

Wherefore it is neceſſary, that an under-treaſurer be appointed in every fleet, who ſhould carry money for all neceſſary diſburſements. I have borrow'd ſome part of theſe reformations, and annex'd them to my fifth book, which I preſented to the king's view, ſhewing the abuſes of this time, both in ſhips, victuals, men, *&c.*

When all theſe Things are reform'd and well order'd, and ſhips ready furniſh'd to Sea, the next important Thing in a General, is to provide how to get Intelligence of his Enemy, and to keep the enemy from having Intelligence of him; which in our late Wars with Spain *we compaſs'd by the following means.*

WHAT I have ſaid touching an offenſive and defenſive war with *Spain*, needs no other repetition than what is contain'd in the fifth book; for as I have often ſaid in the precedent diſcourſes, the life of all action by ſea is to get intelligence of an enemy, and to keep the enemy from intelligence; for in ſo doing, a man is arm'd to encounter an enemy naked and unprovided, as I have inſtanc'd in many examples before; for whoſoever is ſucceſsful by chance and good luck, rather than by providence and foreſight, cannot challenge the honour as his own, but muſt allow fortune a ſhare with him; for ſucceſs is the miſtreſs of fools, and true management proceeds from judgment. 1603.

And to the end in our ſucceeding actions and wars with *Spain*, if ever there ſhould happen a new breach, we may not be ignorant how to proceed againſt that nation by our former precedents, I have annexed theſe following precepts as a light and guide how to get intelligence at our arrival upon that coaſt, by which we ſhall be able the better to direct ourſelves in the whole voyage; for it is an eaſier thing to follow a leſſon well taught us, than to compaſs it by our own practice or ſtudy.

The firſt means we uſed to get intelligence of the affairs of *Spain* upon our arrival, was to hail into the height of the *Burlings*, a ſmall deſart iſland, whither every night the carvels of *Peniche*, oppoſite to it, reſorted to take fiſh, which ſerv'd the whole country. About the time the carvels were to draw near the iſland, in the night time, we uſed to leave ſome ſhips boats, well mann'd, near the ſhore, where there could be no ſuſpicion of them, and at the dawning of the day, the ſhallops ſuddenly boarded and ſeized ſome of the ſaid carvels, of which we made good uſe in two kinds: the firſt was the intelligence we receiv'd of the ſtate and affairs of *Lisbon*, and the whole coaſt; as alſo what preparations were made, either to defend or offend. The ſecond was in reſpect of the carvels excellent ſailings, for there were few ſhips but they could fetch up, and then keep ſight of them both night and day, till our approach to them. Thirdly, by the unuſual ſails carvels carry, by means whereof we deceived the *Spaniards*, and made them believe they were their own. At laſt, when the voyage was at an end, the poor men were reſtored again to their veſſels, and ſome reward beſtowed on them.

The Means how we obtain'd Intelligence of the ſouth Parts of Spain, *by a Method of my own.*

IN the voyage of Sir *Richard Lewſon* and Sir *William Monſon* to the coaſt of *Spain*, you will find an intelligence I receiv'd from certain *Scotch* and *French* ſhips, of five galleons riding at *St. Lucar*, watching 1603.

1603. ing an opportunity of wind and ſpring tides to paſs the bar of *St. Lucar*, being ready bound for the *Weſt Indies*; and becauſe I would be particularly reſolv'd of all the circumſtances thereof, I employed captain *William Love* to the ports of *Sally* and *Mamora* in *Barbary*, with the following inſtructions.

Imprimis, That you firſt repair to *Sally*; and if you cannot be fully inform'd of ſuch things as you deſire to know, to depart thence to *Mamora*, ſeven leagues eaſtward of *Sally*.

Item, You are to have eſpecial care to manage your buſineſs with ſecrecy, as well from the *Engliſh* that go with you in the bark, as from the *Spaniards* and *Moors* reſident in the country. And becauſe you ſhall have the better pretence of coming into their forts, I will deliver you certain commodities to trade with, that are vendible in that country.

Item, You are to inquire and ſeek for the chiefeſt *Engliſhman* in either of the two places, and to deliver him a letter with a ſuperſcription, *To my faithful countryman.* And finding no ſuch man there, if you break your mind to any other ſtranger, let it be to a *Hollander*, that either lieth there as agent or merchant, to whom you ſhall have another letter, *To my dear friend and neighbour.*

Item, If you find neither *Engliſh* nor *Hollander*, you having the language, may inſinuate yourſelf into the acquaintance of ſome *Portugueſe* or *Spaniard*, of whom you may learn by circumlocutions, ſo that he may find you have an intention to be inform'd of any thing in particular; and if you find his intelligence to concur with that I received from the *French* and *Scotch*, you may the more boldly give credit to him.

Item, The things you are principally to enquire after, are theſe following: the number and quality of all ſhips at *Cadiz* or *St. Lucar*. Secondly, whether the galleons you are employed to hearken after be gone to the *Indies*, or no; or whether they came over the bar the laſt ſpring tide; or if they be not gone, to demand the cauſe of their ſtay, or when they will depart. To enquire whether there be any ſhips appointed to convoy them to the *Canaries*, and how many, and their names, becauſe I have a catalogue of all the king of *Spain*'s ſhips, and may judge of their ſtrength accordingly. To learn whether they alter their ordinary courſe of ſailing, for fear of her majeſty's ſhips being upon their coaſt. Speak nothing of their wealth, leſt it ſhould give ſome cauſe of miſtruſt. I will not write thus particularly, either to the *Engliſhman* or the *Hollander*; but they having my letter to credit what you ſhall ſay, and ſhewing my hand to theſe inſtructions, it will be ſufficient to give them ſatisfaction. 1603.

Item, That you ſuffer not any of the bark's company to go aſhore, nor, as near as you can, any of the *Moors* to come aboard; but if any of the *Engliſh* ſhould happen to go aſhore, to give them great charge not to diſcover the place or height I lie in, or that any of the queen's ſhips are at ſea, pretending it was four months ſince you left *England*, unleſs the cleanneſs of your ſhip may give ſuſpicion, and then you may tell them you trim'd her at *Mogodor*, an iſland in *Barbary*.

Item, That finding yourſelves fully inform'd as to theſe things you deſire, or what elſe you think convenient to know, then ſpeedily to repair to me in the ſame height you left me; and miſſing me there, to direct your courſe to *Puerto Santo*, near the iſland *Madera*, where I intend to refit my ſhips after the fight, if I chance to meet with the galleons aforeſaid.

Given on board the Garland, *the 17th of* April, 1602.

The Means to get Intelligence at the Tercera *Iſlands.*

THE inſtructions following I have formerly uſed to be informed of affairs in thoſe parts, and employed captain *Whiskens* in a ſmall carvel to the effect following.

Imprimis, You are to keep company with the *Primroſe* of *London*, which is bound for *Gratioſa*, till you come ſhort of that iſland, and then to ply into the road of *Villa Franca* and *St. Michael*; where you ſhall uſe your endeavour to ſpeak with the ſhips there riding, that trade under the *Scotch* colours, but are properly *Engliſh*; and to avoid ſuſpicion and danger that may after ariſe to the ſaid *Engliſhmen*, you ſhall ſpeak with them in the night.

Item, The things you ſhall deſire to know are theſe, *viz.* Of the ſtate of the *Weſt-India* fleet; and whether they ſtill continue at the *Tercera* iſlands, not venturing to go from thence without a convoy from *Spain*; to learn the time of their departure from thence, and what port they mean to repair to; learn whether they keep their treaſure aboard, or if it be landed, and how far their ſhips ride from the ſhore; whether they have any intelligence of Sir *Richard Lewſon* and my being at ſea; what you can learn of the carracks coming home, or any thing elſe in general touching theſe points.

Item, When you are thus ſatisfied of all your demands, that from thence you go to the iſland of *Tercera*, and view the road of *Angra*, to ſee in what ſtate the ſhips there ride, and the poſſibility to ſurprize them at an anchor.

Item,

Item, That this being done, you repair to *Gratioſa*, where you ſhall find the *Primroſe* aforeſaid, who againſt your coming will be able to inform you of all particulars contain'd in the ſecond article.

Item, If you find the fleet of treaſure to be gone for *Spain*, then to make no ſtay about the iſlands, but return to the coaſt of *Spain*, where you ſhall find the admiral or me ten or twelve leagues weſt from the rock.

Item, If you be informed that the fleet of the *Indies* hover about the iſland, expecting a convoy from *Spain*, that you endeavour to ſpeak with ſome *Engliſh* man of war, and there to deliver them this letter, the contents whereof you are already acquainted with, which will direct both you and the man of war with whom you ſhall meet; and ſo wiſhing you proſperous ſucceſs, I reſt.

From aboard the Garland *at* Plimouth, March 27. 1602.

A Copy of the ſaid Letter ſent by Captain Whiskens.

" AFTER my hearty commendations; Whereas the queen's moſt excellent majeſty is advertiſed of the late arrival of the plate fleet in the road of *Angra*, at the iſland of *Tercera*, in their courſe from the *Weſt Indies* towards *Spain*; and foraſmuch as her majeſty hath ſent divers of her ſhips to ſea, whereof Sir *Richard Lewſon* is admiral, and myſelf vice-admiral, to hinder and impeach the ſaid ſilver fleet's paſſage through the ſeas, as a ſervice of the higheſt importance, to leſſen the greatneſs of ſo dangerous and mighty an enemy as the king of *Spain*; ſo it is, that my admiral, Sir *Richard Lewſon*, is put to ſea ſome few days before me, and before her majeſty was advertiſed of the ſaid fleet's arrival at the *Tercera*; wherefore I have employed this bearer, captain *Whiskens*, with ſuch inſtructions for the accompliſhment of the ſervice, as is thought moſt convenient for the effecting it; which inſtructions I have given him order to acquaint you with upon your meeting, and the delivery of this letter, which contains a requeſt, and as much as lieth in my power, to command all you *Engliſh* captains and maſters, with whom he ſhall meet in the ſea, to be helping, aiding, and aſſiſting to him in ſo great and weighty a ſervice, as well in counſel and advice, as in willingneſs to execute the directions given in my ſaid letter, *viz.* If you ſhall underſtand the plate fleet intends not to venture home without ſhips to guard it, that you preſently thereupon uſe the beſt means to give notice to Sir *Richard*, or me, when you ſhall know by captain *Whiskens* where to find us; or elſe that you keep about the road of *Angra*, and ſend captain *Whiskens* himſelf to look us; which ſoever of you comes, muſt obſerve theſe directions following.

" Upon the *Spaniſh* fleet's putting to ſea, both of you to purſue them aſtern, till you bring them to the height they mean to hail in; and that done, then one of you to loſe company of them in the night, and to ply with all poſſible ſpeed to the place aforeſaid, to meet Sir *Richard* or me.

" And that the other bark do ſtill attend the fleet, that if they ſhould alter their height, ſhe may in like manner leave them in the night, and follow the directions aforeſaid, as the other bark is directed; but with this caution, that you keep a ſtrict account of the ſhifting of the winds, from the time you left them, until your meeting with us; for knowing their height, and obſerving the winds ſhifting, there will be little doubt of our meeting. The ſervice you will do to the queen and ſtate by this, and the good that will redound to yourſelf, needs no repetition; and therefore not doubting of your willingneſs and care herein, I bid you farewel."

From on board the Garland *at* Plimouth, March 26. 1602.

I have known our ſtate uſe this policy in time of war, when they deſir'd to be inform'd of the ſtate of the king of *Spain*'s ſhips, the places of their abiding, furniſhing, and building: they have ſent a ſpy, diſguiſed like a pilgrim, to travel through all the ports of *Biſcay* and *Galicia*, in his way to *Saint Jago de Compoſtella*, pretending his going to be in devotion; by which means he has ſeen and diſcover'd all thoſe things he had in charge, and return'd with a true relation how things then ſtood.

The *Spaniards* in all their actions againſt *England* by ſea, could never ſet foot on ſhore, but in the year 1595. when with four galleys they paſſed from *Bluet* in *Britany*, which they had taken from the *French* king, into *Penſance* in *Cornwall*. Theſe four galleys took, ſpoiled, and rifled that poor town of *Penſance*, made no long ſtay there, but ſpeedily return'd again for *Britany*.

The plotter of this ſtratagem was one captain *Burleigh*, an *Engliſhman*, who was afterwards well requited for his treachery; for to be even with him for ſo foul a fact, Sir *Robert Cecill*, the principal ſecretary, writ a letter to him reſiding in *Lisbon*, pretending that he was employed as a ſpy, and gave

him thanks for ſome particular ſervice he named he had done, when indeed there was no ſuch cauſe, for the man was ever too honeſt to that ſide.

Sir *Robert Cecill* ſo ordered it, that this letter fell into the hands of ſome miniſters of the king of *Spain*; whereupon *Burleigh* was apprehended, cloſe impriſoned, and cruelly tortured, when he deſerved no ſuch ſevere uſage. I ſpeak this, becauſe I would have the world judge how juſtly he deſerved it, and how prettily the *Spaniards* were impoſed upon by it.

Some Obſervations of my own.

WHETHER we ſhall impute it to the work of God, who diſpoſes of all things, or to the queen's good fortune, which attended throughout the greateſt part of her reign, or to the wiſe conduct of thoſe ſhe repoſed truſt in, or to the care and skill of the captains, maſters, and mariners that took charge of her ſhips, I know not which to judge of them; but it is very certain, we muſt acknowledge it for a great and admirable work of God, that in her majeſty's eighteen years war with *Spain* by ſea, her fleets, which were continually employed on the *Spaniſh* coaſt, in the *Indies*, and other places, continually abiding and enduring the fury of all winds and weather, never out of motion, and working in troubleſome water, never for the ſpace of three, four, five, or ſix months ſo much as putting into harbour, or anchoring, or having any other refreſhment from ſhore, but ſtill toſſing on the waves of mountanous ſeas that never break, in compariſon of ours that ſeem but little hills to them, the difference in times and tides much altering the caſe, for upon our coaſts and narrow ſeas, where our greateſt wars have been, no diſaſter to our ſhips but might be eaſily remedied and amended, for commonly we were never further from home than we might repair to ſome of our ports in twenty four hours.

The marvel I ſpeak of, is, that notwithſtanding the apparent dangers and caſualties of the ſea aforeſaid, yet not one of her majeſty's ſhips ever miſcarried, but only the *Revenge*, which I ſaid, in her voyage in 1591. was taken by the *Spaniards* by the unadviſed negligence and wilful obſtinacy of the captain, Sir *Richard Greenville*.

And we may partly judge by that ſhip the *Revenge*'s precedent misfortunes, that ſhe was deſign'd, from the hour ſhe was built, to receive ſome fatal blow; for to her, above all other her majeſty's ſhips, there happen'd theſe unfortunate accidents. In 1582. in her return out of *Ireland*, where ſhe was admiral, ſhe ſtruck upon a ſand, and eſcaped by miracle. *Anno* 1586. at *Portſmouth*, being bound upon a ſouthern expedition, coming out of the harbour ſhe run aground, and againſt the expectation of all men was ſav'd, but was not able to proceed upon her voyage. The third diſaſter was in 1589. as ſhe was ſafely moor'd in *Chatham*, where all the queen's ſhips lay, and as ſafe one would think as the queen's chamber; and yet, by the extremity of a ſtorm, ſhe was unluckily put aſhore, and there over-ſet, a danger never thought on before, or much leſs happen'd: and to make this misfortune the more ſtrange and remarkable, the ſame night being *twelfthnight*, it was my chance to be at *Cork* in *Ireland*, and paſſed down from thence in a boat to *Croſs-Haven*, in the greateſt calm I have ſeen.

If we compare theſe fortunes of the queen's with thoſe of her father's, who next to her had the greateſt employment for his ſhips at ſea, you will find great difference betwixt them, although we cannot properly call them voyages of king *Henry* the eighth's time; for his ſhips were never ſo far from home, but they might return again with a good wind in twenty four hours ſail; as the others never expected to ſee the *Engliſh* ſhore, under four, five, or ſix months, and many times more.

The Diſaſters of ſome of King Henry VIII's *Ships, and the Lord Admiral.*

UPON the coaſt of *Britany*, in a fight betwixt the *Engliſh* and the *French*, the *Regent*, otherwiſe call'd the *Sovereign of England*, encounter'd with a carrack of *Breſt*, and being grappled together, were both burnt; and the captain, Sir *Thomas Nevet*, and ſeven hundred men in her; and the captain of the carrack was Sir *Pierce Morgan*, with nine hundred men that periſh'd with him.

The *Mary Roſe*, next to the *Regent* in bigneſs and goodneſs, after this was caſt away betwixt *Portſmouth* and the *Iſle of Wight*, the very ſame day king *Henry* boarded her, and dined in her. Part of the ribs of this ſhip I have ſeen with my own eyes: there periſh'd in her four hundred perſons.

The next diſaſter that befel the king at ſea, was the lord admiral himſelf, lord *Edward Howard*, who offering to land in his boat at *Bertaume-Bay*, near *Breſt* in *Britany*, was there ſlain and drowned together.

When the lady *Mary*, ſiſter to king *Henry*, was tranſported into *France* with fourteen ſhips of his majeſty's, to marry *Lewis* XII. king of *France*, three of his ſhips were caſt away; and the admiral, wherein the lady went, being the beſt and the greateſt of the reſt, called the *Lubeck*, was one of them that periſh'd; but by good hap, and induſtry and pains of men, the lady eſcap'd,

eſcaped, but four hundred and odd perſons were drowned.

Within two days after the caſting away of the *Mary Roſe* aforeſaid, a pinnace of the king's, called the *Hedge-hog*, riding before *Weſtminſter* bridge, by a misfortune of ſhooting off a gun a barrel of powder took fire, and blew her up.

As I have ſet down in this firſt book the ſtate of the war with Spain *by ſea from* 1585. *when it began, till* 1602, *when it ended; for the concluſion of the affairs of that time, I will annex the advice and reſolution of our ſtate, and the council of war, for making a defenſive war againſt* Spain, *when we feared an invaſion in* 1588.

If the following diſcourſe ſeem more tedious to the reader than is fitting, let it not be imputed a fault in me; for I neither add nor diminiſh one word from the original copy reſolved on by the council of war, whoſe names here follow:

The lord *Gray*,
Sir *Francis Knowles*, treaſurer of the houſhold,
Sir *Thomas Laken*,
Sir *Walter Raleigh*,
Sir *Richard Greenville*,
Sir *John Norris*,
Sir *Richard Bingham*,
Sir *Roger Williams*,
Ralph Lane Eſq;
The 27th of *November*, 1587.

PROPOSITIONS.

Such means as are conſidered to be fitteſt to put the forces of the realm in order to withſtand an invaſion, and the places moſt to be ſuſpected that the *Spaniards* intend to land in.

Milford,
Heylford,
Falmouth,
Plimouth,
Torbay,
Portland,
Portſmouth,
The Iſle of Wight,

Theſe are apteſt for the army of *Spain* to land in.

Neſſe in *Suſſex*,
The *Downs*,
Margate in *Kent*,
The river of *Thames*,
Harwich,
Yarmouth,
Hull, and *Scotland*.

Theſe are apteſt for the army of *Flanders*.

How many of theſe places may be put in defence to hinder their landing.

Milford for *Wales*,
Plimouth for the weſt.
Portland for the middle of the weſt parts.
The Iſle of Wight,
Portſmouth, and the
River of *Thames*.

MILFORD.

Although we do ſuppoſe the barrenneſs of the country to be ſuch as it is not likely to be invaded, yet touching *Milford-Haven*, in reſpect of the goodneſs of the ſame, we think it convenient, that there ſhould be trained the number of two thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, to be levied, and had in readineſs: and for the increaſe of horſemen, if any lack be, then the gentlemen with their ſerving-men may be commanded to ſupply the default of the number aforeſaid.

PLIMOUTH.

The reaſon why *Plimouth* is thought to be the moſt likely place, is, for that it is unlikely that the king of *Spain* will engage his fleet too far within the channel, before he has maſtered ſome good harbour; and *Plimouth* is the neareſt to *Spain*, eaſy to be won, ſpeedily to be by them fortify'd, and conveniently ſituated to ſend ſuccour to, either out of *Spain* or *France*.

PORTLAND.

The reaſon why *Portland* is alſo an apt place to land in, is, for that there is a great harbour for all his ſhips to ride in, and good landing for men; the iſle being won, is a ſtrong place of retreat, the country adjoining champion, where, with great conveniency, he may march with his whole army.

The reaſon why the *Downs*, *Margate*, and the river of *Thames*, are thought fit landing-places, is in reſpect of the commodity of landing, and nearneſs to the prince of *Parma*, in whoſe forces the king of *Spain* repoſed ſpecial truſt.

Now in theſe places following, order may be taken to hinder their landing, whether by fortification or aſſembly of the people, or both.

For Plimouth, *both by fortification and aſſembly of people.*

In *Devon* and *Cornwal* there are of train'd men in the counties and ſtannaries

five

five thouſand men, which are to be aſſembled for the defence of *Plimouth*, ſtanding equal to both counties; of which we are of opinion, in place of muſter-days, which is very chargeable, and, in effect, to no purpoſe, That two thouſand of thoſe ſhould be aſſembled together at *Plimouth*, under ſuch a general as ſhall be ordain'd to govern that weſtern army, to the intent that they may know their leaders, be acquainted, be throughly inſtructed to all purpoſes, that on ſudden occaſions there may be no amaze, nor any confuſion: this ſhall be done, the one half at the charge of her majeſty, the other at the charge of the country, if the country's charge does not ſurmount the ordinary trainings.

For Portland, *by aſſembling of men and fortifying.*

In *Dorſet* and *Wiltſhire* there are of trained men two thouſand ſeven hundred, which are to be aſſembled for the defence of that place; and that two thouſand of the ſaid number ſhould be aſſembled and exerciſed, as before is ſaid, at *Plimouth*, or in ſome place of *Wiltſhire*, appointed for the *Iſle of Wight* to take *Somerſetſhire*, in which there are two thouſand foot.

At Sandwich, *and the* Downs, *by the aſſembling of men.*

In *Kent* and *Suſſex* there are of trained men four thouſand five hundred, which are to be aſſembled in thoſe places for defence thereof; and two thouſand of the ſame number to be aſſembled at *Sandwich*, to be governed and exerciſed, as before is ſaid, for *Plimouth*.

So likewiſe for *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, like order to be obſerved.

Our farther meaning is, That theſe garriſons ſhall remain but for twenty days, to be throughly trained and acquainted with encamping; and then every ſuch two thouſand men in garriſon being ſo acquainted with this diſcipline, ſhall give example to a great army of raw men, whereby there ſhall be no manner of confuſion on all ſudden emergencies.

Farther, we are of opinion, That to theſe two thouſand men there ſhall be twenty captains appointed, which twenty captains having each of them an hundred trained men, ſhall receive under their charge, when the army ſhall aſſemble, an hundred more; ſo as in effect there ſhall be four thouſand men in order, and under martial diſcipline: the choice of which captains we think, for the one half, to be left to the choice of the general of the army, and the other to be of the principal gentlemen of the country, under whom there may be ſoldiers appointed for their lieutenants.

The like order is to be obſerv'd in every of the other places of garriſon.

What order muſt be taken to fight with the enemy, if by force he be landed.

For the manner how to fight with the enemy, it muſt be left to the diſcretion of the general; only we give this advice, That at his landing he may be impeached, if conveniently it may be done; and if he march forward, that the country be driven ſo as no victuals remain, but ſuch as they ſhall carry on their backs, which will be ſmall; that he be kept waking with continual alarms; but in no caſe that any battle be adventured, till ſuch time as divers lieutenants be aſſembled to make a groſs army, as we have before ſpecified, except upon a ſpecial advantage.

Farther, it is thought neceſſary, that in theſe two provinces, and in all others, where many lieutenants be, there ſhould one be appointed to be chief to lead the army, (for among many lieutenants there may be ſome ſtraining of courteſy,) left by ſuch delay and confuſion great inconveniencies do grow to the country, and advantages to the enemy; and therefore any lieutenant coming out of any country with his force, his authority only to extend to govern his company as colonel of that regiment, and ſo to be commanded by the lieutenant-general: as for example, in *Devon* and *Cornwal* there are ten lieutenants, whereby it may be known who ſhall command in either, as need ſhall require.

What proportion of men muſt be prepar'd to ſerve to that end.

Whereſoever the enemy ſhall land, as if at *Plimouth*, for example, then by the computation of ſix thouſand men armed, and furniſhed in *Devon* and *Cornwal*, we conceive that the aſſiſtance of *Wiltſhire*, *Dorſet*, and *Somerſet*, adjoining to the ſix thouſand of the weſt, will make a ſufficient army, being ſtrengthened by the gentlemen and ſerving-men, and other of the country that ſhall be adjoined, though not ſo throughly arm'd as the weſt: and if it happen, either by deſign or contrary weather, that the enemy paſs over *Plimouth*, and land at *Portland*, then the arm'd men and trained ſoldiers of the weſt ſhall repair to them. And farther, if the invaſion be in *Kent*, or any otherwhere to the weſt of the river of *Thames*, then thoſe middle ſhires directed to aſſiſt the weſt, may turn to the eaſt along the coaſt.

If

If the army of *Flanders* land in the river of *Thames*, then the ſame order is to be taken with the ſhires adjoining, as is aforeſaid, namely, *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Eſſex*, and the city of *London*.

And becauſe there is a ſpecial regard to be had of her majeſty's perſon, we think it moſt neceſſary that an army ſhould be provided to that end, to be compoſed of ſuch counties as are appointed and reſerved for that purpoſe, and to join with the forces of the city of *London*, and ſuch other as may be armed out of her majeſty's ſtore.

Farthermore, generally for the increaſe of foot lacking armour, we think it fit that there be of the able men unarmed, whereof choice may be made of the trained men armed one fourth part more; of the which fourth part of unarmed men, eighty may be pikes, and twenty billmen; for the providing of which pikes and bills, there muſt be ſpeedy proviſion made, being weapons that the realm does furniſh.

Alſo for the increaſe of armed pikemen in this time of ſcarcity of armour, we do think it good, that all the armed billmen may be converted to be made armed pikemen; and that all able billmen unarmed ſhould be levied, and choſen in their places; becauſe the ranks of billmen in order of battle are always environed and encompaſſed about with pikemen; for the billmen ſerve eſpecially for execution, if the enemy in battle ſhall be overthrown: but here is to be noted, that there muſt be reſerved a few armed billmen and halbardiers to guard the ranks, wherein the enſigns and drums, *&c.* are placed in the order of battle.

Alſo, ſince upon any ſudden invaſion it would be too late to provide theſe things, which ſhall be neceſſary for defence, it is thought neceſſary that before-hand a ſtore of ordnance and ammunition be provided, as alſo powder, ſpades, and all other furniture whatſoever; and to be left in theſe forenamed places, in which theſe garriſons ſhall remain.

It is alſo to be provided, that all thoſe general aſſemblies be held for training, as well the horſemen as footmen; and to that end, that at *Plimouth*, *Portland*, *Sandwich*, and any other places that ſhall be fit to have the like training, the horſemen of the next adjoining counties be brought together; as, namely, at *Plimouth* thoſe of *Devon*, *Cornwall*, and *Somerſet*; at *Portland* thoſe of *Dorſet* and *Wiltſhire*, *Hampſhire* and *Berkſhire*; at *Sandwich* thoſe of *Kent*, *Suſſex*, *Surrey*, &c. But becauſe it may fall out, that in thoſe places appointed for training of the infantry, there may want forage, or place fit for horſemen, it may be left to the diſcretion of the lieutenants to chuſe the fitteſt for the cavalry, as near the foot as conveniently they may.

SCOTLAND.

Farther, as touching *Scotland*, where landing we cannot reſiſt, we think it meet that a ſtronger proportion be conſidered of for that part, namely, ſix thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, whereof to be a thouſand lances, arms of far more defence, and may be furniſhed as good and cheap as the jack, and to be taken out of the tower.

If therefore the army of *Flanders* ſhould happen to land in *Scotland*, whereby their force and ſtrength ſhall be ſo great, as the army aforeſaid ſhall not be able to encounter them, then we think fit that a good part of the army prepared to guard her majeſty's perſon ſhall march to ſupport the army of the *North* againſt that enemy, and join with the trained men of that country, and the army of the weſt be brought to ſupply that charge.

It is alſo moſt carefully to be conſidered, that the king of *Spain* is not hopeleſs of ſome party of papiſts and malecontents.

All which, if theſe ſmall regiments before ſpoken of, be not in readineſs, it will be too late both to aſſemble for reſiſtance of any foreign enemy, and to withſtand them at home both on one day: for every man ſhall ſtand in fear of firing of his own houſe, and deſtruction of his family; therefore if any ſtir ſhould happen, ſuch ſevere proceedings or execution towards ſuch offenders, would be uſed by martial law.

And to conclude, when it ſhall be bruted in *Spain*, that there are at *Plimouth* and other places ſuch a number of armed ſoldiers under enſigns and leaders, the number will be reported to be double or treble; ſo as the king of *Spain*, upon good probability, may conceive that theſe ſoldiers, and ſuch as are in other places upon the coaſt in like readineſs, are determined to land in *Portugal* or the *Indies*, the ſame opinion being fortify'd by the preparations of ſo many ſhips as are given in charge to be made ready in thoſe parts by Sir *Francis Drake*.

We think it alſo very neceſſary, that throughout all the countries of the realm, this proportion, as well amongſt the arm'd and trained, as the unarm'd pikes and bills, may be obſerved, that is to ſay, that of every hundred there be eighty pikes and twenty bills.

We think it neceſſary alſo, that ſome order and proviſion be taken by their lordſhips, that her majeſty's ſhips being at *Rocheſter* be not entrapped.

Thus far is the Direction and Reſolution of the Honourable Commiſſioners aforeſaid, concluded on November 27. 1587.

Now follows an Exception to ſome Points of the Reſolution aboveſaid.

IF I had been of that age and experience as now I am, and worthy to have been called upon for my opinion, by ſo many noble and able perſonages, to the propoſitions aforeſaid, I ſhould have diſſented in ſome things from them, under correction be it ſpoken, as ſhall appear by theſe enſuing reaſons.

Our ſafety upon an invaſion depends on three defences; the one, on the good ſucceſs of our ſhips at ſea; the ſecond, on our repulſing an enemy in offering to land; and the third, on our forces within the kingdom, if they chance to land: all which are at large handled in the precedent diſcourſe, by the prime and moſt experienced ſoldiers of our time.

MILFORD HAVEN.

The firſt direction of propoſitions by them is *Milford Haven*, as a place of danger, and wiſh it may be guarded with two thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, with ſome ſupplies of gentlemen and their ſervants, which they think ſufficient, in reſpect of the barrenneſs of the country of *Wales*.

The ANSWER to Milford Haven.

I conceive, as *Milford Haven* has the advantage of all havens in *England*, or almoſt in *Europe*, for the largeneſs and goodneſs of the port, ſo there are multitude of landing places; for it is ſaid of *Milford Haven*, that a thouſand ſhips may ride in it, and not one ſee another; whereby an enemy may land to his advantage when he liſt, without reſiſtance; and in that caſe, where two thouſand five hundred ſoldiers are deſigned to withſtand the enemy's landing, there is no poſſibility for them to do ſervice, unleſs the ſhore ſhould be as well fortify'd; which would be a thing impoſſible.

I would therefore adviſe, if it were not too great a preſumption in me, not to hazard any part of the two thouſand five hundred men in ſeeking to defend their landing; but to draw them to a head, and ſeek to take advantage of them after their landing; as, namely, in cutting off the rear and ſtragglers in their marches, wearying them with often alarms, to prevent the foraging of the country of victuals; and in the mean time to draw and convey their cattle of all kinds into the mountains, that an enemy can neither poſſeſs, nor know where to find them; and for other kind of victuals, as corn, *&c.* that cannot be conveniently tranſported, to ſet them on fire, that the enemy may meet with hunger and famine, inſtead of food.

And if the invader [illegible] to march from *Milford Haven* to [illegible]ard part of the land, (for that is the [illegible]at of all conquerors,) it will eaſily appear what imminent dangers they will run themſelves into.

Their victuals in that part of *Wales* will not ſuſtain them; and it will be the leſs, being before deſtroy'd. Secondly, their march will be wearieſome and tedious, where they muſt paſs mighty mountains, and find themſelves deſtitute of all ſuccour; in which paſſages the two thouſand foot and five hundred horſe aforeſaid, knowing the country ſo perfectly well, as the others do not, they may take great advantage of them. Thirdly, the further they march they will be the greater diſtance from their ſhips, and conſequently from ſuccour and aſſiſtance: and in the mean time, whilſt they are upon their troubleſome and dangerous march, the queen will have time enough to draw her forces from the furtheſt part of *England*.

PLIMOUTH.

The next that is alledged is *Plimouth*, as the likelieſt place, in reſpect it is the neareſt port to *Spain*, to give ſuccour; and that they will not in reaſon adventure their fleet further into the channel before they are maſters of ſome good harbour.

ANSWER.

I approve theſe reaſons, as a chief ground for an enemy to ſettle upon; for whoſoever invades by ſea, above all things muſt ſeek to obtain a port for his fleet; only I diſapprove the election of *Plimouth* before *Falmouth*; for *Falmouth* lies more convenient for *Spain*, fourteen or fifteen leagues nearer to it, a better harbour and outlet, and at that time of leſs defence than *Plimouth*; and being poſſeſſed by the *Spaniards*, it will be made ſtronger by the ſituation. Moreover *Falmouth* is in *Cornwall*, a ſmall ſhire, and narrow betwixt ſea and ſea, and has no country neighbour to it weſtward to give us aſſiſtance, as *Devonſhire* hath *Cornwall* to the weſt, and *Somerſetſhire* to the eaſt; but the one and the other I hold as fit to be fortify'd, as any two harbours of *England*.

PORTLAND.

Portland is alledged to be an apt place for the *Spaniards* to arrive in; for that it is a great harbour for all their ſhips to ride in,

in, and a good landing for their men; that the iſland being won, it is a ſtrong place for retreat, the country adjoining to it champion, where with great conveniency they may march with their whole army.

In *Dorſet* and *Wiltſhire* there are of train'd men two thouſand five hundred, which are to be aſſembled for defence of that place; and the honourable commiſſioners do adviſe that two thouſand of the ſame number ſhould be aſſembled and exerciſed, as before is ſaid of *Plimouth*; and that ſome place be appointed in *Wiltſhire* for the ſuccour of the *Iſle of Wight*, and to take the help of *Somerſetſhire*, which are two thouſand foot.

ANSWER.

The honourable commiſſioners are miſinformed in the ſtate of *Portland*; for is it neither an iſland, nor has, as they conceive, a harbour for ſhips to lie in ſafely from all weather. It hath only an open bay, where with an eaſterly wind ſhips ride in danger. And if the fleet of *Spain* ſhould arrive there, I ſhould ſooner look to have them wrecked upon the ſhore than to return ſafe again to ſea.

Portland is a road ſome leagues over from ſhore to ſhore, and within it lieth a ſmall bar, and dry haven, called *Weymouth*, of no defence againſt an enemy's landing, nor fit for great ſhips, as is all that ſhore, except only a ſmall port of no importance upon the road.

This place is in the ſtate of *Milford Haven*, that hath an infinite number of places to land in, and no poſſibility to impeach an enemy's landing: and this will ſerve as well for an anſwer to the *Iſle of Wight*, and other places of that ſort, where there are ſeveral landings.

The road of *Portland* gives us an advantage over the *Spaniards*, if they ſhould anchor there, by reaſon of the breadth of the road, which is ſuch, that no fortifications from the ſhore can impeach our attempts upon them. For ſuppoſe we ſhould not be able to cope with them in ſhips, yet keeping ourſelves to windward of them, during the time of the whole flood, we ſhall be able to put in execution ſtratagems, in firing them with veſſels we may drive among them; or, if we fail one flood we ſhall be able to attempt them as often as we liſt, and the flood ſhall run without danger to ourſelves; for during the flood they cannot come to us; and with the firſt of the ebb, we ſhall be able to ply out, without endangering ourſelves any manner of way.

I confeſs it is neceſſary that the men be muſtered and trained in every ſhire, to make them able ſoldiers; but, in my opinion, it is not ſafe to deſign ſo many men to ſo many ſeveral places, without there be works and trenches made to defend them, and to enable them to repulſe an enemy's landing; for if thoſe men ſhould be defeated, the loſs of their arms would equal the loſs of ſo many men, and diſhearten others that have not been acquainted and accuſtomed to the accidents and chances of war.

Something I have ſaid to this part of keeping an enemy from landing in my fifth book, where I treat of ſtratagems, by example of the *Downs*, and other places, where the ſhoreſide is full of ſmall ſtones and ſhingles caſt up by ſea.

How to fight.

The next that follows is the order to be taken to fight the enemy if he be landed, which muſt be left to the diſcretion of a general: what enſues more, by the advice of the honourable commiſſioners, I refer to their former directions which you have read; and for brevity ſake will deliver my opinion for the world to conſider.

ANSWER.

There muſt be great conſideration, not only how to fight, but a place muſt be choſen within the land to make their rendezvous, for all their forces to meet together with moſt conveniency; for the enemy being landed, we muſt lay aſide all other propoſitions or ſtratagems, more than to think how to force them in a main battle, as we ſhall hear they direct their courſe, either by dividing their army, or marching in a whole body.

And for the effecting hereof, we muſt reſolve to gather and draw ſo many men into a body, as will make two main battles, the one to attend the ſouth and weſt coaſt, the other to be ready to attend the prince of *Parma* and his army in the eaſt.

If our ſhips fail of intercepting the *Spaniards* landing, they will become maſters of all our ports; and there is no coaſt where they ſhall arrive in *England*; but will yield them ſtore of landing places without reſiſtance, as before I have expreſſed; and therefore our chief defence muſt conſiſt in our land army, if we muſt not employ ſo many men as is deſign'd to withſtand their landing as aforeſaid.

For the place of rendezvous for our weſtern army, I hold *Salisbury* the moſt convenient ſeat: it lieth half way betwixt *London* and *Plimouth*, which will make the eaſier march for them both; not forty miles from *Portland*, and that ſouthern coaſt; not above eighteen from *Southampton*, not thirty to the *Iſle of Wight* and *Portſmouth*; ſo that we ſhall in a manner be upon the enemy

enemy before they can be provided or prepared for their march.

All the ſoldiers that are deſign'd to oppoſe their landing in *Cornwall*, *Devon*, *Somerſet*, *Dorſet*, and *Hampſhire*, being join'd with the reſt that ſhall be drawn out of the inland ſhires, will make an army able to encounter more men than three ſuch fleets can either contain or bring.

When it comes to this extremity, the countries muſt have care to drive away their cattle, and live things of all ſorts, and to convey their corn and other victuals in carts, and one cart to take it of another, that the firſt may return back for another load; and if they have not time enough, then to burn the reſt, and carts alſo, that the enemy may be diſappointed of carriages as well as victuals; and for forage for their horſes, they coming by ſea, their number cannot be great.

The place to drive their cattle to be near the army, which will ſurely guard them. This being done, the general is to adviſe whether to march and meet the enemy before their further entrance into the land, or to ſuffer him to march into the inward country, to have the greater advantage of them, being far from their ſhips, and by conſequence from all relief and help that they can afford them: but I am utterly againſt the adventuring of our people by handfuls before they come to a main battle.

The place of our rendezvous for our eaſtern army was well and adviſedly choſen in 1588. when her majeſty repaired to her army: firſt, in reſpect of the ſmall diſtance from *London*, from whence they were to receive ſupplies; ſecondly, by the proviſion made of building a bridge of boats to paſs over the river to the ſuccour of *Kent*, or *Kent* of them; and, thirdly, for appointing their rendezvous on the *Eſſex* ſhore, rather than in *Kent*: for if an enemy land in *Kent*, he is kept by the river of *Thames* from coming to *London*, unleſs it be by the bridge of *London*, or of *Kingſton*, which may be prevented by breaking them down: whereas if an enemy land on *Eſſex* ſide, he may march directly to *London* without let, impeachment, or other impediment, but by the encounter of an army, that may be drawn out of *Eſſex*, *Kent*, *Hartfordſhire*, *Buckinghamſhire*, *Bedfordſhire*, *Huntington*, *Northampton*, *Lincoln*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Middleſex*, and *London*. And for *Berkſhire*, *Bedfordſhire*, *Glouceſterſhire*, *Worceſterſhire*, and the ſhires thereabout, they lie indifferently to give aſſiſtance as well to the weſtern as eaſtern armies.

The honourable commiſſioners did conceive, that this great preparation of ours would ſo much terrify the *Spaniards*, that it would divert them from their intended invaſion upon *England*; but I believe it proceeded rather out of a hope, or an imagination, than out of any ground or reaſon; for ſo great an expedition as this of the *Spaniards*, is not to be ſcared away like birds with wiſps from a cherry-tree: but if you do it as a policy to amaze them, I fear they are not ſo unprovided of intelligence from *England*, but to know that the preparation of ſhips, the quantity of victuals, and the raiſing of ſoldiers, does intend no great matter from home.

Beſides, if we ſhould fright them with a voyage to the *Indies*, there are many things required in ſuch a voyage that cannot be ſuddenly provided, as, namely, the ſheathing our ſhips, proviſions of all kinds, iron hoops for casks, and many other things needleſs to expreſs.

But ſuppoſe we ſhould actually undertake ſuch a voyage from home, I know not how we can give a greater advantage to the *Spaniards*, they having ſo great an army and navy in readineſs to aſſault us whereſoever we arrive; and in ſuch a place where they ſhall be continually ſupplied from home; whereas we ſhall find nothing but what we carry with us.

PROPOSITION.

Whereas the council of war do adviſe, that in the army that ſhall be raiſed there be an increaſe made of pikes and bills, as weapons that the country affords, and ſhews the neceſſity of their being put into ſuch mens hands as have not been taught other arms.

I will be bold, without derogating from thoſe noble perſons, to deliver my conceit to this point, and to commend to them a weapon, that though it be known to us, yet has never been uſed in war, or againſt publick enemies; and yet in my opinion it may be made uſeful in the field, where there is neither caſtle, fort, nor town of ſtrength.

The weapon is a pike-ſtaff, ſuch as keepers and warreners uſe for the guard of the game; and that every wood affords us without coſt.

This ſtaff to have an extraordinary long pike, and three ſmall ones to be ſcrued in at the ſides of the ſtaff, and ſo light, that a man may eaſily command him; every man in a town to be enjoined to have one. And to give the more credit and reputation to this weapon, and to encourage men to the uſe of it, as an exerciſe of value, credit, and pleaſure, as footbal, hurling, and wreſtling, have been anciently uſed, when there was more ſociety and friendlineſs among men than now-a-days, I would adviſe, that all people thus armed with ſtaves, may every holiday

holiday have a place and time appointed for meeting and converſation, to uſe theſe commendable exerciſes and ſports, and amongſt them to have men of ſkill appointed to inſtruct them, as maſters of defence do their ſcholars, till they be made perfect.

At this meeting they may alſo uſe wreſtling, and other laudable ſports, which would put life and agility of body into them: it will make them courageous to encounter an enemy, and skilful to take an advantage upon him: they need take no care but to weild their ſtaffs with ſuch advantage as ſhall be taught them; as a muſketier, with whom they are to encounter, has his muſket, his reſt, ſhot, powder, and match, to look to, one whereof failing, he may caſt away his piece for any other ſervice he can do.

Let the muſketier in this caſe be ſure to kill him he levels at, or elſe the pike will be within him before he can load again, and have the advantage of his weapon upon him; and the pikeman being taught to wreſtle, will ſuddenly kick up the other's heels; and if he carry ever a dagger or knife in his pocket, he will be the death of his oppoſite, if his ſtaff fails him.

The bill in this caſe is improper, under correction to the commiſſioners, whoſe uſe is, if an army be routed, to fall upon them pell-mell with blows only: a bill is ſhort, and not ſo nimble in a man's hand as a ſtaff: it will be commanded by the horſe, and a great trouble to him that carries it after the purſuit of an enemy. A ſtaff has no impediment, but may eaſily overtake a muſketier that is laden with his piece and furniture, that he ſhall be either forced to yield, or caſt away his arms, to eſcape by flight. It will alſo be an advantage to a man if he be put to leap a ford or ditch, and many other uſes may be made of it.

This meeting for recreation will make good converſation and love amongſt men; it will make them abandon alehouſes, and think on nothing but on holidays to ſpend their time in ſports, which for many years they have been debarr'd of. And for the better governing it, and to avoid any hurt that may ariſe by it, it is wiſh'd, that at the time of practice the pikes be taken out of their ſcrews; and at every ſuch meeting the conſtable and his deputy be appointed to govern them, and puniſh abuſes.

Thus ſhall all men in the kingdom be made to ſerve their prince and country without murmuring, exception, or offence offered by one or other: they are drawn to no expence or charge by it, or time loſt or ſpent in vain, to hinder their other affairs or labours; the holiday yields them free liberty for their delights and ſports, which have been of later times worſe ſpent.

And thus much of a gentle private opinion, to be compar'd with that of the honourable commiſſioners.

The Queen's Death, and the Advantages of the Peace that enſued above the War in her Time.

HAVING run over as briefly as I could ſuch accidents as the eighteen years war did produce betwixt *Spain* and us, now happen'd, as you have heard, the queen's death, which, as was to be expected, produced alterations in *Europe*, though not much in *England*; for commonly every ſtate changes with time, and ſometimes to its advantage; for ſubjects fondneſs of princes is uncertain, and they are often friends to day, and enemies to morrow.

When God call'd her majeſty to his mercy, it had been long look'd for, and deſir'd by her foes, and fear'd by her friends; ſome laugh'd, ſome lamented; *Spain* and its adherents rejoiced, having taſted the bitterneſs of eighteen years of war with her; *Holland* fear'd, and ſuſpected their good days began to wain, becauſe his majeſty needed not to ſupport factions abroad to defend his juſt and lawful title.

Theſe two nations that were oppoſite one to another, had their particular ends; but the people that heartily and inwardly mourn'd, were the *Engliſh*, to ſee themſelves deprived of a ſovereign ſo good and gracious, ſo virtuous and victorious, whoſe reign had continued ſo long, as few had before in *England*, which made them the more uneaſy.

But this trouble was ſoon turn'd into joy: for when his majeſty appear'd, they recover'd a new life and ſpirit, and receiv'd him with that alacrity, that they had ſoon forgot their grief, and fixed their hearts as faithful to ſerve the king, as they had willingly obeyed the queen.

But before I end with the queen's death, I will ſhew you and the world, by compariſon, the difference betwixt peace and war in the queen's time, if ſhe had been ſo happy as to enjoy it; for though her actions were of great reputation to her and her ſubjects, through the ſucceſs ſhe had againſt ſo mighty and potent an enemy as the king of *Spain*, yet I muſt confeſs, the actions of our two ſucceeding kings (king *James* and king *Charles*) ſettled a firm and quiet league and peace in this kingdom, that has produced greater happineſs and benefit, if we will lay aſide paſſion and partiality.

Peace has eaſed us of needleſs taxes, which in war princes are forced to lay upon their ſubjects: peace takes away all fear of enemies, ſo that every man may live quietly under his olive-tree. Our peace has trebled our number of ſhips to that of former times; mariners are abundantly increaſed, and wealth plentifully augmented; ſo that we are better enabled and provided to reſiſt the fury of war, either by land or ſea, if there ſhould be occaſion.

And if eighteen years of peace have produced ſo great an alteration and change to this kingdom, in compariſon of the eighteen years of war paſt, how happy had we been, if the eighteen years aforeſaid had been converted into the ſame number of peace. All bleſſings had been poured upon this land, which by war was hinder'd; for who ſees not that eighteen years of trade doubly increaſed thoſe riches that time conſumed. Theſe errors of ours will ſerve for a warning to us in future times; for it is an old ſaying, *That example is of greater force than precept*; and, *That cuſtom teacheth nations, reaſon men*, and *nature beaſts*.

Spain is more puniſh'd by the king's peace, than by the queen's war; for by our peace, *England* is enlarg'd by ſeveral plantations in *America*, all neighbours to *Spain* in their habitations of the *Weſt Indies*, in caſe they become inſolent, or offer injuries; which plantations in eighteen years are brought to afford plenty of food, without the help of *England*; which is no ſmall benefit to us, conſidering the increaſe of *Scotch* and *French* that are ready to devour us: and beſides this abundance of victuals, the ſoil of that country will produce whatever we ſhall plant or graft there; ſo that *England* need ſpare nothing out of it, that will bring a want to it; for their chiefeſt want is of tools, materials, and other inſtruments.

The air is delightful, and the climate wholeſome, and lies moſt convenient for other nations to take off their commodities: then judge, if queen *Elizabeth* had not been diverted by war, what honour, what wealth, and all other bleſſings, had ſhe left as a legacy to her ſubjects, which was afterwards increaſed by our two kings aforeſaid.

And beſides theſe ſeven weſtern plantations, begun and continued by ſubjects, without expence to the kings, and not moleſted by the terror of the enemies, I will ſail to the *Eaſt Indies* three times further diſtant than the other from *England*, and where the equinoctial line muſt be twice cut; there we found a trade to the iſland of *Socotora*, at the mouth of the *Red Sea*, and the neareſt part of that continent to us; and keeping the ſhore of that *African* coaſt, we landed at the iſland of *Ormus*, and other places within the gulph of *Perſia*, where we aſſiſted the king of *Perſia* to take that iſland from the king of *Portugal*.

But I confeſs, this was not ſo commendable as many other noble acts of ours; for here we defiled our hands with ſtealth; and what is worſe, we did it to aid and benefit a mahometan. But mark what the end of that voyage prov'd to the *Engliſh*, which brought God's anger and revenge upon them; for the *Perſians* treacherouſly broke their word with our men, and upon a ſlight occaſion ſeized all the goods they had taken. And beſides, an *Engliſh* ſhip lighting upon greater wealth than the reſt, was there caſt away and periſh'd; not to ſpeak of many other diſaſters that befel them.

We ſtopp'd not here, but in the ſame eaſterly courſe repair'd to *Surat*, in the kingdom of *Gambaya*, under the government of the great mogul, to try what trade and riches that king and country would yield us. The long diſtance betwixt the ſea-coaſt and the court of the mogul, did not obſtruct our viſiting him, but thither we ſent at times ſeveral ambaſſadors, who found civil entertainment, which has afforded us a peaceable trade, with divers immunities.

But before we leagued, or had correſpondence with this king, we had ſettled and continued, and to this day do enjoy a greater trade, and further from home than *Surat*, as namely, at *Java*, *Sumatra*, *Jacatras*, the *Molucca* iſlands, and others. We have ſeen and tried what *China* and the iſland of *Japan* afford, though we are not much encouraged to perſevere in thoſe trades; for they do not anſwer the great expectation we had conceived of them. I dare boldly aver, if the cuſtom-books of that trade to the *Indies* were viewed, it has yielded the crown of *England* many an hundred thouſand pounds, all which we muſt attribute to our peace; for though in the queen's days, and in the year 1591. captain *Raymond* gave a warlike attempt, if he and his ſhips had not miſcarried in his going to the *Eaſt Indies*, yet that voyage produced nothing but miſery, as you will underſtand hereafter.

But I know the well-wiſhers to war, and favourers of the queen's time, will except againſt me, and all I can alledge in commendation of peace, as placing it before war. But in anſwer to them, I ſay, I was as great an actor in thoſe days of war, as any other that ſhall queſtion what I ſay, and have as good reaſon to judge of the difference of times as they, if partiality and faction does not tranſport them.

And becauſe I inſiſt ſo much upon peace, and go about to prove the good it produced above the queen's war, I expect to be hit in the teeth with his majeſty's late war with

with *Spain* in 1625. and with *France* in 1628. But before I come to that time, I muſt tell them, That king *James*, who reigned twice as long as his ſon, reckoning to the year 1635. could not be ſaid to have been moleſted, or his countries infeſted by enemies. And the accident that fell out in the days of king *Charles*, might rather be term'd an act of unkindneſs with the king of *Spain*, than of malice, and therefore deſerved not the name of war, for it was begun and ended before either ſide could think to frame themſelves to hoſtility; and who knows not that ſome evil and paſſionate counſellors drew our king to a ſudden and ſharp revenge upon *France*, which was as quickly ended, as words could give ſatisfaction.

But I would ask theſe captious perſons, whether either of theſe two unkindneſſes or occaſions were ſo violent, or of ſo long continuance, as to hinder his majeſty's deſigns to enrich his kingdoms, or whether the plantations failed by any misfortunes we found by war.

Another objection will be made againſt what I ſay of our plantations, which is, That they were known to us long before; and that *Engliſh* ſhips viſited the *Eaſt Indies* in the queen's time; and perhaps they will preſs me with the firſt diſcovery of *Sebaſtian Cabot*, *Anno* 1496. from fifty eight to thirty ſix degrees of latitude; which I thus anſwer:

No relation of *Cabot*'s ever mentioned his poſſeſſion, or ſetting his foot aſhore to inhabit any of the lands betwixt the degrees aforeſaid; and therefore we can challenge no right of inheritance, wanting proof of poſſeſſion, which is the law acknowledged for right of diſcovery: and by this argument, the *Spaniards* may as well incroach on us upon as colourable title, becauſe they were the firſt that ſailed into *America*.

The ſecond objection is, the proof of our inhabiting *Norrambega*, a part of the main continent of *America*, and betwixt the degrees aforeſaid, in 1584. and ſo we ſay captain *Raymond*, before ſpoken of, was in the *Eaſt Indies* in 1591.

I confeſs here was a poſſeſſion in 1584. and a patent granted Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who placed there a colony; but ſo ill ſeconded, that all the planters were there conſumed, and no memory left of them, though our late planters endeavoured to find what became of them; whereby we may ſay our poſſeſſion was loſt, as in the caſe of inheritance, that for want of heirs a man forfeits his eſtate.

And to anſwer the objection of the *Eaſt Indies*, there is no mention of poſſeſſion by *Drake*, who was there the firſt of any *Engliſhman*, when he ſailed round the world, and before the reign of king *James*. And moreover, in the forty third year of the queen, and the year before ſhe died, ſhe granted a patent to certain merchants for fifteen years trade to the *Eaſt Indies*, which was prolonged in the ninth year of king *James* to continue for ever; but the queen lived not to ſee the return of that firſt voyage which captain *Lancaſter* went. And moreover, his imployment was as well to take by violence, as to trade by ſufference, and unworthy the name of an honeſt deſign: for the hands of merchants ſhould not be ſtained or polluted with theft; for in ſuch caſe all people would have liberty to do the like upon them.

But indeed, the moſt memorable thing we can challenge by that trade, is, That we have lately agreed with the *Portugueſe*, who were the firſt diſcoverers, and to this day enjoy the benefit of it; have ſettled their government and language; built rich and curious cities, churches, and monaſteries; and all things elſe that belongs to a civil nation, in as large and ample a manner, as in their own country of *Portugal*: and more than this, they have the command of many civilized countries adjacent to them. They have ſhips ſufficient to uphold the trade betwixt *Portugal* and the *Indies*; and yet they are willing to make us ſharers in their commerce, and to incorporate us as freely as themſelves, with promiſe to imploy and freight our ſhips for our better ſatisfaction.

But give me leave freely to deliver my opinion concerning this voluntary offer made by the *Portugueſe*, who hitherto could be brought upon no account to grant us trade. We muſt conclude they are drawn to it rather through neceſſity than love, or other reſpects; for they find the intruſion and good ſucceſs of the *Hollanders* to be ſuch, as in time may hazard the ruin and ſubverſion in the *Indies*, without the help of *England*, who is beſt able to right them; therefore let us conſider the time and the occaſion of this overture, and embrace it as friendſhip grounded upon intereſt; for though leagues betwixt ſtates be to ſupport one another, yet every one has his particular advantage. I will ſay no more to this point, but adviſe you to ſafety and ſecurity, and to beware you be not deluded with golden pills, wherein is hidden moſt deadly poiſon.

A Farewel to the Gentlemen to whom I dedicated this Book.

Gentlemen,

" I MAKE you the *Alpha* and *Omega* " of my diſcourſe; for at the begin- " ning of this book, I commended it to " your view; and now, at the end, I take " my leave with a loving farewel, adding " this admonition by way of caution, That " you beware of adventuring yourſelves " and eſtates upon ſea expeditions; you " may perceive, by my obſervations, what " peril they bring, without profit; and what " pains, without preferment; for there are " few whoſe imployment has gain'd them " advantage or honour; as to the contrary, " many are brought to want and miſery " by them.

" Our private actions of repriſal have " been as fatal to the adventurers, as *Sejanus*'s horſe to the riders, or the gold of *Toulouſe* to *Scipio*'s ſoldiers; for to this " day there remains a proverb in *France*, " *That he who is unfortunate, has ſome of the gold of* Toulouſe *in his houſe:* and ſo " fares it with our undertakers of repriſals; " for wealth ſo gain'd, brings a curſe with " it; and not only waſtes itſelf, but con- " ſumes goods well gotten, if mixed with it.

" Take notice of theſe few perſons fol- " lowing, inſtead of a multitude I could " recite, that have been brought into the " eſtate of *Sejanus*'s riders, or the deſtroyers " of *Toulouſe*; and it will appear, God was " diſpleaſed with their actions, and puniſh- " ed their deſigns.

" I will begin with the earl of *Cumber- " land*, whoſe voluntary undertakings were " well puniſhed in his firſt two voyages, be- " reaving him of two hopeful ſons, whom " this kingdom could not match; and in " the proſecution of ſuch actions, he ſo im- " paired his eſtate, that his heirs, and their " poſterity, have juſt cauſe to bewail his " proceedings.

" The three eminent men of that time " by ſea, were *Drake*, *Hawkins*, and *For- " buſher*, none of which left any legitimate " iſſue to enjoy their adventurous labours: " and if two of them were now alive, " they knew not where to find the eſtates " they left behind them.

" The miſerable gentlemen that under- " took ſuch enterprizes for gain, to reco- " ver their ſpent and conſumed eſtates, were " *Candiſh*, *Chidley*, *Manby*, *Cock*, with ma- " ny others I could name, whoſe funerals " were all made in the bottomleſs ſea, and " their lands conſumed and turned into the " element of water.

" And if we deſcend to the towns, which " for that time flouriſhed with the goods " ſo gotten, and examine the conditions " of them and their inhabitants, we ſhall " find not only the people, but the places " impoveriſhed after the ſame manner they " were enrich'd, (that is to ſay,) by rapine, " ſpoil, and piracy: and I may further ſay, " that there are not three men in this king- " dom who can boaſt they have ſucceeded " their fathers in any quantity of goods ſo " gotten.

" What I warn you of, is not ſo much " out of perſuaſion, as precedents and ex- " ample, which is a compaſs to ſail by; " but if your wilfulneſs will not admit of " advice, and hereafter you feel the ſmart " of it, remember that counſel is always " full of perturbation to ſuch as embrace " their own wills.

" And remember the ſaying of a grave " and wiſe counſellor, *That as youth is " warned to prevent the worſt, ſo age bids us " provide for the beſt*; for it is a ſickneſs " of moſt men to be guided by opinion, " and not by judgment: but wiſe men do " otherwiſe; for if they run into an error, " they ſeek quickly to amend it."

The End of the First Book.

Sir *WILLIAM MONSON* TO His SECOND SON.

Good SON,

BY computation of years, it is now nine ſince I addreſs'd my ſelf to you in writing; which number of nine changes one's complexion, and many times one's conditions: nine times ſeven, or ſeven times nine, make ſixty three, which is the climacterical, or dangerous year.

This ninth year has bred greater alterations in you, than either in complexion or condition: her malice and perils towards others have begotten a contrary effect in you, and in ſo high a meaſure, by your marriage, that the climacterical year has loſt its reputation with the obſervers of it; for in deſpite of it fortune has given you a lady of birth, parts, and means, far above your merit or thought; and ſince fortune has been ſo liberal, do not give her cauſe of ſcandal, or to find ingratitude in your face, by your carriage to your lady; for an unthankful man incites God to puniſh, and people to abhor him.

No man can treat with an ungrateful perſon, without ſuſpicion of him; and next to the name of an evil chriſtian, the word *Ingratitude* is the worſt: God, for all his bleſſings on man, requires nothing at his hands but thankfulneſs.

Next the reſpect to your lady, let your carriage to all others be with that moderation and affability, that they may perceive you are no more elevated with good fortune, than you will be dejected with bad; but ſtand like a tree well rooted, which no wind can ſtir or move.

The reputation you may ſeek to get in this world, depends not ſo much upon prudence as goodneſs; for a man ought to get credit and eſteem of all, and to be ſuſpicious of his own advice and carriage: time will inform you, that the greateſt gift nature can beſtow on a young man, is comelineſs of body, diſcretion in his carriage, and eloquence of tongue; and yet all this is nothing, if it be not attended with a good reputation. The true property of a gentleman, which I would have you to obſerve, is to be temperate in ſpeech, liberal and frank in giving, moderate in diet, honeſt in life, and courteous in carriage: for it is not titles or riches that makes men eſteemed, but the favour they do, and the gifts they beſtow.

The miſchiefs that breed contrary effects to theſe, as hate, ſpleen, and contempt, are covetouſneſs, pride, and diſdain: the cure to ſalve this, is not to preſume too much upon your ſelf, without the counſel of others; for many times people (and eſpecially young men) attribute more to themſelves, than others can diſcern in them. *Solomon* ſays, *That wiſe men take counſel; and he that does things with advice, governs prudently; and he that does otherwiſe periſheth, and faileth in his own deſigns.*

This counſel is not to be expected from one of twenty or thirty years of age, but from hoary hairs. *Licurgus* ordered that old men ſhould be more reſpected, becauſe their advice was more to be regarded.

The greateſt combat in this world, is to conquer one's ſelf, and to tame his heart, as *Plato* ſays: but the way for young men to be virtuous in this battle, is to take advice, to hear, and with humility ſubmit to reaſon; for naturally youth is inclin'd to have an opinion of themſelves, and to abandon the counſel of others, which commonly ingenders pride, vain-glory, and ambition: then followeth reproach, contempt, and ſcorn; which makes their paths as dangerous to walk in, as the ſlipperieſt of ice or glaſs to tread on.

Be careful in the choice of your friends; and eſteem them more for virtue than honour: the one is but a title of power; the other of deſert. Know there's no end of friendſhip which is founded upon love, and requited with the ſame. To ſuch a friend one ought to be ſcarce in words, but prodigal in works; for the true perfection of friendſhip is to ſupply a man's wants, and adviſe him in his errors. But *Seneca* ſaith, That ſuch are rare; and a man ought to ſeek but one of them, and to have never an enemy: for as it is dangerous to have enemies, ſo it is troubleſome to have many friends: if he be poor, you muſt give; if rich, you muſt obſerve; if favoured, you muſt adore; if diſfavoured, you muſt ſupport; if croſs and perverſe, you muſt flatter; if cholerick, you muſt forbear; if proud, he is not long to be endured.

Above all other vices, beware of that of pride; for young men are ſubject to it: it is called vanity in women, and ambition in old age. Youth are prone to be proud of their perſons and external parts: women are as vain therein; and what they want by nature, they help by art. Young men affect oſtentation, and to be praiſed: women vain-

glory, and to be adored. A man endures no competitors, nor woman equal.

Many women by reaſon of their lightneſs, and young men for want of knowledge, are inconſiderate: they apprehend, and execute, all with one breath, which many times brings them to repentance: and yet do I rather approve the vanity of women, which are governed by the inconſtant motion of the moon, than mens pride, that can give no reaſon for their being ſo, if they ſeriouſly conſider how indifferently God diſtributes his gifts to all creatures; ſo that no man can perſuade himſelf but that thouſands equal him.

If he is proud of the favour of a prince, he may as well be proud of his fortunes; for comparing his merits with others, he will find many competitors exceed him: if of his progenitors, or other parts of his anceſtors, kings reward mens proper virtues, not what they can challenge to deſcend from others: if of learning, his waſte hours permit him not to attain to that perfection ordinary ſcholars do by continual ſtudy: if he affect popular applauſe, it is like an echo, to be heard, but no man knows where: and let him not be deceived, for no proud man is either valued or beloved, as himſelf can witneſs; for the nature of pride, is to abhor it in another: if he be frank and liberal, for pride without bounty is like a ſpot in a fair face that defiles it, his eſteem will be according to his expence; but that ceaſing, men turn their hearts againſt their pride.

Ambition is more ſufferable and allowable in an old man, than pride in a young one: for there are two diſtinctions in ambition; the one is allowable and commendable, when a man hath an opportunity to compaſs his allow'd deſires by his lawful endeavours.

Moſt divines hold free-will in man to do well; and where ambition tends to well-doing, pride has no power or part in him. The pride of *Tarquin* was ſo deteſtable, that it overthrew the title of kings in the *Roman* commonwealth. *Cæſar* ſettled the higheſt degree of monarchy by the name of emperor: his ambition was carried with that temper, that he attained his end by love; whereas *Tarquin* loſt himſelf by pride, and was worthily loathed.

No man that deſires to be ſingular, but has ſome part of ambition, and yet free from any part of pride. If the common ſoldier did not aſpire by ambition to the degree of a captain, his valour againſt the enemy would little appear: if a courtier had not a thought of advancement, he might better employ his time, than in the ſervice of a prince. A thankful man ambitiouſly ſtrives to requite the courteſy of another: then it is not the word ambition that makes it unlawful, but the manner of compaſſing it, and the means of employing it.

The ſecond degree of ambition is accompanied with pride, envy, and hate; and obtained by corruption, flattery, and unlawfully, as appears in ſome *Engliſh* kings, who have not ſpared the deſtruction of their own blood to attain their deviliſh ambitious ends.

Ambition is like the unſatiable ſea, that receives all other brooks and rivers, and yet is never filled. It may be compared to the monſter *Hydra*, which though ſhe loſeth her head, yet it increaſeth again; for the nature of ambition is never to have an end; and as man compaſſeth his deſire in one thing, he is not long ſatisfied with it, but covets another, ſtill working his own miſery and woe. But he ſhould remember the words of *Plutarch*, *That none climbs ſo high, but he has God above him, and his actions are beheld by man.* Ambition is a thing conceived in the heart, and conſented to in the mind.

The laſt and baſeſt property of ambition, is to compaſs their end by corruption: this age, and this our nation is beſt able to teſtify it; for no man's virtue can advance him, nor no man's vice hinder his ambition, if he have money and means to buy his preferment; as, on the contrary, amongſt the *Romans*, no man was advanced to honour but ſuch as refuſed it; and none with us, but thoſe that buy it: nor no man was preferred but by his worth; but none with us but for their wealth. I confeſs that as it is reputation to have it, ſo it is infamy to purchaſe it; for a good man careth not for titles, and his good name cannot be taken from him; he may be ill uſed, but not diſhonoured.

The next thing I commend to you is patience and temperance, as a ſingular virtue in itſelf, and the cauſe of much happineſs to man. It breeds content to the mind, eaſe to the body, and quietneſs to the ſoul. It abandons ambition, and makes one ſubmit to reaſon. *Plutarch* adviſes *Trajan* to patience in troubles, to be gentle in buſineſs, and to bear with ill tongues, and ſuffer calumnies; which time cures, when reaſon cannot; and it is as great wiſdom to do no evil office, when a man may do good; for if he may have his ends by fair means, not to obtain them by foul; for the true property of a wiſe man is to think of times paſt, to order things preſent, and to be careful of the future. *Cicero* ſays, that prudence and patience is the art of life, as phyſick is of health; it neither deceives, nor is deceived. As for worldly fortunes, they are uncertain and mutable; for no man can account himſelf happy till his death.

One thing I heartily and earneſtly recommend to you at your idle hours; (I know my

my requeſt is no ſooner propounded than granted;) which is the continuance and delight in your book; but with this caution, *That it breeds not a vain and arrogant conceit, which may cauſe conteſts and quarrels in arguing.* Matters of ſtory depend on the author's authority that writes, and their judgments that read: many times writers differ; and readers are apt and prone to rely on him who ſuits beſt with their particular opinion. This over-waining conceit lives in the houſe of will, where reaſon has no power, and it is the original breeding of all hereſy. And if men would read with patience, with judgment conſider, with humility to ſubmit, and with reaſon to receive ſatisfaction; neither would ſects ſo much abound, nor ſcholars ſo greatly diſagree among themſelves.

All men are affectionate or partial in their opinions and ſports; ſome delight in hunting; ſome in hawking, and other exerciſes; and as there are many faces that do not agree in one feature, ſo there are as few that agree in all points and delights. But eſteem no leſs of him that ſorts not with your humour, than of a chriſtian that jumps not with you in points of religion.

If reaſon guideth actions, learning ſhould have the preheminence above all other ſatiſfactions; for he that is a lover of his book, ſhall learn of wiſemen courage to imitate, prudence to counſel, grief to lament, mirth to laugh at, fools to jeſt with; yea, he ſhall find the good he deſires, and may eſchew what evil he pleaſes.

Barilius the emperor adviſed his ſon not to be weary of reading of books, becauſe he would find that without ſorrow, which others do with great trouble; he would ſee the mutability of human life; the raiſing of ſome, and the falling of others; the puniſhment of the evil, and the reward of the good; that he might fly the one, and embrace the other.

Good ſon, for an end of all, be conſiderate before you enterprize a thing; be conſtant in purſuing it, and patient to effect it; for nothing is compaſſed with that facility but finds oppoſition, nor nothing ſpoils a good cauſe ſooner than haſte and choler. It is like an evil weed put into a ſavory broth, or poiſon into a potion.

Three things there are I would adviſe you to remember; the commandments of God, benefits received, and the uncertainty of your life: in the one, you will perform your duty to your creator; in the other, ſhew thankfulneſs to the world; and in the laſt, abandon many vices and vanities this age produces.

For your duty to me, let it be as God hath commanded: not that I expect more than by nature is due; and for leſs, let *Noah* be your example, who being deſpiſed by his ſon *Cham*, and being pity'd by his two other ſons, God ſent his curſe upon the ſeed of *Cham*, and bleſſed his other children. Remember that the clear and unſpotted life of the living ſon, begets fame and glory to the dead father. And carry in mind theſe precepts of mine, and you need not eſteem the affronts of malicious tongues; for they may throw ſtones, but do no other hurt.

TO SUCH

Gentlemen and Commanders as were Actors in the Wars with *Spain* in the Days of Queen *Elizabeth.*

Noble Gentlemen,

IN my former book I have preſented to the view of the world, the accidents and occurrences of the late war with *Spain*, in which you may worthily challenge an intereſt by having hazarded your perſons in ſuch deſperate expeditions; and wherein your rewards did not equal your deſerts: for time and ingratitude are the deſtroyers of all noble and memorable acts, and have cauſed you to be forgot.

The *Romans* had never been nobly eſteemed, nor their victories gloriouſly atchieved, had they not reſpected the actors as theauthors of their conqueſts. They valued men not for their birth, but for their worth, accounting virtue the cauſe of preferment, and honour but the effect. They accounted them not gentlemen that got riches, but thoſe that attained to reputation in war; ſaying, He was unworthy the praiſe of his anceſtors, that did not imitate them in virtue and valour.

In ſix hundred and forty years the *Romans* were victorious, they never gave office to men that ſued for it, but to ſuch as out of mature diſcretion they choſe, whom they knew to be fit to execute it. Soldiers may plead their honours to be more ancient; for it is written in the province of *Caria*, in the *Leſſer Aſia*, they gave ſpurs to the valianteſt men at arms, by which they were privileged and dignify'd. Feathers were likewiſe invented to diſtinguiſh ſoldiers from others; and puniſhment inflicted on thoſe that wore them, and could give no account of ſome exploit in chivalry.

In-

Inſcriptions on tombs and monuments were allowed only to thoſe that gave teſtimony of their valour in warlike feats.

A young man, whoſe valour was ſuſpected, and ſon to a famous captain, beſought king *Antiochus* to give him the reward his father had given him by king *Demetrius*: *Antiochus* anſwered, I reward not the virtue of fathers, but the deſerts of the ſon.

Lycurgus, among his many laws, for the encouragement of men to imitate the virtue of their anceſtors, ordained, That at the ſolemn and publick feaſts there ſhould be three choirs of ſingers, according to their ages: the firſt were old men, who ſung their own praiſe of times paſt: the ſecond young men in their prime, who ſung, *We are young and able, and be that will not believe us may try us*: the laſt were boys, who ſung, *We ſhall be better than thoſe that went before us.*

If theſe three degrees were now to ſing, the old men with hoarſe voices might rather exclaim againſt the iniquity of the times; the young men with untunable notes, might renounce following the example and ſteps of thoſe that went before them; the boys might complain, that all hope of preferment and reward is taken from them.

Virtue was ever eſteemed, and arms rewarded before all other profeſſions; and as a man is bound to ſerve a prince, ſo has he leave to ſue to him. The powerful king *Ahaſuerus* was wont to ſay, There was no man that did ſervice to his prince or country, but they were bound to reward him; and becauſe his deeds might be anſwerable to his words, they write of him, That one night in his bed being not diſpoſed to ſleep, he cauſed the annals of his country to be read to him; and finding that one *Mordecai* had done great ſervice to himſelf and country, he asked, what reward the ſaid *Mordecai* had received; and finding he was neglected, he advanced and preferred him above the reſt of his ſubjects, ſaying, *That prince was unworthy, who did not reward according to the ſervice he had done.*

Numa Pompilius commanded thoſe to be reverenced that overcame in battle. *Solon* ordained a reward for ſuch men as deſerved well of their country.

But now you ſee, and with grief muſt confeſs, we make more account of the word honour, than of deſerving it. In ancient times none had titles of dignity but thoſe that ſought to avoid it; and few with us, but ſuch as will buy it: we value honour by riches, not by deſert, as it was firſt inſtituted.

But what ſhall we ſay of inconſtant time, which alters and changes all things? For the *Romans* flouriſhing eſtate, which continued longer and more proſperous than any other nation, was at laſt overthrown by luxury and delights they brought out of *Aſia*: for after *Paulus Æmilius* overcame them, he brought ſuch effeminacy into *Rome*, that other nations took advantage of it, and became conquerors over them by whom they had before been conquered; and thoſe that had been honoured for their valour, now became infamous to ſucceeding ages for their cowardice.

Mario Antonio obſerves another bane to commonwealths; as, namely, private and particular favourites: *For*, ſays he, *the importunity of favourites makes the prince give to him from whom he ſhould take, and take from him to whom he ſhould give; they diſhonour the worthy, and honour others of leſs merit; they deſpiſe the experienced, and rely upon the weak and ignorant; they prefer not men to offices for their perſons, but perſons to offices; they give juſtice to the unjuſt, and refuſe juſtice to the juſt; and value juſtice by their own profit.*

When they are brought to preferment thus unworthily, they make their authority greater than their place: they ſupply that with malice which they want in diſcretion; they praiſe their own ill, no leſs than if it were goodneſs in another: but in the end they loſe themſelves, by adventuring into a ſea they know not: they make infamous the prince they miſgovern, and commonly their end is death and deſtruction; for their beginning was pride and ambition, and their end envy and malice.

Though it be a ſcandal to a commonwealth, where princes make more of favourites than of well deſervers, it behoves you not to approve or repine at it; but to hope that act of his will not ſtand as a precedent.

Evil kings rely more upon cuſtom than goodneſs, and deſire rather to be obey'd than counſelled; the devil under colour of advice deceives them: but ſuch princes are like covetous perſons, That live poor, to die rich. They pleaſe their humours whilſt they live, and leave infamy behind them when they die.

Seneca ſays, *That* Cato *deſerved more glory for baniſhing the vices of* Rome, *than* Scipio *did for conquering of* Carthage. By which you may ſee it is not your profeſſion, I mean arms, that reforms commonwealths, but wiſdom in grave and ſage ſenators; for *Democritus* the philoſopher truly ſays, *That two things govern the world, reward and puniſhment.* My laſt and beſt advice is, That you refer your ſelves and cauſes to time; for that muſt cure, when reaſons cannot.

BOOK II.

Containing ſome Actions of the *Engliſh* after King *James*'s Acceſſion to the Crown; and ſeveral Diſcourſes upon that Subject.

The Peace with Spain *after the Queen's Death, and ſome Accidents that happened.*

AS commonly ill news flies apace, ſo the queen's death was ſoon divulged in all parts of *Europe*, every prince ſtriving to be the firſt to congratulate his majeſty's happy acceſſion to the crown.

And though *Spain* be generally obſerved, and by its friends much condemned for its long and tedious diſpatches, yet this action being ſo rare, and importing them ſo much, the news was no ſooner brought them, but an ambaſſador was immediately nominated to perform ſuch rites and ceremonies as princes afford one another in ſuch caſes.

What ſucceeded in their treaty, or what labouring by other ſtates to keep theſe two great kingdoms in diviſion, concerns me not to enquire; only I will proſecute ſuch accidents as fell out at ſea in the twelve years I ſerved as admiral in the narrow ſeas.

Though his majeſty might ſay, (as few princes ever did,) *That he could not eſteem any ſtate in* Europe *his enemy*; and that his chriſtian-like motto, *Beati pacifici*, declared how far his heart was from war, or to ſupport the diviſions of chriſtians; yet he was willing to follow the example of his predeceſſors in keeping ſome ſhips in the narrow ſeas, to defend his right and juriſdictions there, which the *Hollanders* thought to invade, as will appear by the following diſcourſe.

This treatiſe was writ by Sir *William Monſon*, who ſerved as admiral of thoſe ſeas twelve years, and dedicated it to the two late lord chancellors at his deliverance out of the *Tower*.

The narration ſhall ſpeak for itſelf; and the reader may judge, if he be not too much tranſported in affection to the nation of *Holland*, to what their inſolencies then tended, or may tend hereafter.

But before that diſcourſe ſhall take place, I will entertain you with two or three accidents worth your knowledge, and which may challenge a place among the reſt.

The peace between *England* and *Spain* being concluded, and publiſhed in the year 1604. the war between *Holland* and *Spain* ſtill continued as hot and fierce as before. The admiral of the narrow ſeas was now to think to walk indifferently, and without partiality betwixt the two nations, like a careful ſhepherd, to keep his neighbours flocks from intruding upon one another.

The next thing that gave occaſion of debate was in the year 1605. when the king of *Spain* ſent eight ſhips with a thouſand ſoldiers through the narrow ſeas for *Flanders*. He would not exceed the number of eight veſſels, becauſe the articles of peace did warrant the entertainment of ſo many in his majeſty's harbour.

But, as I have ſhewed, the bane of actions has been in the diſcovery of them; ſo this of the *Spaniards* being underſtood by the *Hollanders*, they provided to intercept them at ſea; where they met, and there paſſed a cruel and bloody fight betwixt them: many of the *Spaniards* were ſlain, and ſome taken; but the greateſt part recovered *Dover*, where they were defended with ſhot from the caſtle and platform.

Being now arrived in his majeſty's dominions, they counted themſelves under his protection, and waited an opportunity to paſs over ſecretly and by ſtealth into *Flanders*; or by his majeſty's mediation, who laboured with the ſtates of *Holland* to that effect.

But the *Hollanders* having the *Spaniards* at a bay, and knowing they durſt not venture to put out, being beleaguer'd by their ſhips, for the ſpace of ſeven or eight months, his majeſty ſollicited their paſſage, and Sir *Nevil Charoon* was ſent over to that purpoſe, but could not prevail; for the *Hollanders* ſtood more upon point of honour than

any hurt they could receive from the thouſand *Spaniards*.

Upon this anſwer, my lord of *Salisbury* ſent for Sir *William Monſon*, and imparted to him the ſtate of the whole buſineſs, demanding of him, if it were poſſible to put over the *Spaniards* without uſing his majeſty's authority or force, or hazarding to be intercepted by the *Hollanders*. Sir *William* told him it was a ſervice of great importance, and the greater, becauſe the honour of two kings was engaged in it; but if it pleaſed his majeſty to have it done, and that his lordſhip would undertake his directions ſhould be followed, he doubted not but to effect it, as his lordſhip had propoſed.

Hereupon my lord of *Salisbury* imparted it to the king, and his majeſty to the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador; for then was Don *Pedro de Suniſa* come to ſucceed the Conde *de Villa Mediana*. The king deſiring the two ambaſſadors to deliberate and conſider of it, ſhewing a willingneſs in him to farther it, the ambaſſadors took reſpite to give their reſolutions, till they had acquainted and received an anſwer from the king their maſter; for thoſe being his ſubjects whom it concerned, they could not diſpoſe of them without his knowledge or approbation.

And thus it continued for the ſpace of eight or nine weeks, when the ambaſſador Don *Pedro*'s meſſenger return'd from *Spain*; and then he repaired to my lord of *Salisbury*, and acquainted him, that his maſter's friendly propoſition was approved of, and thankfully accepted by the king his maſter.

Upon this my lord of *Salisbury* ſent for Sir *William Monſon* once again, requiring him to perform with care what he had formerly promiſed; for it was a ſervice of extraordinary conſequence.

The ſecrecy and policy that was uſed to contrive this ſtratagem, with the ſeveral paſſages that happened, is too tedious to ſet down; only I will ſay, that in ſpite of the fleet of *Holland*, that uſually rid in the mouth of *Dover* peer, in the road of *Gravelling* and *Dunkirk*, to impeach the *Spaniards* paſſage, yet they arrived ſafe in *Dunkirk* the ſame night deſign'd for them by Sir *William Monſon* to be expected, without the help of his majeſty's ſhips, or other aſſiſtance by his authority; which the *Hollanders* look'd upon as ſo great an affront, and to be thus prevented and derided, that it made them ſuſpect, though they had no juſt ground to accuſe him, that Sir *William Monſon* was the director and contriver of this ſtratagem; and therefore now they began to ſettle their hate upon him, and to urge and labour his removal out of the narrow ſeas, as in the following account will appear. This act of Sir *William*'s, which he did by direction of the ſtate, ever after procur'd him much hate and envy, not only from the *Hollanders*, but from their friends and factions in *England*.

The next ſervice Sir *William* was employed in, concerned the towns of *Rye* and *Haſtings*, which found themſelves impoveriſhed, and almoſt ruined, by the *French* incroaching upon their fiſhing on the *Engliſh* coaſt, contrary to the articles and agreement betwixt the two kings.

Theſe towns, upon juſt cauſe, complain'd of it, and Sir *William* was ſent down to redreſs it; which he carefully performed, though it coſt the lives of ſome *Frenchmen*: for two years he was fain to uſe force, and brought the *French* to that ſubmiſſion, that the *Engliſh* enjoyed their uſual privileges.

Many other accidents happen'd in the narrow ſeas, that need no remembrance; and yet I will conclude with the eſcape of the lady *Arabella*, twenty four hours before Sir *William Monſon* had order to purſue her; which he did with that celerity, that ſhe was taken within four miles of *Calais*, ſhipped in a *French* bark of that town, whither ſhe was bound.

The manner is ſo commonly known, that no more needs be ſaid, but that it was done; though the accident was ſo ſtrange and unlook'd for, that few could be perſuaded but that her eſcape was plotted, with an intent to take her again: and it was the rather believed, becauſe Sir *William* was not rewarded according to the importance of that ſervice. But it may be anſwered and imputed to his misfortune; for ſince the death of queen *Elizabeth*, who was both gracious and bountiful to him, he never taſted or received either recompence or preferment, more than his ordinary entertainment, according to the ſervices he was employed in; for he began the wars with ten ſhillings *per* month pay; then with two ſhillings and ſixpence *per* day; after with five ſhillings, with ten ſhillings, with fifteen ſhillings, with twenty ſhillings, and ſixteen pages allowed him for his retinue; after with thirty ſhillings *per* day; and laſtly, with forty ſhillings *per* day. He had ſerved as a ſoldier, a private captain, a rear-admiral, a vice-admiral, a captain under the general; and laſtly, an abſolute general.

To

To the Right Honourable the Lord Elſmore, *Lord Chancellor of* England, *and Sir* Francis Bacon, *Attorney and Counſellor, Sir* William Monſon, *after his Impriſonment in the* Tower, Anno Domini 1616. *concerning the Inſolencies of the* Dutch, *and a Juſtification of Sir* William Monſon.

I DID greatly, and in a manner half promiſe myſelf, after I was examin'd by your honours, if ever God gave me liberty, to preſent you with ſome collections of the *Hollanders* inſolencies on the narrow ſeas, from the time his majeſty made peace with *Spain*, till the truce betwixt *Holland* and *Spain*; in which interim there aroſe many doubts and queſtions, which purchaſed me no ſmall hate from that ſtate of *Holland*.

The firſt of *July*, 1604. the then lord *Cecill* ſignified to me his majeſty's pleaſure, that I ſhould take charge of his highneſs's ſhips ſerving on the narrow ſeas; and will'd me to make ſuch proviſion for tranſporting the conſtable of *Caſtile*, who was then expected to conclude a peace, as ſhould ſtand with the honour and reputation of his majeſty.

After humble thanks to his majeſty, and no leſs to his lordſhip, for doing me ſo high a favour, without either ſuit or ſeeking of mine, I was bold to tell him, That by my employment I was to enter into a labyrinth; for though the navigation was but ſhort and eaſy, yet it was both difficult and dangerous; for I was to ſail betwixt *Scilla* and *Caribdis*; the one I might call *Holland*, the other *Spain*; and ſeeking to avoid the diſpleaſure of the one, I might as well fall into enmity of the other.

As for *Holland*, I conſider'd, by the permiſſion of our ſtate heretofore, they might challenge a prerogative, where nothing was granted by us but of courteſy, their inſolency was ſuch; and therefore to curb them ſuddenly, that had their rein ſo long given them, could not be done without great envy, if not danger; for that their forces at ſea did much exceed his majeſty's, who had but one ſhip and pinnace to guard his coaſt.

On the other ſide, I weigh'd with myſelf, if I ſhould give diſtaſte to the *Spaniards* or archduke, I ſhould incur the diſpleaſure of two princes, who had their ambaſſadors reſident near the king; and whoſe power, in reſpect of their maſters, was able to cruſh me, if I ſhould either willingly or ignorantly commit the leaſt error. What his lordſhip's anſwer was to this, I omit, leſt I ſhould be charged with vain-glory, (a vice I ever deteſted.)

I departed from my lord with this reſolution in myſelf, above all things to ſtand upon his majeſty's honour and right, to carry myſelf like a neuter, to do juſtice indifferently; and if there happen'd any queſtion of ambiguity, to acquaint my lord admiral, and the lord *Cecill*, from whom I would be directed in all doubtful and difficult caſes.

The firſt of *Auguſt* I received a warrant for my repair to *Graveling*, where the conſtable remain'd, expecting my coming. My care was to perform ſo much as my lord *Cecill* gave me in charge; and to add the more grace to this ſervice, conſidering the greatneſs of the perſon that was to come, and the honourable occaſion of his coming, I was accompanied with fifty knights and gentlemen of good account and quality. If my expence in that journey were valued, with the reſt of my diſburſements for the tranſportation of princes and ambaſſadors, for which as yet I have received no ſatisfaction, it is not the rewards or preſents of ambaſſadors that would countervail the expence of their diet.

The day after my arrival at *Graveling*, I was deſir'd by the conſtable to go to *Dunkirk*, to ſee his barks with proviſions ſecur'd from the *Hollanders*, who did uſually ride with a ſquadron of ſhips before the town of *Dunkirk*, to beleaguer it.

At my coming thither, I went on board the admiral of *Holland*, who had been my old and familiar acquaintance, by reaſon of many actions and ſervices we had been in together: I told him, That after twenty years ſpent in the wars, I was now become a watchman, with a bill in my hand, to ſee peace kept, and no diſorders committed in the narrow ſeas. And whereas many miſdemeanors and outrages had been offered by ſhips that ſerv'd under him againſt his majeſty's ſubjects ſince the death of the queen, I intreated him, that from thence forward things might be carried with more diſcretion and mildneſs; otherwiſe it would exaſperate his majeſty, and alienate the *Engliſh* hearts from them, whoſe love they had ſufficiently made proof of. The admiral told me, That if the *Engliſh* did offer to trade into the archduke's ports of *Flanders*, his commiſſion was to impeach them. I adviſed him, if it were ſo, to do it in a friendlier manner than had been; which he promiſed, but meant nothing leſs.

For the *Hollanders* continued rather more than leſs cruel, in taking and burning our *Engliſh* ſhips, and ſometimes murdering our men; when at the ſame inſtant, and in view

view of our *Engliſh* barks taken, they would permit and ſuffer their own countrymen to have free acceſs to the harbours of *Flanders*, without impeachment. I made many and ſundry complaints of it to the lord *Cecill*, who, it ſeems out of policy, was willing to connive at it. I endeavour'd by all gentle and courteous means I could, to draw the admiral to a more loving proceeding, the particulars whereof I hold it not fit to relate; and yet one I will not omit.

A bark of *Yarmouth* was met and ſurpriz'd by a *Hollander*, in the road of *Calais*, under pretence that ſhe was to go for *Dunkirk*. It was my hap to meet and reſcue the ſaid bark, and found fifteen *Hollanders*, mariners in her, whom I might have juſtly executed as pirates; but becauſe I would oblige the admiral, after two or three days impriſonment, I diſmiſſed them with a letter to their admiral, expreſſing my mild proceedings, deſiring him to follow my example to his majeſty's ſubjects: but all in vain; for he deſiſted not from his former courſes.

Their ſtubborn carriage at my firſt entrance into my place, in not ſtriking their top-ſails, and other rights I requir'd as due to his majeſty's prerogative, I forbear to expreſs, though your lordſhip may well think it could not be redreſs'd without much hazard and hatred to me.

The 4th of *October*, 1604. there arrived in the *Downs* a ſhip of war of *Dunkirk*, where ſhe found three or four merchants ſhips of *Holland*, bound for *France*. I ſent for the captain of *Dunkirk*, and forbid him offering violence to thoſe of *Holland*, they being under my protection in his majeſty's road. The captain obey'd me, and the merchants proceeded in their voyage.

Within three days after there arriv'd three ſhips of war of *Holland*, whom I forbid meddling with the *Dunkirker*, as I had done to the *Dunkirker* before. I advertiſed my lord admiral of this accident, and deſired his lordſhip's directions for my proceeding in a caſe that was like to begin a precedent. I was bound to add my opinion, which was, to refer it to the captain of the *Dunkirker*, whether he would retire into the harbour of *Dover* or *Sandwich*, or abide in the *Downs* to take his fortune, if I ſhould be commanded thence upon any ſervice with his majeſty's ſhip; for I fear'd if I quitted the road, they would little reſpect his majeſty's authority; for I found they rather obeyed for fear and force, than out of duty of the place. My lord admiral liked well of my propoſal, and committed the management of it to me; and to conclude, the *Dunkirker* retired to *Sandwich*. I conſider'd that many queſtions were like to ariſe betwixt the *Hollanders* and the others by example of this one, if his majeſty did not declare himſelf how far he would protect ſhips on either ſide that ſhould repair to his harbours for ſuccour.

Therefore I dealt with my lord of *Cramborn*, that his majeſty would expreſs by proclamation ſuch difficulties as were likely to ariſe, that all ſtates might take notice thereof. Whereupon there was a proclamation, prohibiting all nations from offering violence one to another, within the compaſs of a line drawn from headland to headland, as it is to be ſeen by the ſame proclamation and map extant.

And in the ſame proclamation was ſignified his majeſty's pleaſure, That what ſhip, merchant, or other of the *Spaniards* or *Hollanders*, ſhould firſt arrive in his majeſty's harbour, the ſaid ſhip firſt arriving, ſhould have two tides to depart, before ſhe ſhould be purſued by the other.

This proclamation directed me from committing any error: now my charge was to ſee it executed accordingly.

I deſir'd the lords, that beſides the proclamation, which I held a ſufficient authority for myſelf; yet becauſe I was to deal with a people that would do no right, nor take no wrong, I deſir'd it might be ratified by a warrant from their lordſhips: which they granted; and I have it yet to ſhew.

The 10th of *May*, 1605. I came to the *Downs*; where I found ſix *Holland* ſhips of war newly arriv'd, to impeach the *Dunkirkers* going out; whereupon I ſent for the *Holland* captains, and acquainted them with my commiſſion, requiring them to obey the tenure of his majeſty's proclamation; which I cauſed to be tranſlated into *Dutch* for them to peruſe.

After many expoſtulations and diſputes, they were contented to abide two tides after the *Dunkirkers*, ſo that I would ſignify under my hand to the ſtates, that I compelled them to it by virtue of his majeſty's proclamation; and ſo for that time they departed.

The next morning the *Hollanders* weigh'd, and went to an anchor in the mouth of the harbour of *Sandwich*, one excepted, which lay cloſe to the *Dunkirkers*. The carriage of the *Hollanders* ſeem'd ſtrange to me, conſidering their promiſe the day before; whereupon I immediately ſet ſail, and anchored betwixt the admiral and the vice-admiral, that both my broad-ſides might command them, expecting what they would do.

The tide drawing on for the *Dunkirker* to come out, ſhe found that if ſhe offer'd to move, the *Hollander* that lay by her was ready to board her; which the reſt ſeeing, went to have done the like.

The

The captain of the *Dunkirker* ſent me word of it; for that he had underſtood the intention of the *Hollanders*, and therefore refuſed to go out: whereupon I ſent for the *Holland* captains, and charged them with breach of their words, and their contempt to his majeſty's authority. They would no longer diſſemble, but told me plainly, that they had better conſidered of it, and concluded they could not appear before their maſters the ſtates with ſafety, if they conſented to the eſcape of the *Dunkirker*.

Upon their anſwer I was enraged, and told them, That hitherto I had treated with them in a friendly and courteous manner, and, in any reaſonable man's conceit, had given them good ſatisfaction with my letter to the ſtates: but ſeeing they dealt ſo indirectly, I put them on board their ſhips again, and willed them to ſtand upon their ſelves, and vowed, if one ſhot was made at the *Dunkirker*, I would ſink them, or they me. When they thus ſaw I would believe no longer in words, they permitted the *Dunkirker* quietly to eſcape, and remain'd themſelves two tides, according to the proclamation.

If your lordſhips had ſeen the diſpoſitions and carriage of the people of *Sandwich*, you would have thought it ſtrange, that ſubjects durſt oppoſe themſelves ſo openly againſt the ſtate; thouſands of people beholding me from the ſhore, look'd when the ſword ſhould make an end of the difference, and publickly wiſhed the ſucceſs to the *Hollanders*, curſing both me and his majeſty's ſhip.

But it was no marvel; for moſt of the inhabitants are either born, bred, or deſcended from *Holland*, their religion truly *Dutch*, as two of the grave miniſters of *Sandwich* have complain'd to me, proteſting they think that town, and the country thereabouts, ſwarms as much with ſects as *Amſterdam*.

Your lordſhips muſt give me leave a little to digreſs, and expreſs the ſtate of *Sandwich*, and the uſe *Holland* may make of it, if ever they become enemies to *England*; therefore it behoves us to prevent all dangerous advantages, which is the more in them, becauſe they neglect no occaſion wherein they may benefit themſelves with the loſs of others.

The firſt and principalleſt advantage all enemies have that invade a country by ſea, is the ſafe harbour or road for the arriving of ſhipping; and though *Sandwich* be but a barred haven, and that ſhips cannot enter but upon a flood, and at no time any great veſſels of burthen, yet is our *Downs* within two miles from thence, where thouſands of ſhips may ride as ſafely as in any harbour of *Europe*; and if ever the *Hollanders* be diſpoſed to give an attempt, now that *Fluſhing* is in their poſſeſſion, it is but one night's ſailing from thence to *Sandwich*.

The town is more naturally ſeated for ſtrength than any I know in this kingdom, and a place of little defence as it is uſed. An enemy having the command of an harbour, as I have ſhewed, approaching a town of no defence, which may be made impregnable, being ſure of the hearts of the men within it, and to be reliev'd within twelve hours by ſea, I refer the conſideration thereof to your lordſhips, and return where I left off.

The 20th of *April*, 1605. I landed the earl of *Hertford* and Sir *Thomas Edmonds*, in their embaſſy to the archduke: the one of them paſſed with me in the *Vanguard*, the other in the *Lyon's-Whelp*, a pinnace of his majeſty. The pinnace falling a league aſtern, was ſaluted by two *Holland* ſhips of war, in which ſalutation they put a diſgrace upon her, by the trumpeter's blurring with his trumpet, which is held a ſcorn at ſea.

Sir *Thomas Edmonds* being much moved at this uſage, cauſed a piece of ordnance to be ſhot off for my ſtay; at whoſe coming up he acquainted me with the wrong offered. I immediately commanded the *Holland* captains on board me, which if they refuſed, I threaten'd to compel them; but they ſeeing themſelves over-maſter'd, made no queſtion to obey me.

I beſought my lord of *Hertford*, with the reſt of the gentlemen of his train, to be witneſſes of my proceedings with the captains; and told my lord, if I carried myſelf otherwiſe than became me, he ſhould have power to over-rule me.

Before I entered into capitulation, I requir'd their anſwer to one queſtion, (which was,) whether they had command from their maſters, the ſtates, to impeach his majeſty's ambaſſadors paſſage, or no? if they had, I requir'd to ſee their commiſſion, the copy whereof I would take and ſend to his majeſty, and let them depart without violence.

They anſwer'd, they had no ſuch directions, neither was their intention ſo to do. Then I told them, that ſeeing the affront was offered as proceeding from themſelves, and not from the ſtates, I would right myſelf upon them, and after acquaint their ſtate upon what reaſon I did it. But upon their vows and proteſtations to clear themſelves, imputing it to the lewdneſs of their trumpeter, and ſubmitting themſelves to my cenſure, at the intreaty of my lord of *Hertford*, I diſmiſſed them, they promiſing to puniſh the offenders ſeverely. One of theſe captains was he who ſince that time committed a foul murder upon his majeſty's

ſubjects in *Ireland*, that were under protection.

The next thing that comes to my mind, is a repetition of that I delivered to your lordſhips in the *Tower*, concerning the admiral of *Holland*'s refuſing to take in his flag: I deliver'd it not with thoſe circumſtances that were convenient for your lordſhip's underſtanding; and becauſe I know your weightier occaſions may very well make you forget what was ſaid, I will preſume to reiterate the ſame again.

In my return from *Calais* the firſt of *July*, 1605. with the emperor's ambaſſador, as I approach'd near *Dover* road, I perceived an increaſe of ſix ſhips to thoſe I left there three days before, one of them being the admiral: their coming in ſhew was to beleaguer the *Spaniards*, who were then at *Dover*, as you have heard.

As I drew near them, the admiral ſtruck his flag thrice, and advanced it again: his coming from the other coaſt at ſuch a time, cauſed me to make another conſtruction than he pretended; and indeed it ſo fell out; for I conceived his arrival at that time was no other end, than to ſhew the ambaſſador, who he knew, would ſpread it abroad throughout all *Europe*, as alſo the *Spaniards*, that they might have the leſs eſteem of his majeſty's prerogative in the narrow ſeas, that by their wearing their flag, they might be imputed kings of the ſea, as well as his majeſty. I haſtened the ambaſſador aſhore, and diſpatched a gentleman to the admiral to intreat his company the next day to dinner, which he willingly promiſed.

The gentleman told him, I required him to take in his flag, as a duty due to his majeſty's ſhips. He anſwer'd, that he had ſtruck it thrice, which he thought to be a ſufficient acknowledgment; and it was no more than former admirals of the narrow ſeas had required at his hands.

The gentleman replied, That he expected ſuch an anſwer from him; and therefore he was prepared what to ſay to that point. He told him the times were altered; for when no more but ſtriking the flag was required, *England* and *Holland* were both of them in hoſtility with *Spain*, which cauſed her late majeſty to tolerate divers things in them; as for inſtance, the admiral's wearing his flag in the expedition to *Cadiz* and the iſlands, where the lord admiral of *England*, and lord of *Eſſex*, went as generals; and that courteſy they could not challenge by right, but by permiſſion; and the wars being now ceaſed, his majeſty did require by me his miniſter, ſuch rights and duties as have formerly belong'd to his progenitors.

The admiral refuſed to obey my command, ſaying, he expected more favour from me than from other admirals, in reſpect of our long and loving acquaintance. But he was anſwer'd, that all obligation of private friendſhip muſt be laid aſide, when the honour of one's king and country is at ſtake. The gentleman adviſed him in a friendly manner to yield to my demand; if not, he had commiſſion to tell him, That I meant to weigh anchor, and come near him, and that the force of our ſhips ſhould determine the queſtion; for rather than I would ſuffer his flag to be worn in view of ſo many nations as were to behold it, I reſolved to bury myſelf in the ſea.

The admiral, it ſeems, upon better advice, took in his flag, and ſtood immediately off to ſea, firing a gun for the reſt of the fleet to follow him. And thus I loſt my gueſt the next day at dinner, as he had promiſed.

This paſſage betwixt the admiral and me was obſerved from the ſhore, people beholding us to ſee the event. Upon my landing, I met with *Siriago*, the general of the *Spaniards*, who in the time of queen *Elizabeth* was employ'd under *Mendoza*, the ambaſſador of *Spain*. He told me, That if the *Hollanders* had worn their flag, times had been ſtrangely altered in *England*, ſince his old maſter king *Philip* II. was ſhot at by the lord admiral of *England*, for wearing his flag in the narrow ſeas, when he came to marry queen *Mary*.

I told him that he was miſtaken; for neither the *Hollanders*, nor any other nation, durſt contend with his majeſty in his prerogative of the narrow ſeas; and the accident that then fell out, was by a boy's error, who thought he had been commanded to take in the flag, and to put it out again, when he was order'd to take it in for altogether; which [illegible]en the admiral underſtood, he cauſed it to be taken in, and deſir'd I would not impute it to him as an affront offer'd. Thus I excuſed their inſolency, leſt it ſhould be divulged his majeſty's prerogative had been queſtioned by the *Hollanders*. Had I yielded to a bare ſtriking their flag, as other admirals had done, his majeſty had not reconciled his right again without bloodſhed.

Within few years after, an earl, who then came in company of the emperor's ambaſſador, paſſed the ſeas with me again, when I tranſported prince *Vaudemont*; to whom he recounted at large this paſſage of mine and the *Hollanders*, and aſcribed great honour to his majeſty, in maintaining his right and privileges on the ſeas, which he ſaid the *Hollanders* went about to infringe.

The firſt of *September*, 1605. I received a warrant for tranſporting the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador Don *John de Taxes*, and all his train for *Flanders*, excepting the lord *Arundell*, who

who was to paſs with him into the ſervice of the archduke.

Though the lord *Arundell* was prohibited to go over in the company of the ambaſſador, becauſe the *Hollanders* pretended the world would take notice his majeſty maintained their enemies againſt them, which would much prejudice the reputation of their ſtate, yet notwithſtanding the ambaſſador was promiſed, that within ten days after his arrival, the lord *Arundell* ſhould have a free and ſafe paſſage; which did as much ſatisfy the ambaſſador, as if he had gone with him.

Leſt the lord *Arundell* ſhould attempt to go, notwithſtanding his prohibition, which I much feared, becauſe he abſented himſelf that he might not receive this command, I forbid all ſhips and barks, as they would anſwer it at their peril, to receive him aboard them; which he hearing, corrupted a captain of the king's, and in a diſguiſe convey'd himſelf over in his ſhip: he did it more to gain reputation with the *Spaniards*, than out of any doubt he had not to paſs; for he knew, though he deſired not to take notice of it, that his going was ſecured within few days after.

When I ſaw him upon my arrival at *Gravelin*, and underſtood his practice with one of my captains, I ſpake of it with ſome bitterneſs, and expoſtulated the matter with the ambaſſador, ſuppoſing he had known of his indirect proceeding: but the ambaſſador with many proteſtations diſavowed it, and blamed my lord's indiſcretion as much as myſelf, ſaying, he was as much wrong'd as the ſtate; for he confeſſed by his humble ſuit he had obtained his ſafe paſſage within a few days after, which he accepted as a great favour from his majeſty; and my lord behaving himſelf ſo unadviſedly, he feared might breed a jealouſy againſt him.

My lord *Arundell* knowing I had ſpoken ſomewhat liberally of him, deviſed how to requite me, and took an opportunity upon the following occaſion.

The ſame night, a little before ſupper, news was brought the ambaſſador, that the barks which carried his proviſions were ſtay'd by the *Hollanders* as they were entering *Dunkirk*, and, as it was to be feared, they would not diſmiſs them.

My lord *Arundell* took advantge of this, and privately perſuaded the ambaſſador I had betray'd them to the *Hollanders*. He could not carry his complaint ſo ſecretly, but I came to the knowledge of it: I might perceive a ſtrangeneſs in the ambaſſador, as though he retained a kind of jealouſy; and therefore the ſupper ended, and my leave taken of him for that night, I beſought the governor of *Gravelin*, that the port might be opened, and I provided of horſes; for that I had occaſion to go with ſome ſpeed to *Dunkirk*; both which he courteouſly granted, and I immediately paſſed thither, where I arrived at the opening of the gates in the morning.

I found, as it was reported, the barks detained by the *Hollanders*, but upon what occaſion, and how I cauſed their releaſe, your honours ſhall underſtand hereafter: but I muſt return once more to *Sandwich*.

Whilſt the ambaſſador ſtay'd at *Sandwich* to ſee his horſes and baggage ſhipp'd, there arrived fourteen or fifteen ſhips of war from *Holland* in the *Downs*; a number not uſually ſeen thereabout but upon a greater occaſion then I could imagine; though I miſtruſted they would have obſtructed the ambaſſador's paſſage, and ſent for the principal captains, of whom I required if they had commiſſion to impeach his landing: they anſwered *No*; and ſeem'd to make a frivolous excuſe for their coming.

Then I required them to ſtay in the *Downs* after I was gone, or to depart before me; for avoiding both rumour and ſuſpicion. They made choice of the latter, and ſtood over for *Gravelin Road*, where I found them upon my arrival, and diſcovered that the cauſe of their coming to the *Downs* was to have an eye on the lord *Arundell*'s paſſage.

During the time of the ambaſſador's ſtay at *Sandwich*, thoſe of the town thought to have put an affront upon him; which, if I had not prevented, had more diſguſted than all the favours he received in *England* had contented him.

His horſes being ſhipped, and the bark ready to depart the harbour, an informer went aboard one of them, and made ſeizure of a fardel of bays, to the value of ten or twelve pounds, which belonged to one of the ambaſſador's ſervants; which he took for ſuch a diſgrace, knowing it, as he ſaid, to be a practice of the offſpring of the *Hollanders* within the town, that he reſolved not to depart thence till he was righted by his majeſty's own order.

I laboured to give the ambaſſador ſatiſfaction, and as earneſtly perſwaded the informer to reſtore the fardel; but could prevail with neither; for the value was not ſo much looked upon, as the injury offered.

At laſt, by threatning the informer to complain to the lords, and perſuading him how ill his majeſty would take ſuch a wrong done to an ambaſſador, he reſtored the fardel, but writ to the farmers of the cuſtom, that I countenanced and carried over uncuſtomed goods under the colour of the ambaſſador's proviſions.

When they of *Sandwich* ſaw they could not detain the fardel, they ſecretly practiſed with

with the *Dutch* fleet then at the *Downs*, that upon the arrival of the barks at *Dunkirk*, they ſhould intercept the fardel, and gave intelligence in what bark, and what part of the bark it lay.

The *Hollanders* accordingly detained the veſſel as they were directed, and took out the fardel; and upon this occaſion was the ſtay made of the ambaſſadors goods, as I have ſhewed before.

At my arrival at *Dunkirk* from *Gravelin*, upon the news of the arreſt of the ſhips, as your lordſhips have heard, I wrote to the admiral of the *Hollanders*, that he had exceeded his commiſſion in intercepting the ambaſſador's proviſions, having order from their ſtate for a free paſſage; and that the injury was no leſs to his majeſty; and therefore I required the diſcharge of the ſhips, and his anſwer to the contempt.

He anſwered in writing, that it was true, his directions from his maſters the ſtates did import ſo much, which he did willingly obey; but in his commiſſion he was authorized to intercept any merchandize that ſhould be tranſported under colour of the ambaſſador's furniture; and that in one of the barks he had found a fardel of bays, which he might juſtify the taking of, and ſo diſmiſs'd the bark.

I returned anſwer, that if he went to the ſtrict letter of his commiſſion, I confeſſed he might do it; but I told him the value was ſo ſmall, and it having been queſtioned at *Sandwich*, that I would think myſelf beholding to him, if he would either reſtore it, or keep it in his cuſtody fourteen days. To my latter requeſt he conſented; whereupon I gave aſſurance to the ambaſſador, who was then much enraged that a letter ſhould be procured out of *England* that ſhould compel the delivery of the fardel.

Within four or five days after I arrived in *England*, I acquainted the lord treaſurer *Dorſet* with the affront offered the ambaſſador at *Sandwich*, and the complaint made to the farmers of the cuſtom againſt me. I informed my lord admiral and my lord of *Cranborne* with the lord *Arundell*'s paſſage, and the contempt of the captain, whom I diſplaced and detained priſoner, as alſo of the fardel ſeized on by the *Hollander*.

My lord treaſurer ſent for the informer by a purſuivant, and committed him ten weeks priſoner in the *Gatehouſe*, refuſing to releaſe him, till I became ſuitor for him. The captain was handled in the ſame manner, being long impriſoned, and the fardel reſtored to the governor of *Dunkirk* by a letter from Sir *Howell Caroone*.

I am the more tedious herein, to ſhew the genius of the men of *Sandwich*, who made more account of venting their ſpleen and revenge, than of his majeſty's reputation and honour; and did their beſt endeavour to make a breach betwixt the *Hollanders* and me. At that time they had thirty ſhips for two in the narrow ſeas.

I obſerved at all times that I was to tranſport a *Spaniſh* ambaſſador, the *Hollanders* labour'd to ſhew ſome point of inſolency; as I remember at the return of the marquis of *St. Germains*, I met a *Dutch* fleet in the midſt of the channel, convoy'd by a man of war, who would not take in his flag, till I was forced to uſe violence. I could entertain your lordſhips with a volume of theſe diſcourſes; but what I have ſaid is ſufficient to ſhew the arrogant and unmannerly carriage of the *Hollanders*, who ambitiouſly deſire to incroach upon his majeſty's juriſdiction. Had I connived at them, I had purchaſed leſs hate of them, and their well-wiſhers. And not long before my commitment there fell out an accident, which, perhaps, might haſten my impriſonment. Sir *Howell Caroone*, their agent, coming over in a man of war, was ſhot at by a pinnace of the king's, for not ſtriking his topſail to her, which I underſtood he took in ill part, and caſt it upon me.

If I had tranſgreſſed, or given the leaſt advantage to have excepted againſt me in the twelve years I ſerved on the narrow ſeas, it is very likely his majeſty or the ſtate ſhould have known it; but ſeeing I was never queſtioned for any action, publick or private, I did no more than became a ſubject and a ſervant to his majeſty, to defend the honour and reputation of him and his kingdoms, though it had been with the loſs of my life.

And ſince I have made my apology for twelve years, I will add eighteen more to it, and begin with the wars of *Spain*, where I was an actor in the firſt ſhip, and general of the laſt fleet queen *Elizabeth* ever imploy'd.

If it ſhall appear by records in the admiral's court, or by petition in the council chamber, that ever I was queſtioned for any unlawful act, or ſo much as my name uſed for a witneſs, I will willingly receive my due puniſhment; or let it be proved in all my imployments by ſea, which has been more than any *Engliſh* gentleman, that either directly or indirectly I deceived either of my two ſovereigns, and I will deſire the reward of a traitor.

I well remember the firſt time I was examined by the chief juſtice *Cooke*, and ſecretary *Winwood*, at *Hatton-Houſe*, I beſought them, That they would be pleaſed to enquire into my behaviour, and the courſe of my life from my infancy, and I hoped it would prove loyal, honeſt, and ſpotleſs.

Now

Now I humbly deſire, as a ſecond ſuit, that either they, or any other, would examine the ſervice I have done to the ſtate in the time of the late queen, when there was greateſt occaſions for men to ſhew their abilities and deſerts; as alſo what impriſonment I have endured in *Spain*; what famine, hurts, and other caſualties I ſuffer'd; what wealth has been brought into *England* by my means; with what hazard and fortunate ſucceſs I have obtained both wealth and victory; as in particular, and which is freſheſt in memory, the laſt carrack, valued at almoſt two hundred thouſand pounds, and diſpoſed of by his majeſty at his acceſſion to the crown.

When all theſe things ſhall be conſider'd, and my rewards valued, the integrity of my heart will appear, and how much I preferr'd the ſervice to my prince and country above my private or particular intereſt.

I muſt confeſs my folly and misfortune: the one made me too forward in complaining, and wiſhing a reformation of his majeſty's navy, which has purchas'd me much envy: the other procur'd me as much hate in taking the lady *Arabella*: and then perhaps the cauſe of my impriſonment will more plainly appear.

Some have obtain'd their deſires in ruining my eſtate, made me infamous to the world, taken from me my imployment, ſeized by way of forfeiture upon my land, denying to account with me, which they have long practiſed; and, above all, caſt ſuch an aſperſion upon my children, as all hope of preferment is taken from them: but my comfort is in the ſaying of *David*, That *my defence is in God, who ſaveth the upright in heart.*

Thus have I briefly run over ſome particulars that happened in my imployment; wherein I have ſhew'd in what condition I found the narrow ſeas, how with envy and hate I reduced it, and in what form and condition I left it.

And as I have given an account of twelve years imployment on the narrow ſeas, I can as well derive myſelf from the year 1585. when the war with *Spain* began; for then made I the ſeas my profeſſion, being led to it by the wildneſs of my youth. And becauſe the two barks in which I then ſerved, had the fortune to take the firſt *Spaniſh* prize that ever ſaw the *Engliſh* ſhore, and the rareneſs of the fight in taking her conſidered, I thought it not unworthy of repetition.

In the month of *September* 1585. and about eight a-clock in the evening, being upon the coaſt of *Spain* with two ſmall ſhips aforeſaid, we met and boarded a *Spaniſh* veſſel of three hundred tuns burden, well manned and armed; all our men with one conſent and courage entered her, and we left fighting aboard her all night, the ſeas being ſo grown that our barks were forced to ungrapple and fall off.

The *Spaniards* betook themſelves to their cloſe fights, and gave two attempts by trains of powder, to blow up their decks on which we were; but we happily prevented it by fire-pikes. Thus continued the fight till ſeven in the morning, when the *Spaniards* found they had ſo many men killed and diſabled, that they were forced to yield.

When we came to take a view of our people, we found few left alive but could ſhew a wound or ſhot through their cloaths in that fight: we were a woeful ſpectacle, as well as the *Spaniards*; and I dare ſay, that in the whole time of the war, there was not ſo rare a manner of fight, or ſo great a ſlaughter of men on both ſides.

I confeſs it exceeds the bounds of good manners to trouble your honours with this impertinent diſcourſe; but I do it, that it may appear I had no thought but to imploy my pains and travel to ſerve my prince and country; and ſo I humbly take my leave.

A Voyage by Sir William Monſon *during the Time he ſerved as Admiral in the Narrow Seas about* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland. *Anno Dom.* 1614.

HIS majeſty being earneſtly importuned by his *Scotiſh* ſubjects to have the aſſiſtance of ſome of his ſhips to redreſs the ſpoils committed by the pirates on their coaſt, out of care to them, and honour to himſelf, he diſpatched Sir *William Monſon* and Sir *Francis Howard* in great haſte upon that ſervice, commanding ſuch victuals and other things as they ſtood in need of to be ſent after them.

They departed from *Margate-Road* the 14th of *May*, and arrived at *Leith* in *Scotland* on the 23d of the ſame; thence he immediately went to *Edinburgh*, and preſented himſelf to the lords of that realm, acquainting them with the cauſe of his coming, and the charge he had from his majeſty to defend that coaſt from pirates; and therefore deſired to be informed by their lordſhips concerning their ſtrength, their number, and place of abode. He deſired to be furniſhed with able pilots; for his majeſty's ſhips were of greater burden and value than uſually had been employ'd on thoſe coaſts; and beſides, that the navigation to the northward of that place was

not frequented by our nation, and therefore unknown to us.

It pleaſed their lordſhips to recommend the care thereof to the *Trinity-Houſe* of *Leith*, expreſly commanding them to appoint the ableſt pilots that could be choſen amongſt them. This command of theirs was accordingly obey'd, and their pilots repaired aboard the next morning. Sir *William* immediately ſet ſail, leaving inſtructions for his victuals to follow him to the iſlands of *Orkney*; which the lords of *Scotland* took into their provident care, and performed it accordingly.

The firſt of *June* Sir *William* arrived at *Sinclare-Caſtle*, the houſe of the earl of *Cathneſs*, the utmoſt promontory of *Great Britain*. Here he found neither the number nor the danger of pirates ſo terrible as report made them; from twenty they were vaniſhed to two, and both of them men of baſe condition; the one of them not long before my boatſwain's mate in the narrow ſeas; the other of as mean quality and rank, and firſt made a ſeaman by Sir *William*: neither can this man be properly called a pirate; for being amongſt them, and miſliking their damnable courſes, he, with three others, left their ſociety, and in an *Engliſh* bark they had taken, ſtole from them, and put himſelf into the hands of the earl of *Cathneſs*; where I found both him and the bark, which I brought away with me.

The day before I came to *Cathneſs*, I was diſappointed of meeting the boatſwain's mate, the pyrate, *Clarke* by name, who had been aſhore with the earl, and friendly entertained, becauſe his houſe and tenants lay open to his ſpoil.

That day there arrived a *Scotiſh* bark from the *Frith*, which gave an account of Sir *William*'s coming to *Leith*, with an intent to purſue ſuch pirates as he could hear of. This news made *Clarke* quit that coaſt, and fly into the iſland, where he refreſhed himſelf amongſt the fiſhermen.

But Sir *William* being now out of hope of him, and out of doubt of any others thereabout, ſtay'd not at *Cathneſs*, but the ſame night paſſed to the iſland of *Orkney*, where he found more civil, kind, and friendly uſage, than could be expected from ſuch kind of creatures in ſhew. Here he left Sir *Francis Howard* for guard of the coaſt, and proſecuted his intentions againſt *Clarke*, not ſparing any place to ſeek him in, where there was a poſſibility to find him. After ſome time ſpent at ſea, he put into the iſland of *Shutland*, and from thence to thoſe of *Hybrides*, where he deſign'd Sir *Francis Howard* ſhould meet him.

The brutiſhneſs and uncivility of thoſe people of the *Hybrides* exceeds the ſavages of *America*; and it may be well ſaid of them, that education is a ſecond nature; for there cannot be greater difference betwixt day and night, than betwixt the converſation of thoſe of *Orkney*, and thoſe of the *Hybrides*.

Being out of hopes of meeting with *Clarke*, Sir *William* directed his courſe for *Broad-Haven* in *Ireland*, a harbour frequented by pirates, in reſpect of the ſecurity thereof, and the remoteneſs, few knowing it, and the relief ſuch people find by a gentleman there dwelling, who ſpared not his own daughters to bid them welcome.

The danger Sir *William* ran into was great, and worſe to think, that two ſhips of his majeſty's of that conſequence ſhould be hazarded on ſo ſlender an occaſion, as the purſuit of ſo few pettit pirates.

Betwixt thoſe iſlands and *Ireland* he met with ſo great a ſtorm and ground-ſeas, that it were fit only for a poet to deſcribe. Of four veſſels he had in company, one was ſwallowed up in the ſeas; the other three were ſeparated, and ſaw one another no more till they met in *England*.

When the ſeas had ſpent their fury, the ſtorm began to abate, and the 28th he arrived at *Broad-Haven*, a place unknown to any one in his ſhip but the pirate he had taken from the earl of *Cathneſs*, as you have heard, of whom he made uſe to execute this ſtratagem.

Being now come to the well-head of all pirates, and deſirous to be fully informed of the condition of thoſe people of *Broad-Haven*, as ſoon as he came to an anchor he made choice of ſuch perſons of his company as formerly had been pirates, to give the leſs ſuſpicion of his purpoſe.

Theſe men he ſent in his boat to the gentleman of that place, and took upon him to be a pirate, and the name of captain *Manwaring*. The man he truſted in this ſervice, extolled the wealth he had on board him; his royal diſpoſition and liberality to thoſe that ſhew'd him courteſy. This hope of wealth and reward ſet their hearts on fire.

He uſed the commendations and names of ſundry pirates, their acquaintance; and feigned meſſages to the women from their ſweethearts, who he made believe had ſent them tokens, which he had on board for them.

The ſilly women conceived ſo great a joy at it, that it took away all ſuſpicion of deceit.

The gentleman of that place, like a wilely fox, abſented himſelf, and left his wife and hackney daughters to entertain the new welcome gueſts, till he beheld the coaſt clear; and when he ſaw his time, he returned

turned; and to make his credit and reputation ſeem the greater with captain *Manwaring*, expreſſed the favours he had done to ſundry pirates, though it was to his eminent peril, which he did not eſteem, if he might do captain *Manwaring* any ſervice; ſo much he was devoted to his perſon, when he heard the report of his wealth; and to endear him the more, he promiſed to ſend two gentlemen of truſt the next morning on board him, to give him the better aſſurance of his fidelity; and in the mean time, becauſe he ſhould not be unfurniſhed of victuals, he directed him to ſend his men aſhore armed, and in a warlike manner, that it might appear their cattle were taken by violence, which he would appoint in a place with their ears ſlit, to be diſtinguiſhed from other beaſts.

The meſſenger being fully ſatisfied, and having executed his ſtratagem, return'd aboard that night. At the dawning of the day the play began, for that was the hour appointed for the wolf to ſeek his prey; and captain *Cheſter*, with fifty armed men, in a diſorderly manner, like pirates, went on ſhore, and acted ſo much as was agreed on; and the cattle being kill'd, he was, in a ſecret manner, invited to the houſe of the gentleman; but at his intreaty was to make it appear publickly, that he came not by invitation, but of his own accord.

Here he was welcomed, and friendly entertained by the daughters, whoſe deſire was to hear of their ſweet-hearts, and to receive their tokens; but all in general coveted to ſee captain *Manwaring*, who they confidently believed would enrich them all. The gentleman, Mr *Cormat* by name, was punctual in all his undertaking, and the two ambaſſadors he promiſed came aboard, and delivered a friendly (though in a rude manner, like their country) meſſage of their love, and aſſurance of their ſervice to captain *Manwaring*.

Their meſſage ended, Sir *William* wiſhed them to obſerve and conſider, whether they thought that ſhip and company to be pirates; for they could well judge of pirates, becauſe of their familiarity and acquaintance with them.

It was a folly to diſſemble any longer; for though they would, yet they could not betray Sir *William*'s deſign; and therefore in as rough and rude a manner as they delivered their meſſage, he told them how they had tranſgreſſed, and the next thing they were to expect was death, and commanded them to be put in irons, in dark and ſeveral places, being careful to permit neither boat nor man to go aſhore until his own landing.

The time approached Sir *William* promiſed to viſit them; and for his greater honour they had drawn down four or five hundred people to attend on the ſhore ſide, which he perceiving, and ſeeming to be jealous of their number, pretended to be ſhy of going aſhore, for fear of treachery: but if oaths, vows, or any kind of proteſtations would ſerve him, he had them; and when they ſaw him thus convinced of their ſincerity, and that he put himſelf upon them, three of their principal men run up to the arm-pits in water, ſtriving who ſhould have the credit to carry him aſhore.

One of theſe three was an *Engliſhman*, a late tradeſman in *London*, and attended the arrival of pirates. The ſecond had been a ſchoolmaſter, and a man attended like another *Apollo* amongſt thoſe rude people. The third a merchant of *Galloway*, but his chiefeſt trade was to buy and ſell with pirates.

Theſe three gallants, like gentlemen-uſhers, conducted Sir *William* to Mr. *Cormat*'s houſe, and the meaner ſort followed with acclamations of joy. At his landing, happy was he to whom he would lend his ear. Falling into diſcourſe, one told him they knew his friends, and though his name had not diſcovered it, yet his face did ſhew him to be a *Manwaring*. In ſhort, they made him believe he might command them and their country, and that no man was ever ſo welcome as captain *Manwaring*.

Entering into the houſe of Mr. *Cormat*, his three hackney daughters roſe to entertain him, and conducted him to the hall newly ſtrewed with ruſhes, as the richeſt decking their abilities, or the meanneſs of the place could afford. In the corner was a harper, who played merrily, to make his welcome the greater.

After ſome diſcourſe, and ſeveral queſtions asked by the three daughters concerning their acquaintance and friends; but above all, being deſirous to handle the tokens promiſed, and laughing and jeering at their two meſſengers aboard, who they did not ſuſpect were detained priſoners, but drinking and frolicking in the ſhip, as the uſe was upon the arrival of pirates. After theſe paſſages the women offered to dance; one choſe Sir *William*, which he excuſed, but gave free liberty for the reſt of his company. The *Engliſhman* was ſo pleaſant and merry, that he ſeemed to have new life infuſed into him: he told Sir *William*, the heavens did foreſee he was born to ſerve him, and to relieve him: he ſhewed him a paſs procured upon falſe pretences from the ſheriff of that county, authorizing him to travel from place to place to make inquiſition of his goods, which he falſly pretended he was robbed of at ſea: he laughed at the cheat he had put upon the ſheriff in getting his paſs, and urged the advantage that might be made of it, in ſending to and fro in the country without ſuſpicion.

He proffered Sir *William* the ſervice of ten mariners of his acquaintance, that lay lurking thereabouts, expecting the coming in of men of war, which ſeafaring men he had power to command.

His antick behaviour was enough to put the melancholieſt man in good humour; ſometimes he played the part of a commanding ſheriff; then he acted his own, with many witty paſſages how he deceived the ſheriff. Sir *William* embraced his offer of ten mariners, with a promiſe of reward, and cauſed him to write effectually for them, as may appear by this that follows:

Honeſt brother Dick, *and the reſt, we are all made men; for valiant captain* Manwaring, *and all his gallant crew are arrived in this place. Make haſte; for he flouriſheth in wealth, and is moſt kind to all men. Farewel; and once again make haſte.*

This letter being writ, and the paſs incloſed in it, Sir *William* took it into his own hand, offering to hire a meſſenger to carry it; but night drawing on, which required his return on board, and having drawn from the country all the ſecret he deſired, he cauſed the harp to ceaſe playing, and commanded ſilence, becauſe he was to ſpeak.

He told them, That hitherto they had played their part, and he had no part in the comedy; but though his was laſt, and might be termed the epilogue, yet it would prove more tragical than theirs. He put them out of doubt that he was no pirate, but a ſcourge to ſuch, and was ſent from his majeſty to diſcover, ſuppreſs, and puniſh them and their abettors, whom his majeſty did not think worthy the name of ſubjects: he told them that he had received ſufficient information of the protection given to pirates in that harbour, and by *Cormat*; and that he could find no better expedient to confirm what had been told him, than by taking upon him the habit of a pirate, and one of their aſſociates; and that they had made themſelves guilty in the law, without farther accuſations: and now there remain'd nothing but to proceed to their execution, by virtue of his commiſſion; and to that purpoſe, he had brought a gallows ready framed, which he cauſed to be ſet up, meaning to begin the mournful dance with the two men they thought had been merry, dancing aboard the ſhip.

He told the *Engliſhman* he ſhould be the next, becauſe his offence did ſurpaſs the reſt, being an *Engliſhman*, who ſhould be a pattern of good life to thoſe people we have fought to reduce to civility, ſince we firſt poſſeſſed that country; and ſeeing man naturally is rather apt to follow evil example than good, he ſhould be hanged for example.

He told the ſchoolmaſter he was a fit tutor for the children of the devil, and that he had apt ſcholars to follow his damnable inſtructions; and that as the members are governed by the head, the way to make his members ſound, was to ſhorten him by the head, and therefore willed him to admoniſh his ſcholars from the top of the gallows, which ſhould be a pulpit prepared for him. He asked the merchant, whether he imagined there could be thieves, if there were no receivers? And as the contriver and plotter of evil is worſe than he that executes it, ſo is the abettor and a receiver to be condemned before the thief. He told him that pirates could no more live by their occupation, were it not for buyers, than a poor labourer work without wages; that the offence in a merchant was more heinous than in another man, becauſe his trade muſt be maintained and upheld by peace: his time he told him was not long, and wiſhed him to make his account with God, that he might be found a good merchant and factor to him, though he had been a malefactor to the law.

Here was ſeen the mutability of the world; their mirth was turned into mourning, and their dancing into lamenting, each bewailing and repenting, as is the cuſtom of offenders. The night calling Sir *William* away, he appointed their guard to a boat, and left the carpenter aſhore to finiſh the gallows; which was done by morning, and the priſoners ready to receive their doom; but being ſued to by the whole country, with a promiſe never to connive again at pirates, after four and twenty hours fright in irons he pardoned them.

The *Engliſhman* was baniſhed, not only from that coaſt, but from the ſea ſide, throughout *Ireland*; and a copy of his paſs ſent to the ſheriff, with advice to be more cautious for the future in granting his ſafe conduct. Here the maſter died; and all that country could not afford a pilot; ſo little uſe thoſe people make of God's bleſſings in thoſe parts; for were they induſtrious, as in other countries, both land and ſea would afford them as great plenty of trade and commodities as any part in *Europe*.

The next morning as Sir *William* was at anchor in *Broad-Haven*, he eſpied a ſhip bearing into that harbour; which ſeeing him ſprung her luff, and came to an anchor under the weather-ſhore: by her working he judged her to be a pirate; and though it blew much wind, he put himſelf into his boat, having the opportunity of a great fog, thinking to ſteal upon her at unawares; but finding the fog, like other weather at ſea, unconſtant, when he came within falcon ſhot of her, it clear'd up; which ſhe perceiving, cut cable, and ſtood off to ſea, where he purſued

ſued her with great danger of drowning in his boat.

Six days ſhe kept the ſea in foul weather, and the ſeventh arrived at the iſland of *Eneſcey*, ſeven leagues to the ſouthward of *Broad-Haven*, where ſhe was out of fear of any attempt to be made upon her, by reaſon of the wind.

In the dark of the night, when there was leaſt danger of diſcovery, the pirate found means to have a letter ſecretly conveyed to *Cormat*, their agent and truſtieſt friend; but *Cormat* being lately burnt, did dread the fire; and no ſooner received the letter, but he brought it to Sir *William*, which was to this effect:

Dear friend,

I WAS bearing into Broad-Haven *to give you corn for ballaſt, but that I was frighted by the king's ſhip, I ſuppoſed to be there. I pray you, ſend me word what ſhip it is; for we ſtand in great fear. I pray you, provide me two kine; for we are in great want of victuals: whenſoever you ſhall make a fire on ſhore, I will ſend my boat to you.*

This letter pleaſed Sir *William*, hoping to make good uſe of it, as he did. The firſt thing was to conjure *Cormat* to keep ſecrecy, charging him, upon pain of life, to follow his directions. He writ an anſwer, which he cauſed *Cormat* to ſign as from himſelf: the purport of it was,

"That he rejoiced to hear of his health, "and deſir'd to ſee him: he bid him be "confident this ſhip could not endanger "him; for ſhe was not the king's, as he "imagin'd, but one of *London* that came "from the *Indies* with her men ſick, and "many dead. He promiſed him two "oxen and a calf; to obſerve his directions "by making a fire; and gave him hope to "ſee him within two nights."

A man could not be too cautious among the people of the country, who in their hearts were piratically given; and therefore he cloathed three or four of his company in *Iriſh* habits, to accompany the meſſenger, commanding them to lie in ambuſh not far off, as well to take a view of the bearer, as to defend him from any violence of the pirates, fearing they might ſurprize him, if they miſtruſted any deceit.

The pirates kept as good a watch to obſerve the fire, as the country doth a beacon upon ſuſpicion of an enemy, and eſpying it, were not long a rowing to ſhore, and as little a while on ſhore; for it was the letter only at that time they coveted; and having it, they haſtened aboard to read it.

The letter gave them great content, becauſe they found themſelves free from danger of the ſhip they took to be the king's; as alſo becauſe they were promiſed relief in their extremity, by the two oxen to be ſent them.

This day they were frolick and merry, to make amends for the ſix before ſpent in foul weather at ſea. In the mean time Sir *William* contrived a ſtratagem the pirates neither dreaded nor dreamed of: for underſtanding that at the end of the river where they lay, and not above ſeven miles from him, there was a nook of land two miles in breadth, that parted it from another river, which opened it ſelf into the ſea over againſt *Eneſcey*, where the pirates lay: Sir *William* kept his deſign ſecret from the *Iriſh*, who he knew would not much further his deſign againſt pirates, and on a ſudden took ſo many of thoſe *Iriſh*, with the help of his own company, as drew his boat and another over land; and having recover'd the next river, with no little aſtoniſhment to the *Iriſh*, they were to row thirty miles to the place deſign'd for the fire to be made.

Having pulled hard to be at the place by midnight, as ſoon as the boat arrived they kindled a fire; and by the time they conjectured the pirates boat might be aſhore, who, they made account, would weaken the ſhip of ſo many men as ſhe ſhould carry, they row'd off with ſpeed, and came within ſight of, and ſurpriz'd her before they could be ſuſpected, which did ſo much amaze the pirates, that they had not power to reſiſt, but yielded like ſo many wolves caught in their own ſnares.

Being thus circumvented and apprehended, they were brought to *Broad-Haven*, where Sir *William* executed the chief of them, ſhewing mercy to the reſt ſo far as he durſt; for he was commanded in his inſtructions to execute juſtice with ſome vigour. Examining the behaviour of all the pirates, of many he picked out the worſt, who had taſted twice before of his majeſty's gracious pardon. This ſevere juſtice gave a terror to the people of that country, and no leſs ſatisfaction to the owner of the ſhip, whom they kept priſoner aboard them, and who might ſee his majeſty ſpared not his own ſubjects if they offended.

The pirates ever after became ſtrangers to that harbour of *Broad-Haven*, and in a little time wholly abandon'd *Ireland*; which was attributed to the execution of that

man; for before that time they were in thoſe parts rather connived at than puniſhed.

From hence Sir *William* went groping along the coaſt, the country, as was ſaid, not being able to afford him a pilot. On the 12th of *July* he came to the *Vintry*, a place that had twice reliev'd him before.

Coming from ſea in great extremity, on the 28th to *Bear Haven*, the 1ſt of *Auguſt* to *Plimouth*, the 8th to the *Iſle of Wight*, and the 10th to the *Downs*, after fetching a circuit round his majeſty's three kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

And here he bid farewel to the ſea, this being the laſt voyage Sir *William* made in king *James*'s time, and the laſt year but one he ſerved on the narrow ſeas, which wanted not much of twelve years; in which I will boldly and truly ſay, there was never ſervice neglected, omitted, or unperformed, that he was commanded upon; which I look upon as ſtrange, and not to be paralleled by any that enjoyed his imployment before; and if the time be conſidered, ſix years of them twelve bred many doubts and differences, how an *Engliſh* admiral ſhould carry himſelf betwixt the *Hollanders* and *Spaniards*, the wars continuing between them, yet ſuch was his hap and care, that he committed no error for the one or the other, juſtly to except againſt him.

The Names of ſuch Ships of the Queen's, King James's, *and King* Charles's, *as I ſerved in, beſides divers others not mentioned.*

In the *Charles*, whereof I had no command	*Anno* 1588
In the *Victory*, in which voyage I was vice-admiral to my lord of *Cumberland*,	1589
In the *Garland*	1591
In the *Lion*	1593
In the *Rainbow*	1595
In the *Repulſe*	1596
In the *Rainbow*	1597
In the *Defiance*	1599
In the *Garland*	1600
In the *Nonpareille*	1601
In the *Swiftſure*	1602
In the *Mary Roſe*	1602
In the *Mere-honour*	1602
In the *Mere-honour*	1603
In the *Vanguard*	1604
In the *Rainbow*	1605
In the *Aſſurance*	1606
In the *Rainbow*	1607
In the *Vanguard*	1609
In the *Aſſurance*	1610
In the *Rainbow*	1611
In the *Adventure*	1612
In the *Aſſurance*	1613
In the *Lion*	1614
In the *Nonſuch*	1615
In the *James*	1635

A Note of ſuch Princes, Ambaſſadors, and others, whom Sir William Monſon *tranſported from the 20th of* July *1604, till the 13th of* January, *1616, with the Number of their Followers and their Meals, at his own Charges, aboard His Majeſty's Ships, for which he is as yet unſatisfy'd, and which did amount to the Sum of 1500 l.*

Year	*Month*	*Day*	*Princes, Ambaſſadors,* &c.	*Followers*	*Meals*
1604	*Auguſt*	4	The conſtable of *Caſtile* at his coming over	200	3
1604	*Auguſt*	31	The conſtable at his return	300	3
1604	*November*	7	The duke of *Holſtein*	40	2
1604	*December*	23	The duke of *Lenox* at his going into *France*	110	4
1604	*February*	28	Two gentlemen of the archduke's chamber	10	3
1604	*March*	13	The duke of *Lenox* at his return out of *France*	300	4
1605	*April*	19	The earl of *Hertford* going into *Flanders*	300	4
1605	*May*	10	The earl at his return from *Fluſhing*	300	4
1605	*June*	30	The emperor's ambaſſador	70	4
1605	*July*	25	The emperor's ambaſſador at his return	70	4
1605	*September*	1	The earl of *Villa Mediana* aboard five days in foul weather	200	10
1606	*April*	21	The marquis of *St. Germain*'s coming	50	4
1606	*May*	3	The ſame marquis at his return	74	4
1606	*September*	14	Count *Vaudemont* at his coming over	300	3
1606	*October*	13	In his return	250	3
1607	*May*	5	Prince *Janville* at his coming over	40	4
1607	*June*	1	At his return	40	4
1607	*November*	27	The landgrave of *Heſſe*	30	4
1608	*October*	1	The ambaſſador in ordinary of *Venice*	40	4
1608	*February*	5	The *Spaniſh* ambaſſador Don *Hernando Jeron* at his return	30	3
1610	*March*	25	The duke of *Brunſwick* coming over	38	5
1610	*May*	6	Sir *Tho. Edmonds*, and the duke of *Wirtemberg*'s ambaſſador	50	3
1610	*June*	3	Don *Pedro de Cuniga* at his return	35	5
1610	*June*	18	The duke of *Brunſwick* at his return	35	5
1610	*Auguſt*	20	The lord *Wotton* going over	46	1
1611	*September*	5	The *Spaniſh* ladies coming over	28	2
1611	*February*	11	The marſhal *Laverdin* at his return	200	2
1612	*April*	23	The duke of *Bologne* coming over	200	2
1612	*June*	27	Don *Pedro de Cuniga* coming over	50	3
1612	*Auguſt*	24	The *Spaniſh* ladies returning	25	2
1612	*October*	16	Don *Pedro de Cuniga* at his return	53	3
1613	*April*	25	The earl of *Arundel* and his lady going over with the lady *Elizabeth Grace*, for which I receiv'd allowance		

A Conſultation before the Lords of the Council in 1617, *to which I was called, and a Propoſition made, How the Pirates of* Algiers *might be ſuppreſs'd, and the Town attempted. My Advice to it was as follows:*

1. FIrſt, becauſe an expedition againſt the pirates could not be the imployment of one fleet for the ſpace of ſix months only, but that it is rather like to prove a work of years, it is neceſſary that all the maritime towns of *Europe* do contribute towards the expence and charge: for conſidering the profit will be univerſal, if the pirates be deſtroy'd, there is no reaſon but the charge ſhould be as general.

2. Becauſe every nation is not provided with ſwift ſhips and ſtrength alike for ſuch an action, which are the two principal things, it is fit the fleets that muſt ſecond one another, conſiſt of *Engliſh*, *Spaniards*, and *Hollanders*, as moſt able to perform the ſervice, in reſpect of their ſtrength and ſwift ſailing, as aforeſaid; and all other towns and countries bordering upon the ſeas, that cannot furniſh able ſhips, to pay their quota in money.

3. This being agreed upon, it muſt be likewiſe reſolv'd, That as the charge is general, ſo the gains may be equally ſhared and divided, which muſt ariſe from the ſale of ſuch *Turks* and *Moors* as ſhall be taken for ſlaves, and of ſuch goods as ſhall be recovered out of the pirates hands, where no proprietor can challenge it.

4. The

4. The ſhips imploy'd to be rated after the proportion of men and tonnage: As for example; ſo many ſhips of his majeſty's as will carry three thouſand tons burthen, and twelve hundred men, *Spain* and *Holland* ſending ſhips proportionably, will be a force ſufficient to encounter the whole number of the the *Turkiſh* pirates.

5. It is not convenient to imploy any ſhips under two hundred and fifty tons, nor above three hundred, the king's ſhips excepted; becauſe a leſſer ſhip loſing company, will be a prey to an enemy; and if bigger than three hundred, it will fill up the quantity of tonnage and number of men, and be able to do little more ſervice than the leſſer ſhip; for the more number of ſhips there are of three hundred tons, they will be the abler to purſue the pirates, if they be forced to ſcatter; for every ſhip muſt undertake a pirate; and if there be more pirates than ſhips of ours, the overplus in number to ours will eſcape for want of ſhips to follow them.

6. The generals to execute martial law, and to determine their authority before they meet, to avoid queſtions and differences that otherwiſe may happen.

7. To have ſafe-conducts to all chriſtian ports, and authority to be ſupply'd with neceſſaries they ſhall want; as alſo proviſion for the ſick and hurt men; and ſuch ſhips or prizes as they ſhall take from the pirates, to be left in ſafe cuſtody in the ſaid ports.

8. To carry money or commodities to revictual, and all manner of proviſions to trim and carcen their ſhips, with one maſter-carpenter to have the overlooking and ordering the ſtate of the ſhipping. It is better to carry commodities than money for their occaſions, becauſe of the loſs between our money and theirs; and beſides, it will be a gain to exchange commodities.

9. To have a treaſurer to look to the payment of money, and a ſtock for the diſburſement of all neceſſaries for the voyage.

10. To be extraordinary well provided with muskets and ammunition, and eſpecially with chain-ſhot for the ordnance; becauſe, where there are many people, as commonly in pirates, chain-ſhot will make a great ſlaughter amongſt them, and ſuch confuſion withal, where there are ſo few ſailors to tackle their ſhips, that they will be taken upon the ſtays, or lie upon the ſea at our mercy.

11. To make the ſhips musket-proof, which will be done with little charge, and no burden to the ſhips, and to have all the ſpare decks and other things of weight taken down, and only put up; which will be a great eaſe to the ſhips ſailing.

12. Forаſmuch as the chiefeſt care in a ſea-action conſiſts in keeping the deſigns ſecret, this voyage requires ſpecial ſecrecy; for there being ſeveral *Engliſhmen*, who have been too buſy in trading with pirates, and furniſhing them with powder and other neceſſaries, it is to be fear'd thoſe ſame *Engliſhmen* will endeavour to give the pirates intelligence, leſt their being taken, their wicked practices ſhould be diſcovered: for prevention whereof, it is neceſſary that our ſhips be provided under another pretence than pirates, and the captains themſelves not to know of it till they are at ſea.

13. That the *French* king do prohibit his ſubjects, and eſpecially thoſe of *Marſeilles* and *Toulon*, to trade with pirates, who now make it a common and daily courſe, and from whom they will have notice of our preparations, if they be not prevented.

14. The place of rendezvous to be at the iſlands of *Bayon*, the hithermoſt part of *Spain*, as moſt convenient for all ſquadrons to meet without ſuſpicion. *England* and *Holland* may pretend ſeveral enterprizes, without knowledge of one another till their meeting. The ſquadron of *Spain* coming thither from *St. Lucar*, *Cadiz*, or *Lisbon*, will make the pirates of *Algiers* and *Tunis* think the preparations cannot be againſt them, the *Spaniſh* ſquadron being furniſhed in the nigheſt part of *Spain* to them, and carry'd to the furtheſt from them.

15. The time of the year to be in *Auguſt* or *September*; for in thoſe months the pirates uſually put to ſea, becauſe of the vintage, and other great trades: commonly in thoſe months the fleets from the *Indies* return into *Spain*; as alſo in thoſe months the *Spaniſh* gallies retire into harbour, ſo that they need not fear them.

16. Our fleet not to appear within the ſtreights until they hear of the pirates being at ſea; for having intelligence of it, they dare not put out.

17. One great advantage we ſhall have, is, That if they are at ſea, we ſhall ſtill know where they are, by ſhips we ſhall meet that have ſeen them: and obſerving the winds, can conjecture where we ſhall have them: or, if we ſhall hear that they are ſcattered, we will do the like, and have ſigns to know one another.

18. Another advantage we ſhall have, is, That no harbour can entertain or defend them from their going out till they return home; for all chriſtian ſhores are their enemies; and they will have none but *Tunis* and *Algiers* within the ſtreights, and *Sally* and *Santa Cruz* without the *ſtreights*, which are wide and open roads, and apt to be ſurpris'd or burnt.

19. If

19. If we happen to miſs them at ſea, they cannot eſcape at their return, if we ſpread two ſquadrons ten or twelve leagues from *Algiers*; for they can have no intelligence of us from the ſhore, becauſe we cannot be deſcry'd from thence.

20. That no mariner or ſailor be ranſom'd or ſet at liberty after they are taken; for taking away their ſailors, they cannot ſet a ſhip to ſea; and we know their numbers cannot be great, becauſe it is not above twelve years ſince the *Engliſh* taught them the uſe of navigation.

21. Such renegadoes as ſhall be taken, or ſuch chriſtians as have willingly ſerv'd the *Turks*, to be executed immediately, for the terror of others; for if chriſtian ſailors can be kept from them, their piracy will ceaſe, which otherwiſe will prove a great detriment to the chriſtian commonwealth.

22. That ſuch an *Engliſh* general be appointed, and the ſhips with that care fitted, that may give reputation to the action; for conſidering the reputation we have had in ſea affairs, it behoves us, upon ſuch an occaſion as this, becauſe we ſhall join with other nations, to carry it with honour.

23. That ſuch a general be appointed as ſhall have more care to perform the ſervice, than to mis own eaſe, pleaſure, or oſtentation: That he keep the ſea, and avoid ſeeking harbour, unleſs neceſſity compels him, and then not to let it be to the leeward of *Algiers*; for ſo pirates may go in and out at their pleaſure: and moreover, That he enter no harbour but ſuch as have good outlets, leſt the ſervice be neglected, and he not able to get out.

24. And laſtly, as the ſhips ſhall grow foul, and be forced into harbour to trim, that he do it with this conſideration, That he keep a ſquadron out at ſea, whilſt the others are fitting in harbour; and upon the return of the clean ſquadron to ſea, whilſt the other ſquadron is in trimming, to put himſelf into one of thoſe ſhips; for it is not the part of a general upon any occaſion to leave his fleet, tho' for a time he may leave his ſhip.

The Danger and Uncertainty in ſurprizing Algiers, *or taking it by Siege, or otherwiſe.*

WHoſoever knows *Algiers*, cannot be ignorant of the ſtrength of it: the inhabitants conſiſt principally of deſperate rogues and renegadoes, that live by rapine, theft, and ſpoil, having renounced God and all virtue, and become reprobates to all the chriſtian world. This town is, and has been, of ſo great annoyance to the chriſtians lying over-againſt it, that they have been oftentimes forced to attempt it by ſurpriſe; but ſtill have fail'd of their deſigns, either by intelligence the town has had, or by their carefulneſs to defend it; for no man but muſt think that a town which depends on its own ſtrength, being in continual danger of ſtratagems, and ſudden ſurpriſes from the bordering enemies, both *Moors* and *Turks*, who have the conveniency of galleys to tranſport and land an army at pleaſure, will be extraordinary watchful and circumſpect to fortify it ſelf, and withſtand all dangers that can befal it.

And if thoſe chriſtian countries that lie open to the places aforeſaid, could never prevail in their ſundry attempts, being nigh them, and having conveniency to embark and tranſport an army without ſuſpicion or rumour, and to be ſuccoured by the iſlands of *Majorca* and *Minorca*, if neceſſity requir'd, but eſpecially having intelligence with ſome of the town for the delivery of it, as about fourteen years ſince it happened, by the practice of a renegado, called *Spinola*, which failed; what hope have we then to prevail, who cannot ſo ſecretly furniſh an army and fleet, but that all the world muſt ring of it in gazettes and other intelligences? Or if it be once known in *Marſeilles*, it cannot be conceal'd many hours from *Algiers*, there being a ſettled trade and correſpondence between thoſe two cities.

But allowing our deſigns to be kept ſecret till the very time we arrive upon that coaſt, yet the warning will be ſufficient for a garriſon town of leſs force, and fewer men than *Algiers*, to prevent a ſurpriſe.

In ſuch a caſe as this the time and wind is principally to be regarded; for a large wind that is good to carry a fleet into a landing place in an open bay, will be dangerous if it overblow upon a lee ſhore; and it will make ſo great a ſea, that it will be impoſſible for men with their furnitures and arms to land without apparent danger; and what reſiſtance a few men are able to make, I refer to conſideration.

On the other ſide, if we ply into the bay with a ſcant wind, and it gives us a good entrance to land, by reaſon of the ſmoothneſs of the ſea, yet the defendants ſhall have theſe advntages; They will deſcry us from the ſhore a long time before we can draw near, and conſequently have time ſufficient to withſtand our landing. With their galleys they may cut off our boats with our men, if ſhips ride not within command of the ſhore; beſides many other caſualties the ſea and weather afford. Beſides, our boats can land but the third part of our men at once; by which means we ſhall attempt to land but with the third part of our army; and if we do it near the town, they will ſtill have warning enough; or if it be

far off, the march will be inconvenient, and they warned by fires.

But if we fail of ſurpriſing *Algiers*, and attempt it by ſiege, we have neither neceſſaries to land our ordnance, nor to draw it to a place fit to raiſe a battery, wanting ingines, cattle, and other conveniencies for that purpoſe. It muſt be conſidered how to relieve our ſiege, and defend our beſiegers againſt the ſalleys of the town, which have ten men to one of ours. We muſt likewiſe forecaſt, if we fail of the attempt, to bring off our men with ſafety, as a point of great providence in a commander.

Whoſoever ſhall enterprize *Algiers*, his greateſt ſtrength by ſea muſt be in galleys, which can run near the ſhore, and command the landing-place with their ordnance: or if an enemy draw down his forces there to withſtand him, he may ſoon bring about his galleys, quit that place, and land where he ſhall ſee no danger: ſhips cannot do ſo when they are at anchor, but muſt have wind and tide for their purpoſe.

But all I can ſay is nothing to what follows; for you muſt underſtand the *Algerines* are a ſort of outlaws, or miſcreants, that live in enmity with all the world, acknowledging the great *Turk* in ſome meaſure for their ſovereign, but no farther than they pleaſe themſelves. Now that part of *Barbary* where *Algiers* is ſeated, is a ſpacious and fruitful country, and abounds in numbers of people; and though the king of it be a Mahometan, as well as the *Algerines*, yet they live in perpetual hatred and war; but ſo, that if either of them is attacked by Chriſtians, they will preſently join as partners in miſchief; and we ſhall no ſooner land, but be welcomed by threeſcore or fourſcore thouſand of thoſe ungodly people.

Having ſhewed the impoſſibility of taking *Algiers*, either by ſurpriſe or ſiege; now ſhall follow the little uſe we can make of it, either to annoy the king of *Spain*, or any other potentate; as alſo the ſmall profit we ſhall make of it; no, not ſo much as to defray the tenth part of the garriſon, or any hope to go farther with a conqueſt.

If it be conceived to lie conveniently to annoy the king of *Spain*, or any other enemy, it will prove otherwiſe, conſidering the diſtance from *England* to be relieved, and the many caſualties we ſhall undergo at ſea, having neither the Chriſtian nor *Turkiſh* ſhore to friend, and yet we muſt fail in the *Mediterranean*, where we cannot paſs unſeen or unmet, becauſe of its narrowneſs.

The harbour of *Algiers*, which muſt entertain us, is of ſo ſmall a compaſs, that it will not receive above twenty ſhips; which number, and no more, we muſt allow both to annoy and defend ourſelves from all enemies, either Chriſtians or *Turks*.

The place affords neither victuals, powder, maſts, ſails, ropes, or other neceſſaries that belong to ſhips; and if there be but a want of the leaſt of them, *England* alone muſt ſupply them. Then conſider the charge and danger that is like to follow to this little purpoſe; for the expence is certain, and leſs than five thouſand men cannot be allowed for garriſon, and the twenty ſail of ſhips aforeſaid. The profit and advantage that can be made of it, muſt be by theft and rapine at ſea, which the *Turks* cannot afford us, they having little or no trade in ſhipping. The princes of *Italy* are in the ſame condition; and therefore our only hope muſt depend on the ſpoils of *Spain*, which we cannot expect in the *Streights*, they having no trade of importance upon thoſe coaſts; and what we ſhall take without the *Streights*, we ſhall ſooner do it from *England* than *Algiers*; and prizes ſo taken will be ſooner and ſafer brought for *England*, than carried to *Algiers*, where they muſt paſs ſo many dangers, as I have ſaid before.

When this following action againſt the *Turkiſh* pirates was in agitation, it was ſolicited by the late lord admiral of *England*, the earl of *Nottingham*, who not long after reſign'd his office to the duke of *Buckingham*, who being young, and infected with the diſeaſe of youth, to hearken to baſe flattery, gave ear to thoſe that thought to make uſe of his favour with the king, and adviſed him to promote this voyage, promiſing it ſhould redound to his everlaſting honour at the firſt entrance into his place: but the event of it ſhall appear to be cauſed by the ill management of it; for no doubt but the intention was to be commended, and the management was to be blamed.

Beſides this, there were two other ill undertakings, and as ill managed, which fell out in the following years, 1625, and 1628. whereof I deſign to give an account one after another; the one was to *Cadiz*, the other to the iſle of *Ré*: wherein our raſhneſs appear'd greater than our diſcretion, in bidding defiance to the two mighty and potent princes of *Europe*, *Spain* and *France*, both at one time, without help or aſſiſtance from abroad, and under the uncertainty of money the then parliament oppoſing his majeſty's demands.

To the *Spaniards* we only ſhewed our teeth, with a deſire to bite: *France* provided for us, and plucked out our teeth before we could bite, as is to be ſeen by the unfortunate and unadviſed expedition to the iſle of *Ré*, which left ſuch a mark of diſhonour upon our nation, as former times could never be taxed with.

The

The ill managed Enterprize upon Algiers *in the Reign of King* James, *and the Errors committed in it.*

BEING to treat of the two unfortunate undertakings in the reign of king *Charles*, occaſioned by ill advice and counſel, I muſt obſerve our diſhonour at ſea began the way to future misfortunes in the enterprize againſt the pirates of *Algiers*, in the reign of king *James*; though I muſt ſay it was really undertaken by his majeſty with a noble, gracious, and religious intention; but through ill management it prov'd no better than thoſe that enſued.

His majeſty conſidering the daily complaints, not only of his own ſubjects, but of all other chriſtian people in *Europe*, many thouſands of whom groaned under barbarous ſlavery, and were moſt cruelly treated by the *Turkiſh* pirates, ranging abroad without any oppoſition, was moved to compaſſionate their calamities, and out of a true chriſtian tenderneſs reſolved to endeavour to redreſs this publick grievance, as appear'd by the chargeable fleet he ſet out to ſuppreſs the inſolencies of thoſe miſcreants, who were the ruin and bane of the chriſtian commonwealth by ſea.

This fleet, by contract, was to receive ſome aſſiſtance from the king of *Spain*, when it once appear'd on his coaſt. But ſuch was the miſgovernment of thoſe ſhips, and the negligence and vain-glorious humours of ſome to feaſt and banquet in harbour, when their duty was to clear and ſcour the ſeas, (for indeed they carried themſelves more like amorous courtiers, than reſolute ſoldiers,) that they loſt the opportunity which offered itſelf, of deſtroying thoſe helliſh pirates; as may be collected out of a pamphlet publiſhed at their return, to which I refer you, but with this obſervation, That beſides their going and coming, they ſpent not twenty days at ſea whilſt they continued in the *Streights*, but retired into harbour, where the pirates might find them, but not they the pirates.

This ill-carried action was a ſufficient ſubject of ſcorn for all nations to laugh at, conſidering the reputation this realm had gained in their former expeditions by ſea. And yet the chief actors in that voyage, like men naturally given to excuſe their errors, gave out to juſtify themſelves, and it was afterwards believ'd by all men, That the want of authority, and their limited commiſſion, was the cauſe of their ill ſucceſs.

This report was ſo univerſally credited, that I have often wondered with myſelf, that the ſtate did not except againſt it for their own honours and reputation, if it had not been really ſo; for commonly, in ſuch caſes, if a ſtate do err in their directions, they will caſt it upon thoſe that had the execution, rather than that the imputation ſhould light upon them; and, indeed, this was the reaſon that carried me into the general error of believing as others did, until I reflected upon the following reaſons.

The firſt was, That a fleet of his majeſty's could not depart *England* without a commiſſion under the great ſeal. Secondly, I know that all generals of fleets have ſpecial directions and inſtructions to guide them: I know the managing of ſuch great affairs by land or ſea is committed to one man alone. Thirdly, I conſidered that there were but two ends of this imployment, (*viz.*) either peace or war; if peace, I marvel that ſo great a fleet ſhould make an overture of peace, when a pinnace and a letter from the king was as authentick as the greateſt perſon, or the greateſt fleet his majeſty could ſend to treat. Fourthly, I ſaw, that notwithſtanding this friendly overture of peace, ſhips uſed hoſtility, took and deſtroyed ſome prizes, made an attempt to deſtroy their ſhips with fire in harbour, which failed; and whilſt our fleet remain'd upon that coaſt, they carried themſelves as enemies.

And ſeeing, as I have ſaid before, that either peace or war muſt be the ground of their imployment, that they attempted both, and prevailed in neither, I know not how they can lay the blame on their want of commiſſion, but rather on their unprovident, negligent, and unconſtant behaviour. But too true it is, that ſince that time, our poor *Engliſh*, and eſpecially the people of the weſt country, who trade that way daily, fall into the hands of thoſe pirates. It is too lamentable to hear the complaints; and too intolerable to ſuffer the miſery that has befallen them; and all occaſioned, as they ſuppoſe, by the miſcarriage of this unlucky voyage of 1620.

This making up three unfortunate voyages, as you ſhall ſoon hear, as many more were performed with no better ſucceſs, two of them under the command of the lord *Willoughby*, and the third under the lord of *Denbigh*. Theſe three had no advantage of one another; for there was nothing done worth remembering; and therefore I can ſay no more, than to join with others, who deſire, that the ſubject may have ſatisfaction what the defects, ignorance, and errors of this voyage were, that upon examination all may appear, and every man receive his reward as he juſtly deſerves.

His majeſty and ſtate could not have been more honoured, nor all in general better pleaſed; for people are perſuaded that the realm never enjoyed braver and more warlike

like ſhips than now, commanders of greater antiquity and valour, ſeamen of greater experience and skill, more abundance and choice of ammunition and arms, greater quantity of victuals, and all things elſe to furniſh ſuch an action; as I ſhall have occaſion to make out hereafter.

Then would have appeared the weakneſs of a great perſon in authority, when being ſpoken to by one of greater blood than himſelf, who friendly told him, he did not ſee a man of experience imployed in the fleet to *Cadiz*, which made him doubt of the good ſucceſs thereof; he anſwered, not like one that thinks example of more weight than conceit, but rudely, raſhly, and diſreſpectfully, That they were all fools who commanded in the queen's time, in compariſon of thoſe now imployed. But it might have been more truly told him, That men in authority, who govern more by will and chance, than by reaſon and advice, are dangerous in a ſtate; for nothing is ſo great a weakneſs, as for a man to think he knows much, when in effect he knows nothing at all.

A Reſolution of War with Spain; *and what followed upon the ſecond Expedition to* Cadiz *in* 1625. *and in the Reign of King* Charles I.

KING *James* dying on the 25th of *March*, 1625. left his kingdom doubtful, whether peace or war ſhould be embraced, having juſt occaſion of unkindneſs offered, which was likely to turn to hoſtility. For the noble prince his ſon, then our bleſſed king, was diſguſted at the dilatory courſes *Spain* uſed to defer the marriage then in treaty with his ſiſter; and his highneſs's journey into *Spain*, gave him not the ſatisfaction he expected; wherefore, being ſenſible of the injury done him, he could do no leſs in return to it, but let *Spain* ſee its error in the ill uſage given him; and accordingly in the year 1625. ſent a fleet to ſea to revenge himſelf upon them. But the winter ſeaſon approaching, (an ill time taken for ſuch an enterprize, beſides ſome other miſcarriages, which may be imputed to the want of experience in the commanders, as is to be ſeen in the anſwer to a book publiſhed by the general at his return,) it had no better ſucceſs than the author hereof foretold before their going from hence.

The Author's Opinion of that Expedition, which he writ to a noble Friend of his before the Fleet ſailed; as alſo what he conceived of the firſt News brought of the taking of the Fort of Cadiz, *with Hopes to poſſeſs the Town, and keep it.*

Noble SIR,

I HAVE addreſſed to you my opinion of this ſecret and concealed fleet, whoſe deſign and unknown orders, give cauſe of admiration, and conſequently of cenſure; every man judging as his fancy leads him, but all concluding of victory to us, and ruin to *Spain*, whither it is conceived to be intended by the rendezvous of ſhips and men in the weſtern parts; ſome threatening *Portugal*, ſome the iſlands, others the bay of *Cadiz*, and city of *Seville*; others the ſtate of *Genoa*, and iſlands adjacent; ſome the *Weſt Indies*, and the fleet from thence expected.

I will begin with *Portugal*, as the country neareſt us, and upon which moſt mens opinions are ſettled, having experience of the force of that kingdom by an attempt formerly made in the year 1589.

You muſt conceive that *Portugal* fronts upon the heart of *Spain*; and that *Spain* hath ſundry entrances into it, as namely by the ſouth and weſt ſea upon the eaſt *Caſtile*, upon the north *Galicia*, and towards the ſouth *Andaluzia*. *Portugal* is far inferior to thoſe countries in ſtrength; and a means not only to keep the people in obedience, but to give preſent aid and aſſiſtance againſt foreign invaſions. I confeſs, if our actions in 1589. had been well carried, we had ſpoiled and ruined the city of *Lisbon*, where they had been ſurpriſed before we had been ſuſpected. But we could expect no other advantage beſides taking and deſtroying the city; for though the merchandize in it was of an eſtimable value, yet neither could we tranſport them to our ſhips, nor our ſhips repair to receive them, the paſſage being ſtopped by the caſtle of *St. Julian* and *Belem*.

Our hope was as little to ſettle Don *Antony* for king, the *Portugueſe* being a multitude of poor-ſpirited people, without arms or hearts, that further than in their tongues and wiſhes, would not afford a finger to fight.

And beſides, the barrenneſs of the country is ſuch, that it affords not corn enough, nor other proviſions, were it not for the help of the ſea. And I dare boldly aver, the kingdom had better fail of their trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, than of their fiſhing for pilchers upon their coaſt: and let this be the firſt conſideration, How an army can ſubſiſt in that country; and the rather, by the proof we had of it in 1689.

More-

Moreover, by poſſeſſing *Lisbon* and the northern part of *Portugal*, we were nothing nearer enjoying the ſouth part, which yields greateſt plenty of food, cities, and nobility; for from *Lisbon* we were to begin, as it were, a new conqueſt, and to paſs three leagues to the *Alenjeto* ſide, over-againſt *Lisbon*, where the *Spaniſh* galleys, which were then there, would have been our deſtruction in landing.

The State of Portugal *in the Year* 1625. *compared with the Year* 1589.

IN our enterprize of 1589. we had no cauſe to complain of fortune; for ſhe gave us a happy entrance into the kingdom by the ſurpriſe of *Peniche-Caſtle*, that afforded us a landing; and after a peaceable march to *Lisbon*, where we found the city unarmed and unprovided, the caſtle excepted; but yet our ſucceſs proved miſerable and unhappy.

We can ſcarce hope for the like fortune now, their forts being better armed, and their forces better order'd by the late warning they have had.

I perceive, the river of *Tagus* excepted, there are but two places which advantage us in landing, which if we fail of, our enterprizes are fruſtrated. The one is *Peniche*, the other *Caſcais*. The ports to the northward of *Peniche* are in the bottom of the bay of *Portugal*, a place all ſhips will ſhun and avoid, and too far diſtant from *Lisbon* to march. Thoſe to the ſouthward of *Caſcais* are on the other ſide of *Lisbon*, and the river *Tagus*, which I have ſhewed the impoſſibility to paſs over; and had not the duke of *Alva* provided to paſs his army in galleys upon his taking of *Portugal*, he might at that time have poſſeſſed the ſouth parts of *Portugal*, and have left the north part to the *Portugueſe* themſelves.

Peniche has a ſmall harbour only capable of barks and fiſhermen; the other two are open roads, and not ſecure from a ſouthern ly or weſterly wind. Our landing muſt be in one of theſe two open bays, where ſhips lie ſubject to ſoutherly winds, which will hazard the deſtruction of them, if they come with violence.

The nature of the ſhore is diſadvantageous to the invader in landing, and advantageous to the enemy in reſiſting.

Our means to land muſt be in our own boats, that cannot contain the number of our ſoldiers at thrice ferrying, and thereby we ſhall not bring the third part of our men to fight at the time of our greateſt need.

A fleet coming to an anchor that diſtance from the ſhore, that ſhips cannot command their landing with their ordnance, the galleys will cut off our boats, and utterly defeat us, as they had done at *St. Sebaſtian's-Point*, in our journey to *Cadiz*, if we had attempted it as it was directed.

We neither having caſtle nor harbour, our field-pieces cannot be landed, which muſt be the ſtrength to force the caſtle; the want whereof was our loſs of *Lisbon* in 1589. All theſe reaſons have I given in the inſtance of our landing at *Algiers*.

My ſecond obſervation is the ſtate of *Portugal* ſince the year 1589. when we attempted it. The *Portugueſe* nation in their nature are better reconciled to the *Spaniard* than they have been, and not without reaſon grounded upon neceſſity; for they have no hope ever to recover their loſs in the *Eaſt Indies* or *Braſil*, or to enjoy what they poſſeſs, but by the help and force of *Spain*.

Secondly, The nobility, gentry, and others in *Portugal*, that were moſt diſcontented with the managing of things in thoſe days, are conſumed and dead; and their deſcendants, who never knew other times, have framed themſelves up to it, and obtain favour of the king in their imployments; nor does the king himſelf make any difference betwixt them and his other ſubjects.

Thirdly, The *Portugueſe* are more exaſperated againſt the *Engliſh* than they have been, by the ſpoils done them at ſea, and the ill uſage of them in the *Eaſt Indies*.

Fourthly, Many *Portugueſe* in thoſe days were tranſported by their love to Don *Antony*: others believed in his title; but the moſt diſliked to be under the *Spaniſh* government. Since which Don *Antony* is dead, his iſſue gives little hope for them to rely on; but eſpecially the children of the now pretended prince; and the father himſelf, ſince this was written, is repaired to the archduke; which takes away all comfort from the diſcontented *Portugueſe*.

Fifthly, It is worth obſervation, that in our voyage to *Portugal* in 1589. our army conſiſted of fourteen thouſand brave ſoldiers, four thouſand choice ſeamen, our deſign being to ſettle that king, who had been formerly crowned in that kingdom; and yet ſuch was the condition of the people of that country, that there was neither duke, marquis, earl, viſcount, baron, knight, or gentleman, repaired to him, or ſhew'd himſelf of his party, except only a mean knight in calling, named *Duſarte Pais*, with whom I was after fellow-priſoner in *Lisbon*, his commitment being for that offence, (*viz.*) for flying to Don *Antonio*: he would often complain to me of his folly, and commend the king's mercy.

The Iſlands.

FROM *Portugal* I will ſhape my courſe for the iſlands, as well the *Canaries* as *Terceras*, though I will ſay little of the *Canaries*, it being an action fitter for ten ſhips and a thouſand ſoldiers to attempt, than ſo glorious an army as is now intended. I may ſay leſs for the iſland of *Azores*, the impregnable iſle of *Tercera* excepted, which giveth reputation to the reſt.

All theſe iſlands, as well the one as the other, cannot boaſt of one harbour to entertain ſhips, but open bays, ſubject to all dangers, and outerly winds, which many veſſels of great value have felt, that have there periſhed.

The iſland of *Tercera*, by nature and ſituation, exceeds all other iſlands in the *Streights*, being encompaſſed about with mighty high cliffs, a few bays excepted, which are fortified by art, to prevent an enemy's landing.

As well that iſland as the reſt are ſhore deep, and no poſſibility of anchoring, but cloſe on board the land; the ground rocky, that if it fret the cable, the waves of the ſea will force a ſhip on ſhore; or being near the land, and a gale of wind coming off from ſea, that a ſhip cannot claw it off, but muſt of neceſſity be wrecked; both which my lord of *Cumberland* had proof of in the *Victory*, a ſhip royal of the queen's, which being at an anchor at *Flores*, and the weather calm, his cable was cut with the rocks; and had it not been for the help of his boat and mine that towed him off, he had been forced to ſhore.

After that, being at an anchor at *Fayall*, which iſland he took, one day, many of the principal men on ſhore being at dinner with him, ſuddenly the wind chopp'd up ſoutherly, which forced him from his anchor, and with great and apparent peril he doubled the point of the land, or elſe he had periſhed.

No man that knows thoſe ſeas will advance an enterprize upon the iſlands now towards winter; for in *Auguſt* begin their ſtorms, and commonly laſt nine months with great violence; for which cauſe they are held the moſt unconſtant ſeas in the world; and I ſay nothing that I will not aver by proof and precedent.

Don *Pedro de Valdes*, who was taken priſoner in the action of 1588 for *England*, was commanded with certain ſhips and ſix hundred ſoldiers, to repair to the iſlands, before *Tercera* had yielded to the king of *Spain*, there to guard and defend all the ſhips coming from either of the *Indies*, *Guinea*, and *Braſil*: his commiſſion gave him no abſolute authority to land; but yet finding an opportunity to put his ſoldiers aſhore, with a determination to fortify a landing place, which ſeem'd to lie open for his advantage, immediately thereupon the wind ſhifted, and forced him to ſea, leaving his men to the mercy of the iſlanders. As the wind roſe, the ſurges did the like on ſhore, that his boats durſt not put in with the land, nor he approach ſo nigh it with his ſhips, as to give ſuccour to his men with his ordnance, by means whereof they were pitifully maſſacred, not one of them returning.

In my lord of *Eſſex*'s voyage to thoſe iſlands, he landed and took *Villa Franca*, a town in the iſland of *St. Michael*, which afforded him not ſo much as his trouble was to land. But when he came to embark his men again, the wind began to blow; which if it had done but three hours ſooner, it would have forced his ſhips to ſea, and left his troops aſhore, both he and they being ſlenderly provided of victuals, and uncertain of the ſhips return, the weather being ſo unconſtant and outrageous at that time of the year. My ſelf was witneſs of this, as well as of that of my lord of *Cumberland*'s in 1589.

The marquis of *Santa Cruz* had failed of taking *Tercera*, if he had not had more help by his galleys in landing his men, than by his ſhips and boats. But to ſpeak the truth, *June* and *July* proved extraordinary fair, to his great advantage.

The twelve galleys he carried from *Spain* were the firſt veſſels of that kind ever ſeen ſo far in the ocean; the prows of thoſe galleys diſmounted a piece of ordnance on ſhore, that ſecured their landing, and were ready upon that accident with celerity to land their men, which was the firſt ſtep to their victory that followed.

The town of *Angra*, which is the head and principal of all the reſt, by help of the point of *Braſil*, is made the moſt impregnable ſituation in the world; then what hope have we, if we were aſhore, to ſurpriſe it, or by ſiege to take it, the ſeas being, as I ſaid before, ſo unconſtant, our ſhips keeping ſo far off that ſhould yield a ſupply? eſpecially the *Spaniards* having the road of *Angra*, they may always relieve the town in deſpight of us, or any force we can make by ſea.

The Coaſt of Spain.

LEaving the iſlands, I will repair once more to the main land of *Spain*, and arrive at the bay of *Cadiz*, a place fatal to the *Spaniards*, and fortunate to us, by two attempts made upon it, the one in 1587. by

Sir

Sir *Francis Drake*, the other in 1596. by the two lords generals, the earl of *Eſſex* and the lord admiral.

Theſe two expeditions alone, did twenty times more prejudice, and impoveriſh'd the *Spaniards* more than all other attempts of ours in our wars: *Drake* had the ſpoil, ſacking, and burning of thirteen thouſand ton of ſhipping, moſt of them laden with proviſion for an intended fleet againſt *England*; which being this year by Sir *Francis Drake*'s good fortune diverted, was the following year, 1588. attempted.

In the ſecond, the lords had the deſtroying of fifty five great ſhips, the galleons of war excepted; all the reſt were richly laden, and ready in two days to ſail to the *Indies*.

I love not to tax dead men, though, in truth I muſt ſay, there was great negligence, that thoſe ſhips were not as well poſſeſſed and enjoy'd by us, as deſtroy'd by the enemy.

But I muſt tell this pretended fleet of ours, that though no place gives us better advantage to annoy the king of *Spain*, than the bay of *Cadiz*, becauſe of the breadth thereof, which cannot be fortified to impeach our entrance; yet ſhall we now vainly undertake an attempt upon it, the ſhips of the *Indies* being long before they can arrive departed; for commonly they let not *Midſummer-Day* paſs before they ſet ſail.

I muſt a little digreſs, and ſhew how much our two great lords were abuſed in their attempt upon *Cadiz* in 1596.

They were made believe the taking of it was feaſable, the honour great, the wealth ineſtimable, and the damage of the enemy beyond all the reſt; never dreaming of that which gave glory to the enterprize, which was the ſhipping we there found; for had it not been for our deſtroying the fleet, though otherwiſe no profit to us, the lords had returned with the bare taking of *Cadiz*, which had given them no reputation, but rather have brought their judgment into queſtion for ſo mean a deſign.

As for the feaſableneſs of taking it, if we had landed at *St. Sebaſtian's*, where our projectors of the voyage directed, not a man had returned; for beſides the ſtrong fortifications made againſt us, four galleys were appointed to have cut off our boats and men, as we ſhould have landed, our ſhips lying without command of them or their ſhore.

The wealth found in *Cadiz* was ſo ſmall, conſidering it was carry'd away the day before in the galleys, (the two galleons we brought from thence excepted,) the queen ſaw not one penny towards her charge; nay, I dare be bold to aver, the meaneſt of twenty ſhips there burnt, was of more value than the whole town, and by us neglected, as I have ſaid before; for upon my reputation I avow, that I adviſed my lord of *Eſſex*, the ſame morning he arrived at *Cadiz*, to ſeek rather to poſſeſs himſelf of the ſhips than town, alledging that it was the ſhips afforded both wealth and honour; for that riches in ſhips could not be concealed, as in towns it might; and that ſhips being brought for *England*, they were always in the eyes of the people to behold them, and put them in remembrance of the exploit in gaining them; as perhaps the town ſoon won, would not be long enjoy'd, and quickly forgotten. All this I have declared where I treated of the voyage to *Cadiz*, 1596. in the former book.

Andaluſia *and* Seville.

IF an invaſion upon the continent of *Spain* be intended, and eſpecially upon *Andaluſia* and *Seville*, as the country of all *Spain*, that flows with milk and honey, in reſpect of the ſoil and trade, there ought to be conſideration of the place of landing; the diſtance and wearineſs of the march in an unſufferable parching ſun, which our unexperienced ſoldiers can never endure: beſides, the proviſions of victuals, of carriages, and all other neceſſaries, muſt be thought of, which we are wholly unprovided of.

I will not much inſiſt upon the attempt, becauſe I think it is much leſs reaſonable than any of the reſt; firſt, in ſeeking to invade a country where we have neither friend nor faction, but ſhall find their hands and hearts all join to repulſe us; a country populous, and the more for their mighty and continual trade, fronting upon their enemies in *Barbary*, which makes them ready to receive every alarm, and put themſelves under arms. If we believe hiſtory, and not above a hundred years before *Spain* was grown great by their *Indies*, the moors of *Granada* had often more men by five degrees to invade *Andaluſia*, out of their bordering territories, than we carry, and could not prevail; then what hope can we expect, *Spain* being ſince that time ſo mightily increaſed in greatneſs and wealth?

It ſeems we make leſs account of the ſtrength of *Spain*, than of any other country of *Europe*; for I am perſwaded no kingdom having warning of the approach of an enemy, is ſo unprovided, that they will ſuffer twelve or fourteen thouſand men to march quietly forty or fifty leagues into their country.

The

The Streights.

FRom hence I will ſail into the *Streights* towards the port of *Genoa*, which it is ſuppos'd the *French*, we, and the reſt of the league, will poſſeſs our ſelves of, and give a further entrance into *Italy*.

If this be intended, as indeed it is not probable, the invader ought to have two principal conſiderations, without which a fleet and army goes in perpetual peril: The one is to be defended by a ſafe port to entertain their ſhips; the other, that it be not far from home, but with care to be continually ſupply'd and reliev'd; for where ſoldiers are tranſported far by ſea, ſhips cannot contain victuals to maintain them; and to hope for ſuccour in the country invaded, were too deſperate a thought.

The ſervice I conceive the ſhips could perform, our ſoldiers being landed, is to beleaguer *Genoa* by ſea, riding with our ſhips in the face of the town. This, as all things elſe, I refer to conſideration, my drift being no more than to relate the true ſtate of things, for men of better capacity than my own to judge of.

Whereas I advis'd, as a main thing of providence, not to attempt the invaſion of a country, without gaining a port for the ſafety of ſhipping; therefore I muſt ſay our deſign upon *Genoa* is not without great hazard and danger, being hopeleſs of a harbour nearer than *Marſeilles* in *France*, one hundred leagues diſtant from thence.

In anchoring before *Genoa* to beleaguer it, we ſhall lie open to the ſea and a ſoutherly wind, which makes the hazard no leſs than the two attempts upon *Algiers*, oppoſite to it, the one by *Hugo de Moncada*, the other by *Charles* V. both which were overthrown by ſtorms at ſea; and there is no difference betwixt the two actions, but that the ſoutherly winds are death upon the chriſtian ſhore, as the northerly upon the coaſt of *Barbary*; and the greateſt conflict our fleet is to endure, is againſt the rage of the ſea.

I do not conceive we ſhall either hurt or damnify the city of *Genoa* by this adventure of ours; for in anchoring near the ſhore, the lanthorn of *Genoa* will beat us from the road; if further off, we cannot hinder the galleys going in and out, but they will be able to relieve the town in ſpight of us; beſides, other ſtratagems may be us'd by galleys to fire us: I confeſs, if *Corſica* or *Sardinia* could be ſurpriz'd, they would yield us relief and refreſhment, with good harbours for our ſafety

We have found by our unlucky and unadviſed voyage to *Algiers*, how unable our bodies are to endure that coaſt. by the ſickneſs we found, though we had the help of the main land of *Spain*, and the bordering iſlands, to give us relief, which now we ſhall fail of: the exceſſive heat aſhore, the change of the air, and the alteration of food, will cauſe a moſt lamentable mortality and ſickneſs.

And if the king of *Spain*, in the mean time, upon the return of his fleet from *Braſil*, ſhall arm to ſea, and take advantage of our weakneſs and want, and in ſuch narrow ſeas as the *Streights*, which are like a pond, where fleets meeting cannot be avoided; or if with that navy, or any other, the *Spaniard* ſhall ſend to attempt *Ireland* in the abſence of our ſhips, I hold it dangerous, and worthy to be had in conſideration.

The Weſt Indies.

I Will not leave my voyage till I have viſited the *Weſt Indies*, that I may relate my opinion of thoſe parts, as well as of the reſt that went before: Many are ignorantly carried away with the name of *India*, and the ſpoil we ſhall there commit; thinking it will afford wealth and riches to the king and kingdom to maintain a war, and preferment and gain to the undertakers, not valuing nor fearing the king of *Spain's* force in thoſe parts to reſiſt us.

But for the better ſatisfaction of the ignorant, who are thus vainly carried away with the conceit of our actions, I will ſhew the true ſtate of the *Indies*, and the *Spaniards* inhabiting; thereby comparing times paſt, when we had wars, with the time preſent, when we covet wars.

I confeſs that in the year 1585, when the war began, and Sir *Francis Drake* poſſeſſed himſelf of *Santo Domingo*, *Carthagena*, and *St. Jago*, her majeſty had a notable opportunity, by keeping thoſe places to annoy the *Spaniards*, and encroach upon their *Indian* territories.

Firſt, In reſpect her majeſty in thoſe days was rich, and her ſubjects no leſs able than willing to contribute to what ſhe propoſed, they were ſo much devoted to her in their hearts.

Secondly, In point of reputation, as well as profit, it behoved them to maintain thoſe places after they were taken, as a motive to encourage them to go on with a victory thus begun.

Thirdly, Her majeſty in thoſe days might have drawn ſuch conditions as ſhe pleaſed from the ſtates of *Holland*, who were then at her mercy; for preſently enſued the earl of *Leiceſter's* going over to protect them; ſo that ſhe might have bound them to her with their own enterprizes upon the *Spaniards*; whereas from that time till the

the year 1602, when the queen died, we ſee, that notwithſtanding we were drawn into the war by them, yet they traded peaceably into the king of *Spain*'s dominions, and never offer'd to annoy the *Spaniards* by any acts of hoſtility at ſea, but ſupply'd them with ſhips and intelligence againſt us.

Fourthly, If we had kept footing in the *Indies*, it would have ſhaken the fidelity of the *Portugueſe* in the *Eaſt Indies*, *Guinea*, and *Braſil*, which countries where lately become obedient and ſubject to *Spain*; but withal, ſo diſcontented in each place, that it had been an eaſy thing to have made a combuſtion in theſe ſeveral countries, whilſt the *Spaniards* had been taken up in the *Indies* and *Holland*.

Fifthly, The king of *Spain* in thoſe days was altogether unfurniſh'd with ſhips and mariners; for till we awaked him, by the daily ſpoils we committed upon his ſubjects and coaſts, he never ſought to increaſe his forces by ſea.

Sixthly, He thought himſelf ſo ſecure in his *Indies*, no enemy having ever appear'd in thoſe ſeas before, and thought them ſo far from any hoſtile enterprize, that he little fear'd what would be there offered.

But leaving our opportunities and advantages as negligences or ignorances of times paſt, let us enter into the ſtate and condition of our attempts as they are now to be undertaken and followed.

Whoſoever makes an enterprize on a town in *America*, with an intention not to keep it, will do no more than a malicious perſon, that ſeeks the deſtruction of his neighbour, in ſetting his houſe a fire, without any other proſpect in ſo doing, but miſchief and revenge.

I confeſs we ſhall damnify the inhabitants of the town ſo ſacked and ſpoiled, as the owner of a houſe burnt will be damnify'd; but it is no more loſs or prejudice to the king of *Spain*, or to the bordering countries, than to the neighbour of the man that ſhall have his houſe burnt; for every one bears his own particular loſs. And whereas the maſter of the houſe and people in it, are often ſo ſuddenly ſurpriz'd, that they have not time or leiſure to ſave any part of their goods, after the fire is kindled, it is otherwiſe in a town that is to be ſurprized by ſea; for the inhabitants will deſtroy ſhips, before they approach the ſhore, and either provide to withſtand them that land, or to leave and quit the town, and bury or carry away the wealth; for notwithſtanding the ſeveral towns taken by us in time of war, as well in the *Indies* as other places, I dare be bold to ſay the wealth found in them did not countervail the twentieth part of the charge of the voyage; as I have ſhewed in the firſt book.

The ſtate of the towns in the *Weſt Indies* near the ſea, is as follows: If they be of ſtrength, they arm and fortify themſelves ſo, that they do not fear a ſudden aſſault of an enemy; and for a long ſiege, they well know the invaders cannot be provided, becauſe it is ſo far from home, where victuals and all things elſe will quickly waſte and be conſumed.

Or ſuppoſe, upon their firſt landing they poſſeſſed themſelves of ſome cattle, which is all the victuals they can expect in thoſe parts, you muſt underſtand that no fleſh in the *Indies* will take ſalt, or continue man's meat above three or four hours, ſo that our preſent relief will be little; and in the mean time we ſhall ſpend our ſtore on board, and become miſerable for want of ſuſtenance.

Such towns as are weakly provided for defence in thoſe parts, they never truſt with wealth of value, but are ready to quit them, and carry or bury their goods; ſo that if the town be taken, their loſs will only be of a few ſlight houſes, which are ſoon re-edify'd again.

If we think to inhabit and dwell in ſuch towns as ſhall be ſurprized, we ought to conſider the following miſchiefs and inconveniencies.

1. The firſt is the diſtance from *England*, and to compute the time they may be ſupply'd and ſuccoured from thence.

2. The caſualty of the ſea, and the danger of ſickneſs, which northern bodies are ſubject to in hot countries.

3. The number of *Spaniards* in thoſe places, their ſtrength, and in what time they may be drawn together.

4. The keeping us from victuals, and driving their cattle up the country, where it will be in vain for us to purſue them.

5. The building of ſconces, and keeping us in towns like priſoners, that we ſhall not be able to make any ſallies upon them, or to paſs into the country to annoy them.

6. The ſmall diſtance from *Spain* to give them ſuccours, and the certainty of the winds from thence to the *Indies*, which many times makes the journey ſhorter and eaſier than from *Dover* to *Plimouth*.

7. The country, the ſtreights, and the byways, all known to the *Spaniards*, and not to us, will much advantage them.

8. But perhaps all men will not be ſatisfied with truth or reaſon; for ſome are of ſuch a nature as to rely more upon opinion and fortune, than upon proof. But for the better ſatisfaction of ſuch, I will collect and repeat the ſucceſs of our enterprizes upon towns in time of war, as well in the *Indies* as other places, and make them judges of their future hopes, by looking back upon times paſt.

And I will begin with *Santo Domingo*, *Carthagena*, and *St. Auguſtin*, ſurprized by Sir *Francis Drake* before they could be warned or armed, and yet (the ordnance excepted) the wealth of them did not countervail the fortieth part of the charge of the fleet.

Puerto Rico, taken by my lord of *Cumberland*, proved ſo poor, that the adventurers had good cauſe to repent their deſigns upon towns; for it afforded them little in compariſon of their expence.

There was a town ſurprized in the iſland *Trinidad* by Sir *John Burrowes*; and another in the *Margarita* by Sir *Walter Raleigh*. *Comenagota* was taken by captain *Preſton*; and *Vera Cruz* by captain *Parker*; all which did not afford ſo much wealth as would reimburſe the adventurers.

Porto Bello and *Nombre de Dios* were taken by Sir *Francis Drake* that voyage when he died. Inſtead of riches, they afforded him a moſt miſerable and infectious ſickneſs; but for wealth they yielded none: the ſame town of *Porto Bello* was after taken by captain *Parker*, with as little profit to him as the other; the ſame captain alſo took *Campechy* in *New Spain*, which afforded him no more wealth than the reſt.

There were divers towns taken at *Cape Verde* in ſeveral voyages, and in the *Weſt Indies*, *Rio de la Hacha*, *Capoia*, *Santa Maria*, *Puerto Santo*, *St. John Bellona*, *Tapuecco*, *Vera*, and ſeveral houſes and farms burnt or ranſomed.

Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in his unfortunate attempt upon *St. Tome* and *Guiena*, which was his own ruin, and his ſon's death; and yielded only ſtinking tobacco, a commodity that could not be convey'd away, becauſe of the bulk; and his voyage proved much leſs than ſmoke.

And if we ſail further, and through the ſtreights of *Magellan*, and paſs into *Peru*, thinking there to find ſilver and gold, as the well-head, thence it ſprings, let us ask Mr. *Candiſh*, if he were now living, what wealth *Marmaramo*, *Areca*, *Santa Maria*, *Piſca*, *Ferruca*, *Cherepa*, *Paita*, the iſland of *Pona*, *Acaralca*, the port of *Navidad*, the port of *St. Jago*, and the iſland of *St. Andrea*, and other places yielded him, which he burnt, becauſe they would not be ranſom'd, though he required not much more than victuals for their redemption: which proves my former diſcourſe, that the *Spaniards* little eſteem'd their houſes, and may eaſily convey away their wealth upon the approach of an enemy.

And if we come nearer home: I pray you, what did the ſack of *Cadiz* afford the queen? or the *Canary Iſlands?* or *St. Tome* the *Hollanders?* or the iſland of *Fayal* my lord of *Cumberland?* and after the earl of *Eſſex?* for it was twice taken: or *Villa Franca*, or *Faro* by him taken? or two or three forts taken upon cape *St. Vincent?* or cape *Sacre* by *Drake?* or *Peniche*, and other towns in Sir *John Norris* his march to *Liſbon*, and the ſuburbs thereof? And in the ſame voyage *Drake* with his few forces took *Caſcais*: I omit *Lancarote*, and many other places, ſeiz'd upon by private ſhips: and we may conclude that our actions proved the ruin of ſome, without any great advantage to our ſelves. And this ſhall ſuffice for our attempts upon towns in the queen's time.

But indeed, if ever *England* will annoy the ſtates of *Spain*, and make them feel the ſmart of a war with us, it muſt be by obſtructing their trade by ſea; for all other ſpoils are nothing in compariſon of it, as I have before ſhew'd: for wealth in ſhips can neither be conceal'd nor imbezell'd, as we have had proof by three ſeveral carracks by us taken, the wealth of each of which was equal to the value of all the towns, putting them together: and how to effect it, you will find in my firſt book, to which I refer you.

Thus much I writ to an honourable friend of mine, as I formerly ſaid, before the ſetting out of the unhappy fleet to *Cadiz*, in 1625; which friend of mine is ready to juſtify and produce, if need require. The copy of this I have here inſerted word by word.

Upon the News of the arrival of our Ships at Cadiz, *with the taking a Fort, and afterwards the Town, intending to keep it, I added this as follows:*

THE fort I conceive to be *Puntal*, the place where we landed when we formerly took *Cadiz*, above three miles diſtant from it by land.

I ſhould be glad to hear they had taken the bridge of *Swazo*, which paſſes between the main land and the iſland where *Cadiz* ſtands; for by that bridge ſuccour muſt come to relieve the iſland and town, or obſtruct any ſuch relief, if an enemy get poſſeſſion of it; and therefore we having no news of the ſurprize of that bridge, I doubt the truth of the taking the town.

We know *Cadiz* is ſtrongly fortify'd ſince we enjoy'd it, and the rather out of a fear they conceive of the *Turkiſh* pirates; who, ſince they have learnt the art of navigation, which before they were ignorant in, have of late made many attempts upon the continent of *Spain*, to the great hurt and ſpoil of the inhabitants.

And if the *Spaniards* have not carefully fortify'd *Cadiz*, which lies near and more open to the *Turks* than all other towns in *Spain*, they deſerve all the miſchief that can befal them.

If

If we fail of ſurpriſing *Cadiz*, and be forced to beſiege it, theſe dangers following may enſue:

1. The force of *Andaluſia*, and all the bordering countries, which yield more good men and horſes than all the other parts of *Spain*, will come down upon us.

2. Secondly, the *Spaniards* keeping the bridge of *Swazo*, will bring multitudes of people to beſiege us; and with their horſe cut off all ſuccours ſent from our ſhips, which muſt only afford us relief; for the iſland yields nothing of itſelf.

3. If we ſo begirt the town by land, that we permit no entrance into it that way, yet we cannot do the like by water; for with their galleys they will daily relieve it in deſpight of us, port *St. Mary* in the continent lying oppoſite to it, which makes me hopeleſs of taking it by ſiege, if we fail of a ſurprize.

4. One other reaſon I have to miſtruſt it is not taken, which is, That the news of taking the town and fort would have come all together; for if all were not done at one inſtant, I much fear the ſucceſs, for the reaſons aforeſaid, and by the example of us in 1596.

The ſecond rumour was, of keeping Cadiz *when taken.*

THE queſtion of keeping *Cadiz* in 1596. was long debated by the two lords generals, and the moſt experienced ſoldiers of that time, whom I think all men will allow this age doth not equal. The manner how to ſupply it out of *Barbary* and *England* was thought of, and Sir *Edward Hobby* was to undertake an embaſſy to the king of *Morocco* to that purpoſe.

But to uſe the words of the author who writ that voyage, as it is ſet down in the chronicle, he ſays, There was a great diſpute about the keeping of *Cadiz*, and the opinion of all old ſoldiers and ſeamen asked; but becauſe it appeared not how it might at all times be relieved with men, ammunition, and victuals, and other cauſes beſt known to the generals, it took not effect.

It was then diſcuſſed and diſputed by men of experience, as I have ſaid, and concluded upon mature deliberation, That it was not poſſible to keep the town. I would gladly know what reaſon men have to induce them to it more now than at that time, but eſpecially when I ſee never a man called upon for advice, whoſe opinion was thought worthy to be taken at that time.

If it was then held impoſſible to relieve it, I now compare and collect the reaſons of times paſt we had to hold it, with the time preſent, if we had it.

1. Our army was then ſtronger, in that moſt of our men were old ſoldiers, and better experienced than thoſe that are in this action.

2. They were healthful in body, and victorious in taking the town and bridge with little loſs, which is a great encouragement to people that undertake an enterpriſe.

3. The bridge of *Swazo* was taken, and poſſeſſed by us; ſo that we might keep the town from relief by land, as we had done with our fleet by ſea.

4. We knew the king of *Spain* was unfurniſhed with ſhipping to hinder our deſigns, we having burnt and taken nine and fifty veſſels of his and his ſubjects in that harbour.

5. The kingdom of *Barbary* was then in peace amongſt themſelves, and would have rejoiced at the occaſion to have aided us againſt *Spain*; and ſince there have mortal wars continued betwixt the ſucceeding kings of that kingdom, to the waſting the moſt part of their people and food the earth affords.

6. In thoſe days the king of *Barbary* had three maritime fronting towns upon *Cadiz*, as namely, *Alarache*, *Salley*, and *Mamora*; ſince which time two of them are poſſeſſed by the *Spaniards*, and only *Salley* remains to that king, forty or fifty miles further from *Cadiz* than the other two, and has a harbour only for ſmall veſſels, with a dangerous bar at the entrance of it.

I muſt now ſay, as I ſaid to the earl of *Eſſex*, when himſelf, Sir *Francis Vere*, and I, ſtood upon the caſtle of *Cadiz*, and ſaw the galleys in their flight to *Rota*, after their eſcape through the bridge of *Swazo*. I told him he had loſt his opportunity of keeping *Cadiz*, ſhewing how much the galleys would have availed him, if he had kept the town, and the annoyance he would find by their eſcape; for with theſe galleys he might have tranſported all neceſſaries from *Barbary*, whereas they would now be able to cut off ſuch ſingle and ſmall ſhips, as ſhould be ſent thither for relief.

In the year 1596. and many years before, the *French* king and we were in war with *Spain*, and aided one another; and if the king of *France* had ſeen us have footing in *Spain*, it would have been a motive to have diverted him from his peace with *Spain*, which in leſs than two years after he concluded. Our deſign was to keep *Cadiz*, to exchange for *Calais* in *Picardy*, not long before taken by the *Spaniards*; and no doubt but the king of *Spain* would willingly have conſented to it; as thinking it better policy that *England* ſhould enjoy *Calais* than *France*; for they well knew they could

could no longer hold it, than the wars continued between them and *France*, and that peace would cauſe the reſtitution of it.

They likewiſe knew, that if *England* poſſeſſed it, there would be a perpetual jealouſy and diſlike between *France* and *England*, which would prove their ſecurity.

Beſides, a treaty being ſet on foot, though but to exchange thoſe two towns, yet it might be an introduction to a peace betwixt *England* and *Spain*; which if it had taken good effect, her majeſty had not needed to have reliev'd *Ireland* with ſo great hazard and charge, as afterwards ſhe did, by reaſon of the aid *Tyrone* had from *Spain*, when he was ready to ſink, and almoſt forc'd to yield to her majeſty's mercy; which enterprize from *Spain* brought the queen into ſuch a ſtraight before her death, that ſhe was compell'd to pardon him, though much againſt her will.

And this ſhall ſuffice by way of compariſon betwixt our holding *Cadiz* in times paſt with the preſent, and the advantages that might have enſued by keeping it.

I doubt not, but as the keeping of *Cadiz* was thought of before the departure of our fleet, (if it ſhould be taken,) ſo the reaſons for keeping it were no leſs diſcuſs'd; for it is a maxim, That no place in another country far from home, is worth keeping, that will not defray the charges of maintaining it, unleſs it be for ſecurity, or to give a farther entrance into a country.

In my diſcourſe, where I treat of our attempt upon *Genoa*, I advis'd, as the principal thing in an invader, to poſſeſs himſelf of a harbour for the ſafety of his ſhipping; wherein I mean not only from the weather, but for ſecuring themſelves from an enemy.

I will therefore diſtinguiſh betwixt an harbour that is to be fortify'd on both ſides by him that poſſeſſes it, and an open bay, ſuch as *Cadiz*, that is ten or twelve miles in breadth; ſo that whoſoever is maſter, and ſtrongeſt in ſhipping, has the command of it, and the ſhips within it.

If we intend to keep *Cadiz*, we muſt be ſure in our ſupplies to maſter the *Spaniards* in ſhips, by reaſon of the breadth of the bay, which cannot be fortify'd.

The relief we give *Cadiz* muſt either be from *Barbary* or *England*; and the diſtance from *England* is four hundred leagues at the leaſt; a long navigation, ſubject to ſtorms, the uncertainty of winds, loſs of company, the danger of the enemy, being ſeparated, and many other caſualties the ſea is ſubject to: as on the contrary, the *Spaniſh* fleet that ſhall oppoſe us, is furniſhed nearer home, and runs no ſuch hazard.

We are to expect no other help or ſuccour after our departure out of *England*, till our return, but what we carry with us; and on the contrary, the *Spaniards* will be ſupply'd from their own ſhore, and that with ſpeed.

Suppoſe, as we ride in the bay of *Cadiz*, the *Spaniards* attempt us with a fleet, and that by accident or force they drive part of us aſhore; then are we out of hope to recover either ſhip or man: whereas, if the *Spaniards* run aſhore, their danger will not be great, it being their own country where it happens, which will afford them preſent ſuccour.

I have ſhewed, where I treated of galleys, how eaſy a thing it is to endanger us, by towing fireſhips amongſt us; becauſe thoſe veſſels have a great advantage over us, and will either burn or force us aſhore; as our fireſhips did among theirs in eighty eight, when we had done them more hurt, had we been aſſiſted by galleys.

If the *Spaniards* aſſault us with a fleet in the road of *Cadiz*, it will be with a large wind, and a leeward tide, to keep themſelves to windward of us, and conſequently in their power to board us, and we not to board them.

Whereas our advantage over the *Spaniard* is in our excellent ſailing in open ſea, where we may take and leave at our pleaſure; the only advantage in ſea ſervice: here our ſailing will not avail us, we lying in the channel of a bay, where there is no ſpace to ſail in.

If you will enter into the true ſtate and ſtrength betwixt the king of *Spain*'s ſhips and ours, laying aſide the advantage of ſwift ſailing, and according to the old phraſe, They are bound to fight, *Fight Dog fight Bear*, till one ſide be overcome; which cannot be better decided than at the anchor in a harbour. Let us judge the difference of ſhips: the *Spaniards* are bigger in burthen, and by conſequence have the advantage to board; more ſpacious within board, and therefore contain more men; more decks, and therefore carry more ordnance: then conſider that the greatneſs of veſſels, the number of men and ordnance, makes the ſtrength of ſhips. I refer it to conſideration, and will conclude,

That if we do not relieve *Cadiz* from time to time with a ſtronger fleet than *Spain* can make, we ſhall undergo great hazards, dangers, and diſgraces; which ought to have been well conſider'd and argu'd before undertaking the laſt enterpriſe upon it. And this ſhall ſuffice for our attempt upon *Andaluſia*, or the city of *Cadiz*; and ſo I will proceed to the anſwer of the pamphlet.

The

The Voyage ended, there was publiſhed a Book of the Proceedings of that Expedition; which Book was not long after anſwer'd, as appears by what follows:

Author. THE 8th of *October*, 1625, they departed from *Plimouth*, and the 9th fell in with my lord of *Eſſex*, the vice-admiral, who had put into *Falmouth*.

Anſwer. That month and day had been fitter (if the action had been carried with reaſon and diſcretion) to have ſought *England* after a voyage, winter approaching, than to have put themſelves and ſhips to the fortune of a mercileſs ſea, that yields nothing but boiſterous and cruel ſtorms, uncomfortable and long nights, toil and travel, to the endleſs labour of the poor mariners; and what was no leſs than the reſt, I fear, an unexperienced general, by his phraſe in ſaying, He fell in with my lord of *Eſſex* the 9th day; when the proper word of falling in was with the land, and not with ſhips: he ſhould rather have ſaid, We met my lord, or, We and my lord met together: and the reaſon is, the land is a ſtedfaſt thing, and a ſhip is ever moving, not certain to be fallen in withal, but accidentally to be met with.

Author. The 11th he called a council, and ſettled the inſtructions for a ſea-fight, as appear'd in the 7th and 10th articles, *viz.* If the enemy's approach be in ſuch ſort, as the admiral of the *Dutch* and his ſquadron, or my vice-admiral of our fleet and his ſquadron, may have opportunity to begin the fight, it ſhall be lawful for them ſo to do till I come, uſing the form, method, and care, as aforeſaid.

Anſwer. This inſtruction in my opinion was unadvis'd, and ſhould have been conditionally, (as thus;) If the enemy had offered to fly, then not to loſe any opportunity, but to aſſail him; but if they meant to abide it, preſuming upon their force, it was great folly to hazard part of the fleet to all the enemy's, but rather to have ſtaid for the admiral and the reſt of the ſhips, to obſerve the working of the enemy, and then to have directed every ſquadron accordingly how to have ordered themſelves; for it were a madneſs in a ſingle combat of ſix to ſix, or more, for two of them to charge their oppoſites before the approach of the reſt.

Author. If any ſhips of the enemy do break out and fly, the admiral of any ſquadron that ſhall happen to be next, and in the moſt convenient place for that purpoſe, ſhall ſend out a competent number of the fitteſt ſhips of his ſquadron, to chaſe, aſſault, and take ſuch ſhip or ſhips ſo breaking out; but no ſhip ſhall undertake ſuch a chaſe without the command of the admiral, or at leaſt an admiral of the ſquadron.

Anſwer. The general's want of experience ſhall appear in this article; for if no ſhip ſhall undertake the chaſe without order of the admiral, or admiral of the ſquadron, what if a ſhip that is chas'd be near ſome of your fleet, and a good diſtance from your ſelf, ſhall your ſhip or ſhips loſe the opportunity of chaſing, and repair to you for orders? by that time the ſhip chas'd will be out of ſight, or ſo far off, that it will be a folly to follow her.

For your inſtruction another time, theſe are the directions you ought to have given in ſuch a caſe; If there ſhall happen a chaſe, the next ſhip to her to follow her; and if there be more than one chas'd, the reſt of our ſhips next to her to ſingle themſelves as they ſhall think themſelves able to overcome them; and if you be brought to leeward by that chaſe, then to ply into your height again. This article contains as much as the admiral or vice-admiral of a ſquadron can give, after the loſs of ſo much time as by a ſhip's coming to him for his directions: and time in ſuch caſe is the principal thing.

In your article there was no proviſion how far ſuch a ſhip ſhould be chaſed, when to leave the chaſe, or whither to repair after the chaſe; but confuſedly, and to the loſs of the advantage aforeſaid.

Author. The 12th day the wind north-north-weſt, the ſeas grown ſo high, that the long-boats were loſt, and many other damages ſuſtained.

Anſwer. At that time of the year you are ſure to find that weather, and to look for ſuch diſaſters; and therefore it is a folly to undertake a ſea journey towards winter, as I have ſaid. If in that ſtorm the wind had been ſoutherly, you would have returned into the harbours of *England*, where would have been found ſuch defects in ſhips, that you had ſeen the end of your voyage; and amongſt wiſe men it is a great queſtion, whether your going or ſtaying would have proved more honourable to the kingdom.

Author. The 18th a council was called, and Sir *William St. Leger* writ a letter, that he ſuſpected the plague in his ſhip; but it proved not ſo: and here the general gave ſpecial order for the ſhips to come near together, and hail their admiral every morning, reproving their former negligence, and gave them their inſtructions, which ſhould have been done before, but was hindred by ſtorm.

Anſwer. Sir *William St. Leger* did ill to ſuſpect the plague in his ſhip upon ſuch uncertainties, which was enough to put the

reſt of the fleet in fear, and a means to make them quit one another, and ſeparate the fleet.

If the ſhips were negligent in keeping near together, they deſerved blame, but no puniſhment, as not having received their inſtructions: the blame was worthy to light upon the general, when in winter, and the weather ſo uncertain, he delay'd giving his orders, which ſhould have been done in harbour, and ſealed up, until occaſion of foul weather at ſea, or loſs of one another.

I will let paſs many trivial things not worth anſwering or excepting againſt; as namely, the defects of ſhips, the loſing company and meeting again; the winds, victuals, ſickneſs, and other things of that nature.

Author. The 20th he called a council, to debate how he ſhould put into *St. Lucar*, according to an intention of the council held at *Plimouth*; when his majeſty was preſent; where the matter being very doubtful, it was referred to be decided upon the ſpot when we ſhould be arrived; but upon better enquiry of the inconveniencies and diſadvantage for going into the harbour, and landing our army, it was quite laid aſide.

Then follows a long circumſtance, of the impoſſibility of going into *St. Lucar.*

Anſwer. I dare undertake, never enterprize at ſea was ſet out with ſuch doubtful directions, as to take their reſolutions when they ſhould come to the place. The port of *St. Lucar*, and the danger of the bar, being as well known to the maſters before their going from home, as after they came thither: and if they did not inform his majeſty with it at the council held at *Plimouth*, they deſerved to be hanged there; for no man that had heard of the bar of *St. Lucar*, but knew the danger expreſſed in the pamphlet.

Author. The general demanded both of the captains and maſters, why they did not ſpeak of theſe difficulties before his majeſty: they anſwered, *It was now the depth of winter, and ſtormy.*

Anſwer. If the maſters knew no more than the captains, I think they knew little; for I am informed few of the captains had any experience and skill in ſea affairs: and the maſters anſwer was as ridiculous to the general's demand, why they acquainted not his majeſty with the difficulty at *Plimouth*; for, ſay they, *It was the depth of winter, and ſtormy.*

What was this in anſwer to the impoſſibility of going to *St. Lucar?* could the ſummer remove the bar, and give them a ſafe entrance? could the ſummer ſeaſon give them more knowledge of pilotſhip than they had before their coming thither? or did they not know that winter was approaching, when they were called to the council at *Plimouth*, for it could not be above twenty days more winter, than it was when they were at *Plimouth? I could ſay no more to them*, ſays the author, *being I was no great ſeaman.* And in the 16th Leaf, he ſays, he made no account but the ſhips were ours; for ſpeaking of ſeamen, (he ſays,) they knew more than he did how to ſet upon them.

Would any man thus confeſs his ignorance in a command he undertook? or would any man ever take upon him the charge of a general by ſea, that had never paſt further than betwixt *England* and *Holland?* It were good to know, whether he ſought the imployment, or, whether it was put upon him againſt his will: if he was led unto it by ambition, let him anſwer his error, and that with ſeverity: if it was procured by others, they ought to have the ſame chaſtiſement he deſerved. Betwixt the one and the other, it is pity the kingdom ſhould bear the diſhonour, which in truth cannot be juſtly taxed; for *England* affords as good ſhips as ever it has done; men of as great experience and valour, if they had been imployed; and no reaſon therefore, but that every horſe ſhould bear his own burthen; and that the defect be not laid upon ſhips and men, but upon thoſe that ſhould be found culpable.

Author. In the ſame council it was determined, that the whole fleet ſhould bear into the bay of *Cadiz*, and anchor before port *St. Mary:* it was appointed how every ſhip ſhould anchor, (*viz.*) that the general and *Dutch* admiral ſhould anchor together, and give directions to the vice-admiral and rear-admiral.

Anſwer. It was a moſt ridiculous reſolution, to anchor and land at port *St. Mary*; firſt, in reſpect of the danger of the road, if the wind came ſoutherly or weſterly; ſecondly, their galleys would have cut off our boats and men, if we had attempted to land; thirdly, ſuch *Spaniſh* ſhips as were in the road of *Cadiz*, would have had leaſure to have ſaved themſelves, and convey away their wealth; fourthly, the town of *Cadiz* had ſpace to prepare for its defence, and the country would quickly have given relief to it, as well as the place where they pretended to land.

My next obſervation is the place they choſe to anchor in, that he might give directions; and yet before he excus'd himſelf as unexperienced, and by conſequence unfit to direct. He that ſhall read this little pamphlet to *Cadiz*, ſhall find more directions, more councils, more letters writ, and more abſurdities committed, than in any action a man ſhall read of.

Author.

Author. The general gave orders for every ſhip to break down their cabbins, to be ready to fight.

Anſwer. This every ſhip would have done without directions: ſtill directions to little purpoſe, and nothing came of it.

Author. I writ to my lord of *Eſſex*, to make all the haſte he could; and that I would command his ſquadron to follow him, (which I did;) but I muſt confeſs they went the moſt untowardly way I ever ſaw men; for they did not hoiſt up their ſails as they were commanded.

Anſwer. This was not a time to write, and I marvel your leiſure would admit of it; for what you were to act was now or never; and if you had not directed before you came to the port what ſhips ſhould go in, and what ſhips ſhould ſecond one another, you were very unfit for the command you had; for this did the two lord generals, in their expeditions to *Cadiz*: they conſulted and reſolved what ſhips ſhould attempt the enemy the next morning; and when it came to be executed, never greyhounds ſtrove to overcome, or outſtretch one another in a courſe, as thoſe ſhips did to draw near to the *Spaniards*; and if you had had but one man that had known the affairs of that voyage, you needed not but to have walked in the path they had trodden out before you.

You urge, you could not learn by all the ſeamen in your ſhip, who were thoſe that were ſo backward: And in the 13th Leaf you ſay, *Becauſe I would loſe no time, I went from ſhip to ſhip, crying out, Advance for ſhame; but I found them not very haſty to do it.*

Shall a general ſay men were backward to fight, when he had authority to compel them? or that he was not obey'd, having martial law to execute upon them? No, no; but they knew who they had in hand, when they refuſed to tell what ſhips were backward to fight; for a general that had known the ſea, would have known every ſhip of his fleet, being ſo nigh them.

But indeed, if all your directions had been converted into this one direction following, you had ſaved your ſelf from writing, ſending, or your labour in going to give the command, (that is to ſay,) if before your coming to *Cadiz* you had appointed, if you would not have been the leader your ſelf, as my lord of *Eſſex* was in his voyage to *Cadiz*, I ſay, if you had commanded an admiral, and all the ſhips of his ſquadron to follow him, and they had not obey'd you, then you knew who was backward, and whom to have puniſhed; but your direction and execution was all of a ſudden, without form or deliberation; then what could you expect but confuſion?

Author. When all the fleet came to an anchor, and I ſaw the *Spaniſh* ſhips fly before me, I immediately called a general council to loſe no time; and the opinion of ſeamen was, to clear the two forts for ſecuring the fleet. Then I demanded, what kind of forts they were. They told me, that twenty of the colliers, and ſome of the *Dutch*, would beat them to duſt by the morning. Whereupon I commanded, the ſhips warned ſhould go up to the fort, and that they ſhould receive directions from my lord of *Eſſex*, who had orders from me.

Anſwer. If my lord of *Eſſex* had orders from you, what need was there to call a council, and loſe time? or why ſhould you give order to my lord of *Eſſex* beforehand, and not to the ſhips that ſhould ſecond him till the very inſtant: ſtill writing, directing, but no acting.

But for the advice in clearing the forts: ſurely the adviſors were not well adviſed therein; and in this caſe you ſhould have enquired what my lord of *Eſſex* did upon the ſame occaſion, when he attempted the ſhipping: and it would have appeared to you, that he followed the *Spaniſh* galleons, fighting with them ſix or ſeven hours, and overcame them before he landed or took the fort. He made *Puntal* no impediment to his deſign; he would not loſe his opportunity for fear of a fort, nor refer his enterprize to a farther council, but acted what was reſolved on before.

Author. I commanded that upon fight of my billet, they ſhould be ready to aſſault the fort of *Puntal* in the morning, and to purſue the ſhips: I adviſ'd with the moſt experienced captains and maſters to conduct the ſhips to *Port Royal*, which was difficult, for want of water; and at three of the clock in the morning, I aroſe, and received the communion aboard the *Ark Royal*: after which I commanded the maſter to carry up the ſhip to *Puntal*; but he excuſed it, for want of water.

Anſwer. Here is ſtill direction, writing, and communion, when there ſhould be fighting; and becauſe he ſpeaks of the communion, it is not improper to ſet down what queen *Elizabeth* ſaid upon the like ſucceſs in 1590. Sir *John Hawkins* being ſent general of a fleet to ſea, ſpent ſeven months without taking one *Spaniſh* ſhip. At his return he writ a long apology to the queen; and for his concluſion, told her, That *Paul planteth, Apollo watereth, and God giveth the increaſe. God's death*, (ſaid the queen, upon reading his letter,) *this fool went out a ſoldier, and is come home a divine.*

But

But now in anſwer to the excuſe, in not carrying up the ſhip for want of water; it ſerv'd not my lord of *Eſſex* for a reaſon in his voyage in 1596; for he found water, though his maſter and others made the like allegation: he would not truſt mariners in that caſe, but appointed a ſufficient captain at the helm, and the captain of his ſhip to ſtand aloft, as he ſaw other ſhips go afore him, having his lead on both ſides continually heaving.

But had the general been experienced, he might have anſwered the excuſe of want of water, as Sir *Walter Raleigh* was anſwered in the ſame place, and upon the ſame occaſion. Sir *Walter Raleigh* being ordered over-night to lead the van, and Sir *Francis Vere* to ſecond him, Sir *Walter* came to an anchor at ſuch a diſtance from the galleons, that he could not reach them with his ordnance: he returned aboard my lord of *Eſſex*, excuſing it for want of water; a gentleman well known ſtanding by, ſaid, *It was ſtrange that the* Spaniards, *who drew much more water, and had no more advantage of the tide than he, could paſs where his ſhips could not follow.* I proteſt Sir *Walter* was much abaſhed at this ſpeech, and thereupon went aboard his ſhip, cauſing his maſter to weigh again and go higher, where he perform'd the part of a noble and valiant gentleman.

This anſwer from the general had ſtopp'd the mouths of the maſters exceptions; and they would have found this channel as deep for their ſhips, as the *Spaniards* did, going up before them, and the ſame channel my lord of *Eſſex* did when he was there.

I will leave taking *Puntal* by the land forces, with which he fills two or three leaves, directing and ordering things, my intention being only to proſecute the enterprizes by ſea.

Author. The 24th I went by ſix a clock in the morning to my lord of *Denbigh*, and ſpake thus to him: *You are no old ſeaman, and therefore I would deſire you make all the haſte, and get all the ſeamen together to council; and I deſire you to think upon the beſt way how to burn and deſtroy the enemies ſhips.* He went upon it without delay, which he did very earneſtly and punctually.

Anſwer. Though the general wanted experience himſelf, yet he made choice of one of ſufficiency, who performed it carefully and punctually; (but what did he perform?) for hitherto nothing was performed, and yet there was commendations of a lord for his punctual performance, that did nothing punctually at *Puntal*, or the ſhips in *Cadiz*.

If any men deſerve honour for this voyage, it is thoſe that diſſuaded it at that time of the year; for indeed they had ſaved a great deal of diſhonour this kingdom now undergoes; they had inriched this kingdom with much money, thus unadviſedly ſpent; they had preſerved many a brave man's life, that might have lived to have done their country ſervice; and laſtly, the *Spaniards* had not been heartned and imboldened as now they are.

But for all the general, council, and directions, or the careful and punctual carriage of the other lord, the ſhips eſcaped without firing or ſinking. The general's deſign, it ſeems, was not to take *Cadiz*, as he confeſs'd in the 16th Leaf; for the king before he went was acquainted, that it was extraordinarily fortify'd; and ſo he found when he came to view it.

I hold up my hands and eyes to heaven, when I conſider the poor deſign and weak carriage of this laſt voyage to *Cadiz*; for now it appears it was intended for *St. Lucar*, though the impoſſibility of it was known before their going from home. He likewiſe confeſſed the ſtrength of *Cadiz* to be impregnable; and yet notwithſtanding they were both enterprized. They could not have a deſign upon ſhips, becauſe they knew not of any being there, or thoſe that were, to be ſo few, as they were not worthy of ſuch an expedition: Then what man can excuſe it? or the abſurd carriage of it?

Moſt men, I confeſs, had an ill opinion of the voyage before their going, a worſe after their return, but worſt of all upon publiſhing the pamphlet; for it has ſtopp'd the mouths of all thoſe that could force arguments to excuſe it: ſome out of charity and good nature forbore to think the worſe of it; ſome out of judgment did no more condemn it than an action that failed by fortune in the execution; ſome that would ſeem wiſer than others, ſaid, there was a greater myſtery in it than the ordinary people conceived; ſome ſaid, they had intelligence with *Cadiz*, or other places of importance, but took no ſucceſs. But this book has diſcovered all; for they find the project was as ridiculous as the execution of it.

Author. The 25th there was a motion to march four or five miles to recover ſome boats, to ſerve inſtead of their long-boats they had loſt at ſea; and ſo they marched forward and back again, brought away their boats, ſpoiled the fiſherman's nets, maſts, and other proviſions they there found.

Anſwer. Here was marching forward and backward, which we may properly call a ſet dance. Theſe boats, I confeſs, ſaved your honour; for ſomething you did upon them,

though

though you did nothing upon the ſhips; and for your attempt upon the fiſhermens nets, you made the enemy have a feeling of it, they being tied to obſerve faſting days from fiſh, which now they muſt want.

Author. The 26th the colonels met at *Puntal:* and here it was reſolved, that nothing could be done upon the ſhips, becauſe of the wind and tide, and for that the *Spaniards* had ſunk themſelves, and the channel was ſo narrow, which was the reaſon my lord of *Eſſex* in his journey, 1596. could ſend no ſhips to do the enemy harm.

Anſwer. I confeſs, that if my lord of *Eſſex* had followed your example, to be talking three or four days of what he performed almoſt in as many hours, he had done the enemy no more harm than you; but what he did, and by the good advice he did it, I have ſhewed before; and if you call it no harm to the enemy, to have the beſt ſhips *Spain* ever enjoyed burnt and taken, to the number of nine and fifty ſail, with a maſs of wealth in them; and this to be done in deſpite of your fort, which takes up three leaves of paper in your book of difficulties; I ſay, if this be no harm, and your taking of fiſhermens boats and nets be a ſpoil and harm, I confeſs yours was the honourable action, and that of my lord of *Eſſex* of ſmall conſequence in reſpect of yours.

Author. The council of war did conſider, that going to the bridge of *Swazo* was no great deſign, but to meet with the enemy, and ſpoil the country; and that when my lord of *Eſſex* took *Cadiz*, Sir *Coniers Clifford* was taxed by Sir *Francis Vere* for miſtaking his directions, which were to go no farther than within ſhot of the town, where he might be ſeconded and relieved; but *Clifford* went to the bridge; ſo in regard there was no ſuch neceſſity, he returned back again.

Anſwer. Here was a ſtrange conſultation, a ſtrange conſideration, and as ſtrange a council of war, to conclude the taking of the bridge to be nothing more than to meet the enemy, and ſpoil the country.

I muſt tell you, That in that journey of my lord of *Eſſex*, which you ſay did the *Spaniards* no harm, there was a conſultation, and a reſolution before their landing, to poſſeſs the bridge, as a prime ſervice to be executed: whereupon, at my lord's landing, he divided his army; three regiments he ſent to the bridge, the reſt he led himſelf to the town. Both theſe directions had good ſucceſs; the bridge was poſſeſſed, and the town ſurpriſed; and yourſelf abuſed by him that told you Sir *Coniers Clifford* had no order to go the bridge, or that Sir *Francis Vere* was angry with him for ſo doing.

I confeſs it was not Sir *Francis Vere* alone, but my lord of *Eſſex*, and all in general were angry for quitting the bridge, as they had reaſon; for the main buſineſs of the ſervice depended on it: but it ſeems they wanted reaſon in compariſon of you and your council of war; for by that bridge all ſuccours was to paſs from the main land to the relief of *Cadiz*; by that bridge we were to attempt other parts of the country, as we intended; by that bridge the galleys were to paſs and eſcape us, which otherwiſe they could not have done: and if this be no great deſign, let you and your council conſider it.

But that you may the better underſtand it, I will lay before you a compariſon that may be made to concur with it. Suppoſe an enemy ſhould land in *Surrey*, with a deſign to take *Wimbleton*, and that there were a bridge to paſs the *Thames* at his barony of *Putney:* do not you think that a council of war would adviſe to take that bridge, to hinder the ſuccours that might be ſent from *Middleſex*, or the counties thereunto adjacent, to the aid of *Wimbleton?* If this advice would not have been followed, the council of war were fit for you, and not for my lord of *Eſſex*.

Author. And I have been ſo long in the wars, (leaf 19.) that I dare undertake they who think *Cadiz* was to be taken, cannot tell how to come at it with cannon, if there were none but women in it.

Anſwer. When you ſpeak truth, I will concur with you; for I believe there was little reaſon to attempt it: but, indeed, your want of experience in ſea-affairs, your frequent councils, which loſt time and opportunity; your multitude of directions to no purpoſe, and the careleſneſs of your captains to diſobey your command, was your blemiſh and ſhame; but more eſpecially your want of expert men to adviſe what had been practiſed in fleets; for every man that can manage a ſmall bark, is not capable to direct a fleet: you ſhould not have relied upon ſailors put into the habit of gentlemen, and made knights before they knew what belonged to gentility, nor were ever expert but in poor petty barks. This was the bane of you and your reputation.

Author. The one and twentieth I imbarked again, thinking to have landed at port *St. Mary*, if the wind ſhould not ſerve the fleet to go out of the bay of *Cadiz*; but as ill luck would have it, the wind came good even as we were in council; and if we had not taken that wind in the inſtant, perhaps we had not come out in a long time.

Anſwer. That which was good for your coming out, had not been ill for your landing at port *St. Mary*, though I confeſs it had been a raſh attempt, as I ſaid before.

Author. *Monday* the laſt, the wind came weſterly, and we could not come out of the bay.

Anſwer. And yet you ſaid before the contrary: no wind, no counſel, no directions, would anſwer your expectation after your loſs through your delays, negligence, and carelesſneſs of the opportunity upon the ſhips.

Author. The third day, by general conſent, we were to ſtay, and expect the fleet from the *Indies*, till the 20th of *November*; but it pleaſed God ſuch ſickneſs came, that we had not men enough to handle our ſails.

Anſwer. You muſt know it was ſtrange to hear of a fleet from the *Indies* at that time of the year: but ſuppoſe it had been ſo, and you had taken them, what would you have done with them, not having ſailors enough to bring home your own ſhips, as yourſelf confeſs'd?

Author. The ſixth day (and twenty fourth leaf) we took a man of war of *Algiers*, who had taken two prizes; one of them *John Iſack*, a *Scotchman*, that dwelt at *Dover*, laden with wood and iron from *Biſcay* for *St. Lucar*, by the king of *Spain*'s ſubjects; which ſhews the great want that king has of timber and ſhips to carry it.

Anſwer. This was as wiſe an obſervation, as if a *Dunkirker* had taken a *Frenchman* freighted with coals by an *Engliſhman* from *Newcaſtle* to *London*, and ſhould ſay, the king has great want of coals and ſhipping to carry them: I ſhould have made another conſtruction, That it ſhewed the *Spaniſh* ſhips were employed upon better voyages, than upon ſuch baſe commodities.

Author. On the tenth Sir *Michael Geere*, who had been five days wilfully wanting, came again to the fleet: his maſter told him of it, and he beat him with a cudgel: his maſter had bore better command than ever he did; and in the twenty fifth leaf he ſays, he ſent aboard the *Dreadnought* for ten tuns of beer that was left in her for the uſe of the *Anne Royal*; but the company mutinied, and would not deliver it; neither would the captain nor maſter confeſs who were the mutineers.

Anſwer. Would ever general ſet down the contempt and abuſes, and not ſhew the puniſhment inflicted upon them? It is no marvel you were no better obeyed in weightier things, that could digeſt theſe petty diſgraces; ſurely *Geere* might have come home a knight, though the ſtrangeſt that ever was made; but he ſhould not have come home a captain, nor made capable ever to bear office in any imployment.

Honour was wont to be conferred on men of deſert, for ſervices done by them before they received it; but this knight and others were made knights ſo unworthily, that it bred not only an admiration, but a contempt to that order.

As backward as you were in the affairs of *Cadiz*, you were as much too forward and liberal in giving and taking honour: to delay it before your going, had been to ſome purpoſe; for a noble mind would not have received it, till the world had taken notice he had deſerved it.

As there was great difference in the management of ſea affairs, betwixt the queen's time and theſe, ſo there was in the beſtowing of honour; for though my lord admiral was the ſon of a baron, and the grandſon of a duke, though he had the office of lord high-admiral of *England*, and many other dignities and preferments, though he had gained ſo great a victory in 1588. by repulſing an enemy that might have endanger'd the kingdom, though he ſpoiled, beat, ſunk ſhips, and deſtroyed cities of the enemies in their own countries, yet had he obtained and performed all theſe exploits, before he could be admitted to the degree of an earl.

Author. In the twenty ſeventh leaf. The defects of the ſhips were ſuch, that he called a council for going into the iſlands of *Bayona*; and here he ſets down the loſing of company, breaking maſts, ſplitting ſails, and ſhifting of winds, *&c.*

Anſwer. Theſe things were impertinent for a general to relate: ſuch obſervations are only proper to mariners; and he might as well have ſet down the ſeething of the kettle, the companies dining, or the ſetting of the watch.

Author. Now was I arrived at *Kinſale* in *Ireland*. On the nineteenth of *January* came in a *Dutchman* from *Lisbon*, who reported he ſaw letters from *Cadiz*, that the plate fleet came home within three days after my coming away, and that an hundred carvels were ſent to ſtop them, but none of them could meet the ſaid fleet, for they came upon the coaſt of *Barbary*; inſomuch, that if any of theſe accidents following had happened, we had been maſters of the plate fleet.

The firſt was, if the council had conſented with me to keep *Puntal* fourteen days. The ſecond, if the wind had not changed as it did. The third, if the plate fleet had but kept the ſame courſe they have for this forty years; for they had no manner of news of us: But man propoſes, and God diſpoſes. And moreover, the *Dutchman* ſaid, that on the laſt of *July* there were not four barrels of powder in *Lisbon*.

Anſwer. Could the plate fleet arrive in *Cadiz*, and not be vulgarly ſpoke of in *Lisbon*, but by ſome few letters, the arrival of that

that fleet being of ſuch conſequence, that not only *Lisbon*, but all *Spain* would ring of it? And unleſs you had better aſſurance of their arrival than by this poor *Dutchman*, that was in your cuſtody priſoner, you were ill-adviſed to print it; becauſe every merchant upon the *Exchange* was able to contradict you; wherefore you ſhould have firſt conſidered it, as thus:

Was it likely that a hundred carvels ſhould be ſent to meet the fleet? a number of carvels never employed, nor to be found in all *Spain*. Could they be ſo improvident as to hazard ſo many veſſels, the taking of one of which would diſcover the heighth the fleet came home in? or could the fleet be met and ſtopped at ſea, that was both foul, weak, heavily laden, wanted victuals, and muſt be compelled out of neceſſity to ſeek a harbour? or could a hundred carvels ſpread themſelves at ſea, and your fleet not ſee any part of them? or could the fleet come home in four days after your being at *Cadiz*? and computing the time, you could not be above twenty leagues weſt from thence, and to have no news of them? or could the *Spaniards* be ſo mad at that time of the year, to venture to keep the coaſt of *Barbary*, being ſubject to northerly winds, and to fall in upon *Cadiz* road, juſt at your quitting it? To wiſe men theſe things ſeem improbable.

And moreover, for the ſatisfaction of the reader, you ſhould have ſet down your reaſons, why you adviſed the keeping of *Puntal* fourteen days: all the reaſons you had would not have given ſatisfaction to a reaſonable man; for it is to be imagined, you muſt have one of theſe reaſons in it; as namely, That you had correſpondence with *Cadiz* for the ſurrendering it; or that you expected a revolt in the country; or that you hoped for ſupplies in fourteen days; or that you knew of the *Indies* fleets repair thither in that time. One of theſe I conceive to be the end of your perſuaſions.

Then on the other ſide, I think with myſelf the miſchief that might have enſued upon it in the ſpace of them fourteen days; your victuals would have been much waſted, for it ſeems then you began to want; your people being ſick, as they were, it is probable they would rather grow worſe than recover health. In that fourteen days the *Spaniards* would have had leiſure to prepare freſh ſhips and men to encounter your feeble and weak army. Your ſuppoſed hundred carvels might have met in thoſe fourteen days with the imagined plate fleet, and have conducted them to *Lisbon*, whilſt you were propping up of *Puntal*. You had proof what the lingering of fourteen days might have brought you and the fleet to, by the miſery you found in your return. It was no leſs ridiculous, that you ſhould believe the *Dutchman*'s report, that at the laſt of *July* there ſhould be but four barrels of powder in *Lisbon*; for whoſoever knows *Lisbon* and the caſtle, knows the great quantity of powder there is ſtill kept in it.

Author. I put to ſea three times againſt the ſeamen's opinion: they deſired to ſee the winds ſettled before we ſhould ſet out; but I did not hearken to them.

Anſwer. It will appear by this raſhneſs of yours, how unfit you are to take charge of ſuch a fleet. In the ſixteenth leaf you confeſs your ignorance in ſea affairs, and refer yourſelf to men of experience, in an attempt of much leſs conſequence than this, that concerns the ſafety of his majeſty's ſhips, to venture them to no end but a deſire you had to be at home. This was a raſh hazard of your own, againſt the approbation of mariners, who could only judge what was convenient in ſuch a caſe.

I confeſs, nothing in your diſcourſe doth make it appear to be writ by a ſoldier at land or ſea, but a plain and abſurd ſtile, the unproper terms uſed by ſea and in ſhips, and the often repetition of ſome words, which is not proper in oratory. From ſoldiers, neither eloquent words nor forms is requir'd; their actions muſt give matter for ſcholars to amplify upon; and though this may excuſe the writing of the pamphlet, yet it can no more clear you of blame in your carriage of the action, than the projector of it; it being hard to judge whether of you two deſerved the moſt ſhame, the one in adviſing, or the other in executing.

But if this journey had been undertaken by men of experience, underſtanding, and reaſon, it had more annoyed the ſtate of *Spain*, than any enterpriſe of ours heretofore, either in the queen's, or king *Charles*'s reign, as it ſhall appear by what follows.

How to have ruined Spain *by the Fleet of* 1625.

SPLEEN, paſſion, and envy to ſome they love not, and the want of knowledge in themſelves, are the bane and deſtroyers of all warlike actions, either by ſea or land, which could not be better verified than in this laſt unfortunate fleet to *Cadiz* I have ſpoken of; for I muſt ſay, that in many ages (or rather in no age) we ſhall have the like opportunity again to annoy the ſtate of *Spain*, as was then offered us, if the enterpriſe had been well projected and directed, as it was raſhly begun and proſecuted, as may appear by what follows.

If our land forces had been diſcharged at the beginning of ſummer, when they were firſt raiſed, and the fleet employed upon a

ſea,

ſea action only; for take it for a maxim, That ſea and land enterprizes together, are the bane of one another, as experience has made it appear.

At this time that the expedition was undertaken, we well knew the *Spaniſh* fleet had diſpoſſeſs'd the *Hollanders* of the town of *Baye* in *Brazil*, a little before taken by them; we likewiſe knew they were to return to *Spain* with a million of pounds in wealth; which after proved true.

And yet this was not all, and the worſt that *Spain* was to receive from us: this happen'd when they had no ſuſpicion of us as enemies, nor any ſhew of hoſtility made, to give them warning or diſtruſt.

If therefore we had employ'd our fleet then in readineſs to the *Tercera* iſlands, where we aſſuredly knew the *Spaniards* would touch in their return, as indeed they did, all ſcatter'd and ill provided, we had without all doubt or queſtion intercepted them, and poſſeſs'd ſo much wealth of theirs, as would have maintain'd a royal war againſt them, till his majeſty had been reveng'd of the affronts offered him, as was conceived at his being in *Spain*.

Beſides this wealth, we had cut off his fleet, which conſiſted of fifty or ſixty of his beſt galleons, which in an age could not be reſtored, whereby he would have been unable to undertake any action againſt us. This was diſcover'd to ſome, before the fleet's going out; but either neglected or not believed.

The Errors committed in the Expedition to the Iſle of Ree.

IN my examination of the voyages in the reign of queen *Elizabeth*, I make often reflection, without fear or flatrery, upon the errors then committed, as well by us, as by the *Spaniards* our enemies; which kind of proceeding, I follow in theſe two laſt expeditions, the one to *Cadiz* in 1625. which I have treated of; the other to *St. Martins* in 1627. which I am to treat of, as well in number and goodneſs of ſhips, as in proportion and quantity of men.

Though I was no actor myſelf in the two laſt expeditions, there being no relation that can give a more true account of them than thoſe publiſh'd by the authority of ſtate, I have, upon view of theſe pamphlets, collected ſuch errors as the actions themſelves have given juſt cauſe to except againſt.

Let it not be imputed to me that I do it out of a carping or detracting humour, or a malignant diſpoſition, or an evil or conteſting nature, or out of a vain or phantaſtical curioſity, or pride, or arrogance, to make ſmall errors ſeem greater than they are; for I have no other end than what I have often expreſſed, *viz.* by diſcovering the faults and overſights paſt, to make them ſerve as a warning for time to come.

I would not be ſo bold and preſumptuous as to examine the grounds of this laſt deſign upon the iſland of *St. Martin's*, or the carriage of it upon their arriving and landing; for I never doubted, but that a matter of ſuch great conſequence, as the breach of peace between princes, and wherein his majeſty's honour was to be engaged, and the reputation of the chief commander conſidered, was not only diſcuſſed and argued by the grave and wiſe ſenators of the ſtate, but advice taken of the moſt experienced captains both by land and ſea this kingdom could afford; which being ſo, the ſucceſs muſt be referred to him who is the giver of all victories: for I am like the *Carthaginian*, who did not eſteem the leſs of the general that loſt a battle, but of ſuch as fought againſt reaſon; for ſucceſs is the meaſure of fools; whereas conduct proceeds from judgment.

This expedition to the iſland of *St. Martin's* was begun from *Portſmouth* on the 17th of *June* 1627. a place deſign'd for the rendezvous; and to that end the ſhips of proviſions that attended the reſort of the army to *Plimouth*, were drawn together at *Portſmouth*, though with ill ſucceſs: Firſt, in reſpect one of thoſe ſhips miſcarried, and others were in danger to have done the like. Secondly, I muſt make the rendezvous at *Portſmouth* the ground of my argument, to except againſt the carriage of the action, and the chief cauſe of the miſchief that enſued.

You muſt underſtand that *Stokes Bay*, where our ſhips rode, is forty leagues from *Plimouth*, by the way of *St. Helen's Point*; and the courſe of the channel is eaſt north-eaſt, and weſt ſouth-weſt: *Uſhant*, which is the head-land of *France*, and by which you muſt paſs either from *Plimouth* or *Portſmouth*, if you will ſail to *St. Martin's*, is twenty ſix leagues from *Plimouth* ſouth-weſterly; ſo that there was forty leagues run to fetch thoſe ſhips which could have brought themſelves; and a ſhip loſt, which had not ſo happen'd but by their going to fetch them.

Now ſhould they have held a grave conſultation, if they had done well, how to proceed afterwards, which ſhould have conſiſted of three propoſitions: The one, whether to keep the ſea with that eaſterly wind, or no; which in little ſpace would bring them to leeward of all. The ſecond, whether to land in *Conquet Road*, or ſome part of *France*. The third and laſt, was, whether to return to *Plimouth* or *Falmouth*, there to attend a better opportunity of wind. But, to be

be ſhort, unadviſedly they took the worſt of the three, and kept the ſea till they were to leeward of all *French* ſhores; in which ſpace they had purſuit of certain *Dunkirkers*, whom indiſcreetly they chaſed a whole day, when in two hours they might have diſcerned whether they could fetch them up, or no.

If they had anchored in *France*, or any part of that coaſt, notice would have been taken of it by the *French*; and it would have given a ſudden alarm, and been a cauſe to arm all places they might ſuſpect we would attempt.

If they had repair'd to *Plimouth* or *Falmouth*, it would have put a doubtfulneſs in the *French*, whether our deſign had been againſt them, or no; and they would have made the leſs preparations to reſiſt us. *Spain* would alſo have taken the alarm, being in as great a doubt and danger of us as *France*; but drawing the ſhips from *Plimouth* to *Portſmouth*, *Spain* could not conceive that it was intended againſt them; and *France* was in as great aſſurance that it was deſign'd upon them.

Thus you ſee from *Portſmouth* they were to attend the uncertainty of two winds, and give warning to *France* to provide for themſelves; whereas from either of the two ports of *Plimouth* or *Falmouth*, one wind would have carried them directly to *St. Martin's*, which might have been run in two or three days, without fear of ſcattering, or other diſaſter. Theſe inconveniencies ſhould not have been only foreſeen, but prevented, if experience and diſcretion had guided the action.

Now follows the miſchief that enſued upon keeping the ſea. The firſt is, That they were brought ſo far to leeward, that if they would, yet they could not recover either *Plimouth* or *Falmouth*. Secondly, they were ſubject to foul weather, which they afterwards found. Thirdly, their men not being accuſtom'd to the ſea, and peſtered in ſhips, brought a great inconvenience amongſt them. But the greateſt was the foul weather which parted them, and was the chief cauſe of the misfortune that followed: for above ſixty of the ſhips being ſcattered, came to the iſland of *St. Martin's* the 10th of *July*, and the reſt the day following.

The ſixty ſhips firſt arriving put the *French* out of doubt, but that was the place we intended, and gave them opportunity to do as much as the time would permit.

And here you may obſerve the true overthrow of the expedition to the iſle of *Ree*; whereas if our fleet had come together from *Plimouth* or *Falmouth*, and landed together, they had ſuddenly ſurpriz'd the iſland, and poſſeſſed all the victuals in it, which in that ſhort time we gave them, they carried into the caſtle, being before but ill provided either of victuals, or any thing elſe.

Thus have I run over ſuch errors as I have briefly collected out of the ill-carry'd action to the iſland of *St. Martin's*, wiſhing that generals may not only ſee, but foreſee, that they may with judgment determine what they ſhall put in execution, before they attempt it with force and courage; for great actions ought to be reſolv'd on by leiſure, and perform'd with ſpeed: they ſhould not ſay and ſtay, but ſay and do: they muſt conſider, that the firſt enterprize in war gets the beſt reputation; and a thing well begun, is half ended.

As I have ſet down the Names of the Ships the Queen left at her Death in my firſt Book, now ſhall follow the Names of thoſe that were built by King James *and King* Charles; *and the preſent Rates for Seamens Wages, according to the Ranks of Ships and Officers, increaſed* Anno Dom. 1626.

Ships built by King James.			*Ships built by King* Charles.		
Ships.	Men in Harbour.	Men at Sea.	Ships.	Men in Harbour.	Men at Sea.
Reformation,	9	250	*Ten Whelps*,	3	60 ſome 70
Happy Entrance,	7	160	*Henrietta Pinnace*,	3	25
Garland,	7	160	*Mary Pinnace*,	3	25
St. George,	9	250	*Charles*,	9	250
Mary Roſe,	6	120	*Henrietta Maria*,	9	250
Triumph,	12	300	*The James*,	9	260
Swiftſure,	9	250	*Victory*,	9	250
Bonaventure,	7	160	*The Leopard*,	7	170
St. Andrew,	9	250	*The Swallow*,	6	150
			The Sovereign,		

The New Rates for Seamens Wages, confirmed by the Commiſſioners of his Majeſty's Navy, according to his Majeſty's ſeveral Rates of Ships and Degrees of Officers, Monthly, Anno Dom. 1626.

Ranks.	1		2		3		4		5		6	
Number of Men.	500	400	300	250	200	160	120	100	70	60	50	40
	l. s. d.		*l. s. d.*		*l. s. d.*		*l. s. d.*		*l. s. d.*		*l. s. d.*	
Capt. Ordinary	14 00 00		11 04 00		09 06 08				06 12 00		04 06 08	
Lieutenant	03 10 00		03 10 00		02 16 00							
Maſter	04 13 09		04 10 00		03 15 00		03 07 06		03 00 00		02 06 08	
Pilot	02 05 00		02 00 00		01 17 06		01 13 09		01 10 00		01 03 04	
Maſter's Mates 3	02 05 00	2	02 00 00		01 17 06		01 13 09		01 10 00		01 03 04	
Boatſwain	02 05 00		02 00 00		01 17 06		01 13 09		01 10 00		01 03 04	
Boatſwain's Mate	01 06 03		01 05 00		01 00 08		01 00 08		01 00 08		01 00 08	
Quarter Maſters 4	01 10 00	4	01 05 00	4	01 05 00	4	01 05 00	2	01 05 00	2	01 00 00	
Quarter Maſter's Mates 4	01 05 00	4	01 00 08	2	01 00 08	2	01 00 08	2	01 00 08	2	00 17 06	
Yeomen Haly[ds] Sheet Tacks Jears 4	01 05 00	4	01 01 00	2	01 01 00	2	01 01 00	2	01 01 00			
Corporal	01 10 00		01 08 00		01 05 08		01 03 04		01 00 00		00 18 08	
Mr. Carpenter	01 17 06		01 17 06		01 10 00		01 06 08		01 03 04		01 01 00	
Carpenter's Mate	01 05 00		01 04 03		01 03 04		01 01 06		00 19 02		00 18 08	
Other Carpenters and Calkers 9	01 00 08	6	01 00 00	4	01 00 00	3	01 00 00					
Purſer	02 00 00		01 16 08		01 10 00		01 06 08		01 03 04		01 03 04	
Steward and Cook	01 05 00		01 05 00		01 05 00		01 03 04		01 03 04		00 17 00	
Surgeon	01 10 00		01 10 00		01 10 00		01 10 00		01 10 00		01 10 00	
Surgeon's Mate.	01 00 00		01 00 00		01 00 00							
Mr. Trumpeter	01 10 00		01 06 08		01 05 00		01 05 00		01 05 00		01 01 00	
Other Trump. 4	01 03 04		01 03 04									
Drum and Fife	01 00 00		01 00 00		01 00 00		01 00 00		01 00 00		01 00 00	
Coxſwain	01 05 00		01 05 00		01 03 04		01 00 00		01 00 00		01 00 00	
Coxſwain's Mate	01 00 08		01 00 08		00 19 02							
Skiffswain	01 00 00											
Skiffswain's Mate	00 17 06											
Two ſwabbers	01 08 08	1	01 08 00		00 18 06		00 17 06		00 17 06		00 17 06	
Swabber's Mate			00 17 06		00 16 08							
Armourer	01 01 00		01 01 00		01 01 00		01 01 00		01 01 00		01 01 00	
Mr. Gunner	02 00 00		01 16 08		01 10 00		01 06 08		01 03 04		01 03 04	
Gunner's Mates	01 02 06		01 01 00		01 00 00		01 00 00		01 00 00		00 18 08	
Quarter Gunners 4	01 00 00	4	00 18 08		00 18 08		00 18 08		00 17 06		00 17 06	
Quarter Gunners Mates 4	00 18 08	4	00 17 06									
Yeoman of the Powder Room	01 00 00		00 18 08		00 18 08		00 18 08		00 18 08		00 18 08	
Mr. Cooper	00 16 08		00 16 08		00 16 08		00 16 08		00 16 08		00 16 08	
Grumetts 6	00 11 03	5	00 11 03	4	00 11 03	3	00 11 03		00 11 03		00 11 03	
Common Men 360. 4 out of each 100 are the Captains Retinue	00 15 00	204	00 15 00	146	00 15 00	65	00 15 00	41	00 15 00	23	00 15 00	
Boys 5	00 07 06	4	00 07 06	3	00 07 06	3	00 07 06		00 07 06		00 07 06	
Gunmaker	01 01 00		01 01 00									

If I were worthy to adviſe his majeſty, heſhould follow the precedent of the earl of *Lincoln*, late lord high-admiral of *England*, who two years before he died, and in the year 1582. cauſed a general muſter to be taken of all ſhips, their burthen and mariners, belonging to the ports of *England*, as here follows.

And withal, I wiſh there were a computation made from the year 1582. till the end of queen *Elizabeth*'s reign in 1602. all which being compared with the increaſe of ſhips and mariners ſince that time, and their greatneſs in burthen, it will ſeem wonderful to all his majeſty's ſubjects, who ſhall underſtand it, that ſince the firſt year of king *James*'s reign, till this, which is the 13th of king *Charles*, the navy of *England* is ſo much increaſed and augmented; and thereby they may conjecture what wealth hath been imported and tranſported ſince that time, to the infinite inriching of all people in general, which will make them repine the leſs at paying ſhip money; for they muſt truly confeſs, how much the kingdom is, ſince the year 1582. ſtrengthened and fortified by ſea, and the commonwealth enriched by trade; for though the merchant only runs the hazard of ſhips and goods that go to ſea, yet the whole kingdom receives benefit and profit by it, from the handicraftſman to the labourer.

A Muſter of Ships and Mariners throughout England, *taken two Years before the Death of the Earl of* Lincoln, *Lord Admiral.*

Somerſetſhire.

THIRTY ſeven ſhips, whereof ten above eighty tons.
Mariners, maſters, and fiſhermen at home, 462
Abroad, 40
In all 502

Cheſter.

Fourteen ſhips.
Mariners, maſters, and ſeamen, 113

Lancaſter.

Fifty three ſhips, whereof ten above eighty tons,
Maſters and mariners, 163
Fiſhermen, 36
In all 199

Eſſex.

Twelve ſhips above eighty tons.
Hoys, crays, and other ſmall veſſels, 107
Maſters and ſeamen, 517

Cornwall.

Five ſhips above eighty tons.
Threeſcore and ſeven other ſmall ſhips.
Maſters, 108
Mariners, 606
Other ſeamen, 204
In all 918

Lincolnſhire.

One ſhip of eighty tons burden.
Twenty ſmall ſhips.
Maſters, 20
Mariners, 190
Fiſhermen, 134
In all 344

London.

Sixty two ſhips above an hundred tons.
Twenty three ſhips of eighty ton and above.
Forty four ſmall ſhips.
Maſters, 142
Mariners, 868
Watermen, or ferrymen, 957
Fiſhermen, 195
In all 2162

Hampſhire.

Eighty nine ſhips and boats, whereof ten above eighty ton.
Maſters, 46
Mariners, 244
Fiſhermen, 180
In all 470

Yorkſhire.

Fifty four ſhips, whereof eighteen above eighty ton.
Maſters and ſailors, 375
Fiſhermen, 507
In all 880

The Cinque Ports.

Two hundred and twenty three ſhips and boats, none above eighty ton.
Maſters and ſailors, 853
Fiſhermen, 139
In all 992

Kent.

Kent.

One hundred and ſix ſhips and boats, none above eighty ton.
Maſters and ſailors, 221

Suſſex.

Sixty ſix ſmall ſhips under eighty ton.
Maſters, 28
Sailors, 222
Fiſhermen, 122
In all 370

Dorſet.

Eight ſhips, above eighty ton.
Seventy two ſmall ſhips.
Maſters and mariners, 605
Fiſhermen, 34
In all 639

Devonſhire.

Eight ſhips above eighty ton.
One hundred and thirteen ſmall ſhips.
Maſters, mariners, and fiſhermen, 2176

Norfolk.

Twenty two ſhips above eighty ton.
One hundred and forty eight ſmall ſhips.
Seamen of all ſorts, 1890

Suffolk.

Twenty ſix ſhips above one hundred ton.
Seventy ſix ſmall ſhips.
Seamen of all ſorts, 1286

Glouceſterſhire.

Twenty nine ſhips under eighty ton.
Maſters, ſeamen, and fiſhermen, 219

Cumberland.

Twelve ſmall ſhips under eighty ton.
Mariners and fiſhermen, 195

The total of all veſſels, 1232

Above eighty ton, 217

Mariners of all ſorts, 14295

The particular Number of Ships and Mariners in the Fleet of eleven hundred Sail, in the Days of King Edward III. *with the Names of the Cinque Ports,* viz. Haſtings, Rumney, Heth, Dover, *and* Sandwich.

The South Fleet.

The King's	Ships	25
	Mariners	419
London	Ships	25
	Mariners	662
Alford	Ships	2
	Mariners	24
Hoo	Ships	2
	Mariners	24
Maidſtone	Ships	5
	Mariners	59
Newhith	Ships	5
	Mariners	45
Margate	Ships	15
	Mariners	160
Morten	Ships	2
	Mariners	21
Feverſham	Ships	2
	Mariners	25
Sandwich	Ships	22
	Mariners	504
Dover	Ships	16
	Mariners	336
Wight	Ships	13
	Mariners	226
Winchelſey	Ships	21
	Mariners	596
Weymouth	Ships	13
	Mariners	263
Lyme	Ships	4
	Mariners	62
Seaton	Ships	2
	Mariners	25
Sidboth	Ships	3
	Mariners	62
Exmouth	Ships	10
	Mariners	193
Tegmouth	Ships	7
	Mariners	120
Dartmouth	Ships	32
	Mariners	283
Portſmouth	Ships	5
	Mariners	96
Plimouth	Ships	26
	Mariners	603
Yalme	Ships	2
	Mariners	47
Foy	Ships	47
	Mariners	770
Briſtol	Ships	22
	Mariners	608
Tinmouth	Ships	2
	Mariners	52
Haſtings	Ships	5
	Mariners	96
Rumney	Ships	4
	Mariners	63
Rye	Ships	9
	Mariners	156

Heth

Heth	Ships	6
	Mariners	122
Shoreham	Ships	[illegible]
	Mariners	249
Sofford	Ships	5
	Mariners	80
Newmouth	Ships	2
	Mariners	18
Hambook	Ships	7
	Mariners	117
Hoke	Ships	11
	Mariners	208
Southampton	Ships	21
	Mariners	576
Lymington	Ships	5
	Mariners	159
Poole	Ships	4
	Mariners	94
Warham	Ships	3
	Mariners	59
Swanfey	Ships	1
	Mariners	29
Ilfordcomb	Ships	6
	Mariners	79
Patricks town	Ships	2
	Mariners	27
Polerwan	Ships	1
	Mariners	60
Wadworth	Ships	1
	Mariners	14
Cardiff	Ships	1
	Mariners	51
Bridgwater	Ships	1
	Mariners	14
Carmarthen	Ships	1
	Mariners	16
Carlchefworth.	Ships.	1
	Mariners	12
Malbrook	Ships	1
	Mariners	12

The North Eaſt.

Bamburgh	Ships	1
	Mariners	9
Newcaſtle	Ships	17
	Mariners	140
Walcrich	Ships	2
	Mariners	12
Hartipoole	Ships	5
	Mariners	145
Hull	Ships	16
	Mariners	466
York	Ships	1
	Mariners	9
Ravenſer	Ships	1
	Mariners	17
Woodhouſe	Ships	1
	Mariners	22
Strockeeth	Ships	1
	Mariners	16
Burton	Ships	3
	Mariners	30
Swinfleet	Ships	1
	Mariner	10
Saltfleet	Ships	2
	Mariners	49
Grimsby	Ships	12
	Mariners	170
Wainfleet	Ships	2
	Mariners	40
Wrangle	Ships	1
	Mariners	8
Lenn, or *Lynn*	Ships	16
	Mariners	382
Blackney	Ships	2
	Mariners	38
Scarborough	Ships	1
	Mariners	19
Yarmouth	Ships	43
	Mariners	950
Dunwich	Ships	6
	Mariners	102
Orford	Ships	3
	Mariners	62
Goford	Ships	13
	Mariners	303
Harwich	Ships	14
	Mariners	283
Ipſwich	Ships	12
	Mariners	239
Merſey	Ships	1
	Mariners	6
Brickleſey	Ships	5
	Mariners	61
Colcheſter	Ships	5
	Mariners	90
Whitbanes	Ships	1
	Mariners	17
Malden	Ships	2
	Mariners	32
Derwin	Ships	1
	Mariners	15

Cinque Ports.

Haſtings	Twenty one ſhips with twenty one men each, and a grummet.
Romney	Twenty one ſhips, each twenty one men, and a grummet.
Heth	Five ſhips.
Dover	Twenty one ſhips.
Sandwich	Five ſhips, to be raiſed out of goods, and not of land.

They were, upon forty days warning, to furniſh theſe ſhips for fifteen days, upon their own charge, after ſetting ſail; and to do it every year, if they were demanded; the reſt of the time the king to pay them.

The privilege of the cinque ports was firſt granted by St. *Edward the Confeſſor*, and *William the Conqueror*, and continued by the ſucceeding kings.

Of the Sovereignty of the Seas of England, *and of the Right belonging to Admirals in the ſame, as is to be ſeen in the Records in the* Tower.

TO you lords auditors, deputed by the kings of *England* and of *France*, to redreſs the wrongs done to the people of their kingdoms, and of their territories ſubject to their dominions by ſea and by land, in the time of peace, and in truce, the procurators of the prelates, nobles, and admirals of *England*, and of the commonalties of cities and towns, and of merchants, mariners, merchant ſtrangers, and of all others of the ſaid kingdom of *England*, and the territories ſubject to the dominion of the ſaid king of *England*, and other places, as of the coaſt of *Genoa*, *Catalonia*, *Spain*, *Almany*, *Zealand*, *Holland*, *Denmark*, and *Norway*, and of divers other places of the empire, doth ſhew;

That whereas the kings of *England*, by reaſon of the ſaid kingdom, from times whereof there is no memory to the contrary, that it had been in peaceable poſſeſſion of the ſovereign dominions of the ſea of *England*, and of the iſles in the ſame, in making and eſtabliſhing laws and reſtraints of arms, and of ſhips otherwiſe furniſhed, as ſhips of merchandize to be, and in taking ſurety, and affording ſafe-guard in all caſes, where need ſhall be, and in ordering all other things neceſſary for maintaining of peace, right, and equity, between all manner of people, as well of other dominions as of their own, paſſing through the ſaid ſeas, and the ſovereign guard thereof; and in doing juſtice to high and low, according to the ſaid laws, ſtatutes, ordinances, and reſtraints, and in all other things may appertain to the exerciſe of ſovereign dominion, in the places aforeſaid. And *A. de B.* admiral of the ſaid ſea, deputed by the king of *England*, and all other admirals ordained by the ſaid king of *England*, had been in peaceable poſſeſſion of the ſaid ſovereign guard, with the cognizance of juſtice, and all other appurtenances, except in caſe of appeal, and of complaint made of them to their ſovereigns the kings of *England*, in default of juſtice, and for evil judgment; and eſpecially for making of ſtay, doing of juſtice, and taking ſurety of the peace of all ſhips aforeſaid, otherwiſe furniſhed, and ſet forth otherwiſe than appertains to a merchant's ſhip; and in all other points, where a man may have reaſonable cauſe to ſuſpect them of robbery, or any other miſdemeanor. And whereas the ſhips of the ſaid kingdom of *England*, in the abſence of the ſaid admirals, have been in peaceable poſſeſſion of taking cognizance, and judging of all actions done in the ſaid ſea, between all manner of people, according to the ſaid laws, ſtatutes, reſtraints, and cuſtoms: And whereas in the firſt article of alliance lately made between the ſaid kings, in their treaties upon the laſt peace of *Paris*, are comprized the words following in a ſchedule annexed to theſe preſents.

" Firſt, It is treated and agreed, betwixt " us and the meſſengers and procurators " aforeſaid, in the names of the ſaid " kings, That the ſaid kings ſhould from " this time forward be, one to the other, " good, true, and loyal friends, in aiding " and aſſiſting againſt all men, ſave the " church of *Rome*, in ſuch manner, That " if any one or more, whatſoever they be, " would diſinherit, hinder, or moleſt the " ſaid kings, in the franchiſes, liberties, " privileges, rights, duties, or cuſtoms of " them, and of their kingdoms, they ſhall " be good and loyal friends, in aiding a- " gainſt all men that may live or die, to " defend, keep, or maintain the franchizes, " liberties, privileges, rights, duties, and " cuſtoms aforeſaid, (except the king of " *England*, monſieur *John* duke of *Bra-* " *bant*, and his heirs deſcending of him, " and of the daughter of the king of *Eng-* " *land*, and except to our aforeſaid lord " the king of *France*, the excellent prince " *John* earl of *Hainault*;) and that the one " ſhould not be of council, or aiding, " where the other may loſe life, member, " eſtate, or temporal honour."

Monſieur *Reynault Grimbault*, who ſtiles himſelf admiral of the ſea aforeſaid, deputed by his lord the king of *France* in his war againſt the *Flemmings*, contrary to the ſaid alliance, and the intention of him that made it, wrongfully aſſumed the office of admiralty in the ſaid ſea of *England*, by the commiſſion of the ſaid king of *France*, and uſed the ſame one year and more, taking the people and the merchants of the kingdom of *England*, and of other places, paſſing through the ſaid ſea, with their goods; and delivered the people ſo taken to the priſons of his ſaid lord the king of *France*, and cauſed their goods and merchandize, by his judgment and award, to be brought to the receivers deputed by the ſaid king of *France* in the ports of his ſaid kingdom, as to him forfeited and accruing; and the taking and determining of the ſaid people with their ſaid goods and merchandize, as alſo his ſaid judgment and award, hath juſtify'd before you lords auditors in writing, by virtue and authority of his ſaid commiſſion of the admiralty aforeſaid, by him uſurped, and during a reſtraint ſo generally made by the king of

of *England*, by reaſon of his power, and according to the form of the third article of the alliance aforeſaid, which contains the words underwritten, requiring that he might be acquitted and abſolved of the ſame, to the great damage and prejudice of the ſaid king of *England*, the prelates, nobles, and others above named.

Wherefore the ſaid procurators, in the names of the ſaid lords, do pray you lords auditors aforeſaid, That you cauſe due and ſpeedy delivery of their ſaid people, of their goods and merchandize ſo taken and detained, to be made to the admiral of the ſaid king of *England*, and to whom the cognizance of the ſame of right appertains, as is before expreſs'd; for that without the diſturbance of you, or any other, he may take cognizance thereof, and do that which appertains to his office aforeſaid.

And that the ſaid Monſieur *Reynault Grimbault* be condemned, and conſtrained to make due ſatisfaction to all the parties damnify'd, ſo far forth as he ſhall be able; and in his default, his ſaid lord the king of *France*, by whom he was deputed to the ſaid office; and that after due ſatisfaction made to the parties damnify'd, the ſaid Monſieur *Grimbault* be ſo duly puniſhed, for the violation of the ſaid alliance, that his puniſhment may be an example to others in time to come.

Thus much for *England*'s authentick proofs of her ſovereignty on the ſeas in theſe latter times.

A more ancient Proof of the Sovereignty of the Seas.

BUT *England* may plead a more ancient ſovereignty o'er the ſeas; and not only the *narrow ſeas* that divide *France* and her, but alſo all other ſeas that encompaſs her, as well eaſt and weſt, as north and ſouth.

Julius Agricola was the firſt that ſail'd about *England* and *Scotland*, and ſubdued the iſlands of Orkney, when *England* was called *Britain*.

King *Edgar* made his ſummers progreſs, as appears upon record, by ſailing about the whole iſland of *Albion*, and was guarded with a navy of four thouſand ſail, which he divided into four ſquadrons, and appointed one thouſand ſhips to every ſquadron.

King *Arthur* ſubdued *Ireland*, *Izeland*, *Norway*, *Gothland*, and many other kingdoms; which he could not have done, if he had not been maſter of all the then known world by ſea, and in ſhipping.

And if we ſpeak of our *Engliſh* conqueſts ſince *William* of *Normandy*, we ſhall find that *Richard* I. in his expedition to *Jeruſalem*, in 1090. had with him two hundred and fifty four tall ſhips, and ſixty galleys.

Prince *Edward*, ſon to *Henry* III. in his voyage to *Aſia* in 1270. had a gallant navy of ſhips, which God bleſſed above other princes that joined with him in that expedition; for he loſt never a ſhip by tempeſt, when the others had one hundred and twenty ſail caſt away.

Edward III. had a fleet at one time of one thouſand one hundred veſſels; and becauſe it ſhall the better appear, I have ſet down the particular numbers of them and their men, with the names of their ports from whence they were furniſhed, immediately before theſe two diſcourſes of the ſovereignty of the narrow ſeas.

And as for the time of queen *Elizabeth*, I have ſet down her offenſive and defenſive fleets in the ſaid firſt book: and comparing the ſtrength at ſea in the days of king *James* and king *Charles*, we may very well ſay and conclude, that they are treble to thoſe in the queen's time, both for the number, greatneſs, and goodneſs of ſhips.

The ruſtical people that go about to impugne the prerogative due to *England* by ſea, are the *Hollanders*, not only by calumnations and malicious practiſes, but by ſcandalous pamphlets, which they divulge to prove the liberty of the ſea.

But the nature of thoſe baſe people ought to be conſidered, who turn all things topſy-turvy, and make it their buſineſs to alter and change the courſe of the world, and the laws antiently ſettled in it: They withſtand the rightful power of kings, eſtabliſhed by God himſelf, and caſt it upon beer-brewers and basket-makers, whom they obey as kings: they make the chiefeſt offenders judges, and the juſteſt judges delinquents; and therefore it is no marvel, if they uſe his majeſty malepertly at ſea, that treat their natural prince rebelliouſly on land: but mark the end of ſuch actions, wherein they offend God more than man; and commonly ſuch injuries never eſcape without cruel revenge in the end.

Preſidents, known to the Author, of Princes, as well Turks *as* Chriſtians, *ſtanding up for Prerogatives in their Seas and Ports.*

THE prerogative of princes, within their own dominions, is without limit, and ever received and practiſed by conſent of all kings and monarchs; for which reaſon, princes are bound to maintain one anothers rights in that point.

And to put the caſe in the accident lately happened in the *Downs*, through the inſolency

inſolency of the *Hollanders* ſurprizing certain ſhips of *Dunkirk*, I confeſs, though the injury and loſs be great to the king of *Spain*'s ſubjects, whoſe ſhips were taken, yet the indignity is much more to his majeſty than to the others, becauſe they were forced away from under his protection and ſafeguard.

All ports and harbours of princes are called their chambers, and as dutifully to be obſerved and reverenced by ſtrangers reſorting to them, as the others are; and therefore the *Hollanders* might as well have ſeized on the perſon of a *Dunkirker* within his majeſty's chamber and preſence, as have offered this inexcuſable contempt within any of his majeſty's ports.

And becauſe examples [illegible]nts are the rules, in ſuch caſes [illegible] good princes rights, and uphold their honours, I will collect ſome accidents that happened in the reign of queen *Elizabeth*, of famous memory, and *Henry* III. then king of *France*; I will proſecute the like caſes in the time of king *James*; and laſtly, of the king of *Barbary*, a *Mahometan*, who yet ſtands as much upon the prerogative of his ports, as though he had power to maintain them by ſhipping.

In the year 1588. when the *Spaniſh* fleet was put from its anchor by our fireſhips in the road of *Calais*, the admiral of the four galleaſſes, Don *Hugo de Moncado* was forced aſhore, and there wreck'd: whereupon my lord admiral commanded her to be attempted with ſome ſhip-boats manned out of his fleet; and making an attempt upon her, the governor of *Calais*, monſieur *Gurdon*, thought it ſuch an indignity to his maſter, that he ſhot at the *Engliſh*, and defended the galeaſs, which otherwiſe had been in our power to have burnt.

That ſame year, and in the ſame action of 1588. one of the galleons of *Spain* put into *Newhaven* in *Normandy*; which queen *Elizabeth* underſtanding, ſent ſome of her ſhips to ſurprize her in the harbour; and as her ſhips were bearing into the ſaid port, they were forbidden to meddle with her, with ſhot from the caſtle; which we obey'd, though it is well known, that in thoſe days the *French* king did much more favour the queen and her proceedings, than the king of *Spain*: but it is true, that princes are always more jealous of their honours, than private perſons.

King *James*, after his acceſſion to the crown, finding that many occaſions of controverſy were like to ariſe betwixt the *Dunkirkers* and *Hollanders*, who were then at war, and the king a friend to both, he directed by his proclamation, how far he would protect either of them that ſhould firſt arrive under his protection, commanding ſuch ſhips as ſhould arrive firſt in any of his ports, that they ſhould have liberty of two tides to depart before they ſhould be purſued by the enemy: and becauſe he would have the extents of his chamber declared, for all nations to take notice of its limits expreſſed therein, he cauſed it to be drawn by a line from headland to headland, by the advice of the *Trinity Houſe*, who could beſt determine it. This act of his was duly obſerved during the time of the wars betwixt *Spain* and *Holland*; though at the beginning the *Hollanders* found themſelves much grieved at this decree of the king's, when they could not have their wills upon ſeveral ſhips of *Dunkirk* that arrived in the *Downs*; for Sir *William Monſon* was very careful and watchful to obſerve and obey his majeſty's commands, without regard or reſpect to either of them.

And whereas a ſhip of *Dunkirk* arriving at *Portſmouth*, through ſome defect the captain ſold her, reſerving her tackling, ordnance, and rigging, which he ſhipped in an *Engliſh* barque for *Dunkirk*, but by contrary winds the barque put into the *Downs* at a time when none of his majeſty's ſhips were there riding, an *Holland* ſhip, having intelligence of it, againſt the honour of the king he ſeized upon her, and carry'd her into *Holland*: but this affront being made known to his majeſty by monſieur *Habuck*, then ambaſſador for the archduke, his majeſty cauſed reſtitution of ſhip and goods to be made; and the ſtates ſeemed offended with the captain that did it.

Laſtly, For as much as concerns the king of *Morocco*, all ſuch *Engliſhmen* as trade into *Barbary* can teſtify, That if any ſhip, abiding in any of his ports, be aſſailed by any ſtrange nation, (as I will make compariſon betwixt an *Engliſhman* and a *Spaniard*;) If an *Engliſhman* ſhall offer to ſurprize a *Spaniard* in any of his ſaid ports, the beſt revenge he can take, and as I have known him offer to do, in a caſe of my own, *Anno* 1587. he will inſtantly ſeize upon the perſons and goods of all thoſe *Engliſh* that are reſident and trading in his country, and confiſcate both lives and merchandize; ſo much regard he has to the reputation and ſtate of monarchy.

And beſides theſe precedents of prerogatives of princes aforeſaid, the civil law which is univerſal, and decides all controverſies at ſea, has adjudged this caſe *amicus ſoli*, (*viz.*) If a ſhip taken by an enemy, be brought into the port of a friend to both, the prize not having been at home with him that took her before arrival in a friend's

friend's country, ſhe is as free as if ſhe had not been taken. And if this be a reſolution in the law, how much more is a prince injured by the caſe aforeſaid, and therefore puniſhable, I refer to conſideration; for harbours and ports of princes are ſacred things, and not to be diſturbed or queſtioned.

A Diſcourſe directed to the Subjects, exhorting them to pay Ship-Money, and contribute with their Fortunes and Perſons to puniſh the Inſolencies of the Dutch.

CUſtom becomes law, which can plead no ancienter right, eſpecially where that cuſtom is maintained by force and power; for it is an old ſaying, That cuſtom has taught nations, reaſon men, and nature beaſts. Tyrants will not admit of cuſtom, nor ſubmit to the juſtice of their cauſe, but to their own proper power and will: but, God be thanked, this kingdom never admitted of tyrants titles, but of their true inheritors, deſcending from their anceſtors; and if this deſcent were at any time impugned by uſurpers, the violence laſted not long, but right took place, like the true religion, which peſtiferous hereſies could never darken or ſuppreſs.

And as antiquity, deſcent, and juſtice, have crowned the kings of this land with lawful authority, from our firſt *William* to this very day; ſo have the ſeas given as authentick privileges and prerogatives to the kings thereof, by conſent of foreign nations, as the former record doth declare; and ever ſince we have held an undoubted ſucceſſion, which makes our title the more ſtrong and potent. For, firſt, we plead conſent and allowance of other countries. Secondly, the long uſe and execution of it. Thirdly, a continual poſſeſſion without contradiction or oppoſition. And, laſtly, our force, that in all ages has been able to maintain it, in the ſpight of any that ſhould gainſay it.

And as we have received this prerogative from our forefathers, from whom all other goodneſs deſcended, as both tradition and records do witneſs; who ſhould doubt of the truth thereof? or who may not as well queſtion the clemency of *Julius Cæſar?* the magnificency of *Alexander?* or the goodneſs of *Trajan?* If actions and accidents of times paſt be not allowed, all things that are gone before are like a dream, which when we awake we remember not, nor know any thing of it. *Cicero* ſaith, That if a man knew no more than when he is born, he ſhould be always a child; for hiſtory and monuments make heroical deeds to live again, which otherwiſe would be buried in everlaſting forgetfulneſs.

But can there be a more approved teſtimonial, than that we live and enjoy the ancient right left to the crown of this kingdom, as many ancient families have done their lands and poſſeſſions to their heirs and ſucceſſors, who ſince, through the lewdneſs of the times, have prodigally conſumed them, and made themſelves the ſcorn of the world: therefore let the greater miſchiefs be ſhunned by example of the leſs, that we may avoid the diſgrace, imputation, and ſhame, the *Hollanders* endeavour to put upon us, by queſtioning and denying the ſovereignty of the ſea, as is apparent by their late inſolent carriage to his majeſty's ſhips ſerving in the narrow ſeas; an injury without ſatisfaction, unleſs we be publickly righted by open proclamation, not only in the excuſe of the fact, but in acknowledging his majeſty's undoubted right; which, if they deny to do, they muſt be made to know, That the way to wipe out old offences, is not to offer new ones.

But if ambiguous words, or feigned promiſes, will give us ſatisfaction, no doubt they will think it a little lip-labour for their tongues to pronounce it; but in that point they are like ſpies, that will diſſemble one thing and ſay another; it will be all one to us to be deaf, as to hearken to what they ſay, unleſs we compel them *per* force; for the nature of them is to be proud when ſucceſsful, and to become diſloyal, and baſe withal; as on the contrary, when caſt down they will yield and ſink under calamity, which is the right property of cowards.

Here is an occaſion offered for all true *Engliſhmen*, to have a feeling of a publick and national wrong; for a reproach to a diſcreet man, is more than the lance of an enemy. What affront can be greater, or what can make a man valianter, than a diſhonour done to one's prince and country, eſpecially by a people that was wont to know no more than how to catch, pickle, and feed upon fiſh, till now they are made drunk with our *Engliſh* beer? and ſo rude and unruly, that they ſtrike at us their next and beſt neighbours and friends?

But ſince our *Engliſh* beer has that operation on their brains, let us keep it from them; and let them find the effect of our laws againſt drunkards, which is the whip-

whipping-poſt, as not worthy of a better revenge; for a prince that puniſhes publick offences, and forgives private injuries to himſelf, has true honour.

Towards this defence of our reputation, it is requiſite ſome be aiding with money, and others with their perſons. They that have not the one, muſt ſupply the defect with the other: let the rich aſſiſt in liberal payment; and leave the reſt to the valour of ſoldiers, who will think of nothing but revenges ſuitable to the wrong: and nothing claims revenge more than a contempt of our prince.

This done, the next thing to be recommended is celerity, as the principal advantage in war; and therefore let us diſdain, and not dally with the *Hollanders*; for it gives a coward courage: our houſes are not made of glaſs, that we need fear their throwing ſtones; we ſhall find them like a lion, not ſo fierce as he is painted, nor themſelves ſo terrible as they are imagined. Let us ſtrike, and not threaten; for that is womaniſh; and it is an old ſaying, *That a threaten'd man eats bread.*

Yet let not what we do, be done in fury; for fury admits no reaſon: let our actions be governed with diſcretion and temper; for raſhneſs cauſes repentance; and he that ſeeks not to avoid danger, and with valour to encounter it, tempts God more than he truſts in him. The greateſt glory of a commander, is to obtain a victory with the leaſt loſs; for ſtratagems of war are the products of wiſdom; and ſecrecy is requiſite to conceal all deſigns from the enemy, who is better overcome by policy, than dint of valour.

The property of a ſoldier is to be couragious in fight, and free from fear; for the true valiant man loves life, and fears not death: he is ſpurred on by revenge when injuries require it, and knowing that death cannot be avoided, is the leſs afraid of it. We ſee daily what little value life is of, ſince every ſoldier will venture it for ſix-pence. The badge a ſoldier ſhould bear, ought to be writ in his forehead, *For my God, my Prince, and Country, I adventure my Life.* Then ſeeing death is of ſo little value, and the honour of one's prince of ſuch high eſteem, let us not ſhew ourſelves ſo indifferent, as to regard whether we die or live: let us ſeek to imitate the *Lacedemonians*, among whom a matron being told they only had the rule of their husbands, anſwered, *It was no wonder, becauſe they only brought forth valiant children.* I need ſay no more to this point, ſince you are *Engliſhmen*, and therefore brave: you ſee your prince and country injur'd and affronted; which your anceſtors were never wont to put up, without bitter revenge. The people that do this wrong, are ſo inferior to you, that they are unworthy the title of gentlemen, or the name of a nation; their original being drawn out of the ſea, as by the etymology of *Zealand* it appears, that is to ſay, ſea and land: their lives, their religion, their education, and breeding, differs as much from the ſociety of civil people of other nations, as they differ from one another in diverſity of ſects and ſchiſms. They live more by falſe fame and fortune, than by any truth ſpoken of them; their fame is gain'd by the inteſtine war they maintain againſt their prince and country, and by the people of the ſeveral nations that ſerve them, who ſpread abroad their own glory and praiſe, becauſe they are the actors of their wars. Few judge rightly of the cauſe of their renown; for if we take it truly as it is in itſelf, it is the ſituation of their country, their rivers, the ſea filled with the multitude of their ſhips, and the jealouſy other nations have of the greatneſs of *Spain*, that are the true grounds on which they erect their monuments of fame.

As for their fortune, I do not marvel at it; for fortune often favours the unjuſt; and God, who is the diſpoſer of fortune, as all things elſe, can change their good into bad; and many times he ſuffereth a wicked man to climb, that he may give him the greater fall when he is at his higheſt: therefore let nothing diſmay your heroical ſpirits, but go on with your undertakings.

Now will I apply my ſelf to men of means and eſtates, who muſt bear the burthen, as the ſoldiers do the brunt of the war. There are two motives that lead you to revenge: the one is honour to our nation; the other a general and particular ſecurity to yourſelves and country. The affront done you is often repeated, with the qualities of the people that did it, which are ſuch as can claim no honour to themſelves by the rules of chriſtianity; which makes the affront greater than from a king or prince, who can diſtinguiſh concerning giving or taking affronts. A diſgrace to few, is born by a few; but when it is done to a country, all men of that country ought to have a feeling of it, by the law and rule of *Solon*; and whereas a private man's reputation is as dear to him as his eyes, ſo ought (in a higher degree of compariſon) the honour of our prince and country to be, as the noble acts and deeds of the *Romans* have taught by ſundry examples.

Let not the meanneſs, the baſeneſs, and the ſituation of the *Hollanders* make us deſpiſe their force and abilities, to endanger us; for we want not precedents, that all the flouriſhing and civil commonwealths of the world, have been ſubdued and conquered by as mean and rude people as they are. *Brit-*

nus was enticed to the conqueſt of *Italy* by the ſweet and delicious wines that country afforded, which neither he nor his ſoldiers had ever taſted. The air, the ſoil, and plenty, drew the *Goths*, the *Hunns*, and the *Vandals*, from out of the habitations of ſnow and ice, to people the delightſome ſouthern parts, where the ſun ſpreads forth his beams and heat. All goodneſs that is comprehended in theſe ſouthern countries abounds in *England*, and is much deſired by the *Hollanders*, who well know the ſtate of it and us.

You are not ignorant what will enſue by their labouring to exceed us in ſhipping; for if they prevail, you ſhall find our laws and government obnoxious to them: your fair buildings without, and ornaments within, will give better accommodation to *Haunſe* than a mean cabin in a fiſherboat, which is their ordinary abode. There is nothing ſo unjuſt or cruel, which they will not find a text of ſcripture to execute upon you, they are ſo perfect in the interpretation of it. Our danger is the greater by our neighbour having, as it were, but a pond betwixt us; but eſpecially through the ignorance of our vulgar people, infatuated with their republican government, with their ridiculous and phantaſtical religion, and with their imagined integrity and ſincerity; but principally out of faction and diſcontent againſt the time we live in, not having ſenſe to conſider the benefit they receive, nor ever ceaſing to ſlander the actions of others. But let them beware; for it is better for the mouſe and frog to agree, than for the kite to be umpire. It will be better for you to contribute now whilſt you have ſomething, than to be bereaved of all you have. He that hath nothing adventures nothing, and is as ready to make havock of you as an enemy.

The queſtion will be, whether fear or covetouſneſs ſhall prevail? Fear makes you prevent the worſt; but covetouſneſs keeps you from preventing it, when money is required. Fear is not ſo grievous to a miſerable man that only hears of it, but does not ſee it, becauſe he preſumeth his wealth will defend him. But let him beware; for where law ſerves not, weapons have power over him and his wealth; and then he will have cauſe to ſay, That poverty was bad, but riches much worſe; when it brings him into that thraldom which he will be forced to confeſs was not cauſed by poverty, but by too much plenty, and want of diſcretion and grace to employ it.

You are like a covetous man, who, out of avarice, will not be at the charge of mending his chimney, to avoid the hazard of burning his houſe; or the ſtopping of an inundation of water, with the coſt of caſting up of a bank. But here you will meet with worſe than fire or water, that is, with a mercileſs unavoidable war, where all comfort ſhall be taken away, but only that you ſhall ſee your enemies in as ill caſe as yourſelves. Do like the matrons of *Rome*, in caſe of neceſſity, who wanting a cup of gold to preſent to *Apollo*, contributed towards it with their jewels and bracelets; for which they received the reward of virtue, honour, and fame. And to conclude, theſe changes will make you confeſs and find, That man is the pattern of frailty, the ſpoil of time, the game of fortune, the image of inconſtancy, and the trial of envy: therefore truſt not the world, for it pays not what it ſeems to promiſe.

The Author's Reaſons why the King did not ſooner reſent the Wrongs offered him by the Dutch; *and for his ſetting out the Fleet in* 1635.

THE king, out of his great providence and wiſdom, weighing the ſtate of things, as they then ſtood abroad, thought not good by force and ſtrength to right himſelf upon the *Hollanders* for their inſolencies committed in the narrow ſeas, though all the world knew he had a power by the force of his navy to revenge himſelf on them; but his majeſty graciouſly rather imputed the *Hollanders* carriage to the rude, ruſtical, and unmannerly behaviour of ſome of their captains, who were never taught morality, civility, humanity, or honeſty: wherefore his majeſty held it fitter in this caſe, that their maſters the ſtates ſhould know their errors by a ſharp reprehenſion, declared by his majeſty's reſident there abiding, than by any way at preſent to chaſtize them. He alſo ſaw that his neighbour princes were diſtracted, and ſtrove underhand to join in league one with another, for the beſt advantage of their ſtate, wherein he was to behold and expect the ſucceſs and event of things then in hand, and to be no more aſſured of one's friendſhip than of another's, till this year 1635. his majeſty had trial of the *Hollanders* inconſtancy and unthankful proceedings; for contrary to the rules of common honeſty, they neglected his majeſty's repeated offers of peace, to make an end of thoſe long and inteſtine wars, both themſelves and their predeceſſors had long ſuffer'd under: but, I ſay, they little regarding or eſteeming his favours in that kind, rather caſt themſelves upon *France*, that offered to ſupport and maintain their ancient and unlawful diviſions.

After much working, and ambaſſadors often paſſing between them and *France*, at laſt they concluded on an offenſive and defenſive

fenſive league, by which *France* was to declare war againſt *Spain*. The conſequences of ſuch a league being dangerous, and an unlimited ambition never with ſafety to be truſted, his majeſty had juſt cauſe to be ſuſpicious of theſe innovations: he had reaſon to weigh theſe things, and to conſider why *Holland* and *France* ſhould ſo ſtrictly combine and league together, both of them being neighbours to him; and why it ſhould be now haſtened more than in former times, when *France* and *England* gave an indifferent and a ſufficient relief to *Holland* by conſent.

The king alſo ſeeing the ambitious enterprizes of *France*, aſſiſted and animated by *Holland*, to diſturb the chriſtian and peaceable commonwealth of *Europe*, and unjuſtly to ſeize upon his neighbouring territories, without cauſe given, yea, not ſparing by treachery and force to enjoy the countries of his weakeſt and neareſt friend, the ancient ſtate of *Lorrain*, which lay in his way, to hinder his unlawful deſigns; theſe were ſufficient motives and reaſons, for the king's majeſty to behold his own caſe with an eye of prevention. But eſpecially finding a combination betwixt *France* and *Holland*, to divide and devour the provinces of *Flanders* betwixt them, and to poſſeſs the maritime towns, as *Dunkirk*, and others, oppoſite to *England*, this made his majeſty to think how to quench the fire that might flame into his own houſe: and having intelligence that they were both of them to join in one fleet, a thing not uſually done by the *French*; and they making no publick declaration of the deſign of their ſhips, as commonly princes uſe to do in ſuch caſes, his majeſty could make no leſs conſtruction, than that they intended to deprive him of his ancient and allow'd prerogative of the narrow ſeas, which behoved him as much to defend as his kingdom; for he that covets the one, will do as much by the other, if it were in his power to effect it: wherefore his majeſty armed theſe ſhips following to ſea, to inquire reaſon at their hands; not intending to injure any nation, but to keep himſelf and ſubjects from being injur'd, and to curb the inſolency and pride of any people that ſhould go about to infringe his royal prerogative.

A Navy ſet out by his Majeſty in the Year 1635.

Ships.	Commanders.
The Mere-honour, a ſhip royal,	*Robert* earl of *Lindſey*, admiral.
The James,	Sir *William Monſon*, vice-admiral.
The Swiftſure,	Sir *John Penington*, rear-admiral.
The George,	Captain *James Mountague.*
The St. Andrew,	Captain *Walter Stenart.*
The Henrietta Maria,	Captain *Thomas Porter.*
The Vanguard,	Sir *Francis Siddenham.*
The Rainbow,	Captain *Thomas Povey.*
The Lyon,	Captain *John Menns.*
The Reformation,	The lord *Pawlett.*
The Leopard,	Captain *Lewis Kirke.*
The Mary Roſe,	Captain *George Cartwright.*
The Adventure,	Captain *Parramore.*
The Swallow,	Captain *Henry Stradling.*
The Antelope,	Captain *Richard Fogge.*
The Lyon's Second Whelp,	Captain *Anthony Penruddock.*
The Lyon's Third Whelp,	Captain *Peter Lindſey.*
The Lyon's Eighth Whelp,	Captain *Thomas Price.*
The Lyon's Tenth Whelp,	Captain *William Smith.*

Merchant ſhips.	Commanders.
The Sampſon,	Captain *Thomas Kirke.*
The Royal Exchange,	Captain *John Hyde.*
The Freeman,	Captain *Richard Feilding.*
The Pleiades,	Captain *David Purrey.*
The William and Thomas,	Captain *John Fletcher.*
The Minikin Catch,	*John Barton* maſter.

THIS glorious and victorious fleet departed from *Tilbury Hope* the 26th of *May*, with direction and reſolution to give no occaſion of hoſtility, or to make any nation enemy to his majeſty; only to defend his and his kingdoms honour, that

that had been lately and laviſhly taxed by the vain boaſting of a fleet of *French* and *Hollanders*, which joined off *Portland* the laſt of *May*: their bragging pretence was to queſtion his majeſty's prerogative on the narrow ſeas; and they ſtuck not to proclaim wherefore they came: but it is to be obſerved, that the greateſt threateners are the leaſt fighters; and ſo fared it with them; for they no ſooner heard of our readineſs to find them, but they plucked in their horns, and quitted our coaſt, never more repairing upon it; which gave great ſatisfaction to the ſhires we paſſed, that before were ſtruck with a terror. And becauſe we would be the better informed where the fleet was, and what it did, we ſent a bark upon the coaſt of *Britany*, whither we knew they were retired, and by it underſtood their deſigns, the weak condition of their ſhips, heart, and abilities, any more to look upon the *Engliſh* coaſt.

From the time of the return of this bark, till the firſt of *October*, we made good our ſeas and ſhores, gave laws to our neighbour nations, and reſtored the ancient ſovereignty of the narrow ſeas to our gracious king, as was ever due to his majeſty's progenitors.

Whilſt this fleet was preparing, and money raiſing to furniſh it, there were many idle, factious, and ſcandalous reports invented, and ſpread abroad by diſaffected people. Their ſpeeches tended to the diſhonour of the king, and no leſs to the reproach of his miniſters of ſtate, ſaying, That the fitting out of ſuch a fleet, was but a colour to draw money from the multitude, to be otherwiſe employed than was pretended: but when they ſaw the end in arming ſuch a royal navy, and the neceſſity of it, to give terror to the world, after ſo many imputations caſt upon our nation, by our former unfortunate actions at ſea, it bred a great alteration in the diſpoſition of people, as well at home as abroad.

It appeared at home by the readineſs and willingneſs of thoſe that before ſeemed to oppoſe it, and were moſt averſe unto it; who now being ſatisfied as to the miſtruſt they had, ſhewed themſelves more ready and willing to contribute to it than others, being ſatisfied it ſo nearly concerned the honour of their king and country.

We may ſay it had the like ſucceſs abroad; where, at the beginning of our preparations, the gazetteers ſtuck not to divulge in all languages many falſe invented reports, which no doubt they received out of *England*, as namely, the diſcontent of the ſubjects, and their general denial to contribute towards it with moneys; beſides many other invented calumniations, which now they find themſelves abuſed and deceived in; for whoſoever will ſpeak with travellers lately come from beyond ſea, or confer with merchants and others that have weekly intelligence and correſpondence by letters from all parts of *Europe*, will find what the world conceives of this fleet, and the fear all nations apprehend of it, not knowing which of them it may bring into danger. They now acknowledge what wiſe men in *England* knew before, That the king and his kingdom could not be more honoured, than by this noble expedition: the terror of it has made them that did not love us, at leaſt to fear us. It has ſtopped the mouths of detractors, who now impute our former ill-governed actions, to the true and infallible cauſes, when witleſs partiality, want of experience, and the vain ambition of men in authority, more than reaſon, had the diſpoſing of them.

The *Hollanders* by this time I doubt not find, that this royal fleet of ours is able to make the ſeas quake under us where we paſs, and themſelves to tremble when they call to mind the intolerable affronts they have put upon us, fearing they may require revenge; for there is no nation naturally ſo baſe, ſo ſoon elevated with good fortune, and dejected when they ſee themſelves overmaſter'd: they are raſh and mad in their fury and drink; but want valour or courage to juſtify their actions, when they are ſober, and call'd to an account for them.

But if the threatening ſhew will not abate their inſufferable inſolencies, then let us conſider the ſtate of their country, their harbour, their depths, or what advantage elſe we can take of them by ſtratagems, or otherwiſe, if they offend us. I will begin with the north part of *Holland*, and take *Zealand* and the ports of *Flanders* in my way, till I arrive at *Calais* in *Picardy*, in the dominions of *France*.

I will not ſpeak of the port of *Embden*, becauſe it cannot be accounted *Holland*; for properly it belongs to the earl of that name, called the count of *Embden*; but this town imitating the precedent of rebellious *Holland*, whoſe doctrine is to caſt off the yoke of monarchy, and to live under the rule and government they have begun and taught, the ſubjects of the ſaid earl have deprived him not only of his eſtate, but of his life alſo.

But God, who is the revenger of all evil actions, and commonly inflicts the ſame puniſhment on the actors they offend in, has made an example of that city and country ſince they practiſed their foul treachery againſt their prince, inſomuch as they are now become moſt ſlaviſh to the *Hollanders*, who tyrannize over them with an irreſiſtable garriſon; and thus they are oppreſſed, without any hope of redemption.

There is no compariſon for goodneſs between this harbour of *Embden* in the eaſt of *Frizeland*, and all others from *Breſt* in *Britany*, till you come to it. Next to it, to the ſouthward, is the *Texel* in *Holland*; it lies north-eaſt and ſouth-weſt, forty ſeven leagues from the *Foreland* in *Kent*, and from *Yarmouth* in *Norfolk* thirty two leagues; not to ſpeak of the channel of the *Fly*, nor another channel betwixt the *Spaniſh* channel and the *Land-Deep*, which are for ſmall ſhipping. I will deſcribe the two main channels, that is to ſay, the *Spaniſh Gut*, and the *Land-Deep* aforeſaid; they are both of one ſort and goodneſs, though not for all winds; they flow at a ſpring-tide twenty four foot, and fall ſixteen at an ebb; they lead at a road under the iſland of *Texel*, which defends them from the ſea: this iſland is poorly inhabited, and of ſmall ſtrength, as it is uſed; but he that has it, has the command of all the towns in that part of *Holland*, *Gelderland*, and *Frizeland*, who can neither paſs in or out without the permiſſion of the iſland; and this is my firſt obſervation of the advantage we can take of *Holland*.

The next port of importance to *Texel*, is the *Naſs* in *Weſt Hollland*, twenty four leagues ſouth-weſt and by ſouth from thence, and to the *Foreland* weſt and by ſouth twenty four leagues. The *Naſs* has three channels, two better, and the third like the *Texel*; all three meeting at the *Bril*, which commands all ſhips of *Skedam*, *Roterdam*, *Delph-Haven*, *Dort*, and all other creeks thereabouts. My ſecond obſervation for our advantage, is to get poſſeſſion of the *Bril*, as formerly we had. Two leagues from the *Maeſe*, ſouth-weſt, lies the *Goree*, the ſame courſe and diſtance from the *Foreland* in *England* that the other is. This harbour exceeds all the reſt before named, having eighteen foot at low water, with a large and broad channel; but not frequented by great ſhips but out of neceſſity, when they have not water ſufficient to go into the *Maeſe*, till they have unladen part of their goods at *Goree*.

The cauſe why this harbour is no more in requeſt, is, by reaſon that *Roterdam* and the other towns before named are far diſtant from thence; and ſuch merchandize as is brought in great ſhips to the *Goree*, muſt be tranſported in ſmaller veſſels through a creek called the *Spy*, which is a great delay, trouble, and expence to the merchant.

Six leagues weſt from thence lies the iſland of *Waterland* in *Zealand*, where *Fluſhing* is ſeated. There are three channels likewiſe better than the reſt, except the *Goree*. The inconveniency of theſe channels, is, that they are long and narrow, and yet I have known at ſeveral times moſt part of the king's ſhips turn in at the *Weelings*. This is ſo well known to the *Engliſh*, that there needs no other repetition of it.

The next good harbour to *Fluſhing*, laying aſide *Sluce*, which is not worth naming, is *Oſtend*, twelve leagues weſt-ſouth-weſt from thence; and eight leagues farther is *Dunkirk*.

The king of *Spain* makes great uſe of theſe two towns for annoying the *Hollanders* by ſea; but a league and a half from *Dunkirk*, there is lately another harbour erected, called *Mardike*, that will entertain a whole fleet of the greateſt ſhips that ſails on the ſeas, and lies more to the hurt and damage of *England*, than all the reſt of the harbours aforeſaid; and therefore if ever wars ſhould happen betwixt us and *Spain*, it would behove us to get poſſeſſion of it, for we have had a late trial of the miſchief it hath done us by our late ſhort war with *Spain*.

I confeſs it will be a hard thing for us to effect it, becauſe of the extraordinary fortifications to ſeaward; and to think to keep in their ſhips by ſinking veſſels in the mouth of the channel, is a folly; for the quickſands are ſuch upon that coaſt, that as often as a ſhip ſhall be ſunk, ſhe will be ſuddenly ſwallowed up in the ſand; ſo that this ſtratagem will not ſerve.

An Introduction to the Earl of Northumberland's *Voyage in the Year* 1636.

HIS majeſty finding that the laſt year's fleet of 1635. produced both fame and ſafety to himſelf and realm, as is apparent by the voyage of that year, he reſolved to perſevere in his former reſolutions, that it ſhould not be looked upon by other nations, as a ſudden unpremeditated determination, or a vain needleſs oſtentation, to ſhew what he could do, if put to it by an enemy: therefore he prepared this year 1636. a fleet nothing inferior to the others, to make good what he had declared before, *viz.* To maintain the ſovereignty of the ſeas due to the crown of *England* in all ages, and left him by his progenitors; as alſo to defend the peaceable commerce and traffick that had evermore belonged and continued to his juriſdiction, but had lately been diſturbed by the *Dutch*, committing hoſtilities upon the *Dunkirkers* under his majeſty's protection.

But as this fleet could not be furniſhed and prepared without great expence, it was thought convenient to carry it equally betwixt the king and his ſubjects, in regard the expedition was for their good, ſafety,

and

and reputation, as well as for the honour of the king; for as the office of a king is to be careful of all his provinces, countries, and ſubjects, to be partial to none, but a father to all with indifference; ſo the part of ſubjects is to pay a dutiful obedience when they ſhall be called upon, for the reaſons aforeſaid; whereupon his majeſty directed his letters to every ſhire, to levy ſuch a proportion of money as would ſuffice for the furniſhing of the intended navy.

But as general demands and contributions of money are commonly diſtaſteful to the multitude, who are divided in opinions, every one pretending a ſeeming reaſon and excuſe; ſo did it make as great a difference in mens minds and humours, ſome complaining of their want and poverty, ſome excepting againſt it as a needleſs and unneceſſary charge, diſapproving the deſign; and others excepting againſt the unexperienced commanders, who they ſaid were fit to make a good deſign miſcarry.

But if the detractors will but weigh, and with indifference conſider their ſuppoſed objections, it will appear rather a refractory diſpoſition, that deſires to poſſeſs others with the like perverſeneſs, than any juſt cauſe they have to complain againſt it.

If theſe demands ſeem too heavy a burden for all the ſubjects in general to undergo, let them look back, and with indifference compare the times of queen *Elizabeth* with theſe, and they will find what daily demands of money were then made at their hands, and how willingly they were granted, for the maintenance of a war againſt ſo mighty a prince as the king of *Spain* upon his own coaſt, for the relief of *Holland*, and to aſſiſt the king of *France*, beſides the domeſtick, dangerous, rebellious war in *Ireland*; which expences they will perceive, were, beyond compariſon, greater than the preſent, as appears by what follows.

In 1588. the city of *London* being required to furniſh five thouſand ſoldiers, and fifteen ſhips of war, of their own accord they granted ten thouſand ſoldiers and thirty ſhips; and by their example other towns within the realms furniſhed in ſhips and pinnaces thirty, beſides what the nobility and country ſent in horſe and foot.

In the expedition to *Portugal*, in 1589. her majeſty furniſhed only ſix ſhips of her own; whereof two were of the ſmalleſt rank, and adventured in that expedition 60000*l.* the whole number of veſſels being an hundred and forty ſix, with fourteen thouſand ſoldiers, and four thouſand ſailors.

That ſame year *London* ſent a thouſand ſoldiers to the aid of the king of *France*, and ſeveral ſhires ſent the like aid upon the ſame occaſion into *France*, under my lord *Willoughby*.

The city of *London* in the year 1594. furniſhed ſix ſhips, two pinnaces, and four hundred and fifty ſoldiers, for three months, and the following year 1595. *London* furniſhed a thouſand ſoldiers with all ſorts of proviſion, and ſent them to *Dover*, to the relief of *Calais*, when it was taken by the cardinal. Many other forces were ſent out of the country upon that ſervice.

The following year 1596. was the expedition to *Cadiz*, and the year after the iſland voyage; to which two exploits, not only *London*, but all *England* contributed very largely.

In *January* 1598. a great tax was laid upon *London* for *Holland*; and our ſoldiers there were ſent into *Ireland*. The like was done in *February* following. The ſame year *London* furniſhed ſixteen ſhips and ſix thouſand men, beſides a great number of horſe and foot that were ſent out of the country, at the time that my lord of *Eſſex* was in *Ireland*; and in the year of 1600. *London* ſent five hundred men into *Ireland*, and furniſhed them; beſides great numbers ſent out of the country.

That ſame year the city of *London* built and furniſhed five galleys to ſea, and was at a great charge for the earl of *Eſſex*'s entry into *London*.

One thouſand ſoldiers were ſent into *Holland*, and every one allowed then three pound ten ſhillings *per* man, beſides thoſe that were ſent out of the country. Moreover, there were four hundred ſoldiers ſent in *October* out of *London*; and in *May* following there was a great preſs in *London* for *Oſtend*; and in the laſt year of queen *Elizabeth*, *London* ſent and furniſhed two thouſand ſoldiers into *Ireland*, and two ſhips and a pinnace, which ſtood them in 6000*l.*

If theſe benevolencies were granted ſo willingly, and without repining or gainſaying of the ſubjects, as well appears, let us conſider of times, and judge withal of the eſtate of men in thoſe days, compared with the preſent. Firſt, in the mens forwardneſs to ſerve their prince and country; which their hearts and minds are now alienated from. Secondly, it is to be conſidered how much more able men are now to contribute, than at that time they were, by their increaſe of wealth and riches, which they have gained by king *James*'s bringing peace with him into this realm, as ſhall appear by theſe particulars following, that ſhall be by the way of queries.

Quære, Of the ſtate of *London* in the days of queen *Elizabeth*, compared with theſe preſent, as namely, the buildings, with the number of inhabitants in them, and by conſequence the riches increaſed.

Quære,

Quære, Of our trade and commerce betwixt the time I ſpeak of, and now in being, as namely the traffick with *Spain*, and all the dominions thereunto belonging, which we were then debarred of by reaſon of our wars with *Spain*; the profit whereof may be in value to the ſubject ten times as much as the king's cuſtom comes to, as may be apparently made out by the cuſtom books.

Quære, Of our trade to the *Eaſt Indies*, and the gain thereof, begun and followed ſince king *James* came to his crown; as alſo a late trade we have found into *Guinea* for gold.

Quære, The ſtate of *Greenland*, and the whale-fiſhing there, that hath been diſcovered and proſecuted with little charge and great profit to the merchant, ſince king *James* poſſeſſed this kingdom.

Quære, Of the ſeveral plantations and colonies ſince that time, with the imployment of people which otherwiſe would have been a burden, and a conſuming of victuals to this commonwealth.

Quære, Of the abundance of ſhipping that hath been imploy'd in that navigation, as alſo of the increaſe of ſhips ſince the days of queen *Elizabeth*, which is no hard thing to know; for when ſhe died, there were not above four merchants ſhips in *England* of four hundred tons each.

And reckoning but the increaſe of ſhips ſince then, it would cauſe admiration, and be a reaſon for men to contribute to ſhip-money, when they ſhall conſider the wealth increaſed by the trade of thoſe ſhips that are never idle, but continually ſailing from place to place.

Quære, Of the peaceable ſtate of *Ireland*, and the long continuance of war before king *James* came to the crown; as alſo of the exceſſive charge *England* was continually at to maintain that kingdom, that now is not only able to uphold itſelf, but to afford great profit to his majeſty.

But whereas our refractory men alledge for their excuſe, in denying his majeſty's demands of money, and comparing the times together, ſay, they were forced to it in the queen's time, out of neceſſity, being drawn to it by a dangerous war with *Spain*, not weighing with themſelves that his majeſty's actions have been to anticipate and prevent a war, as is to be ſeen in my next narrative; and no man can be ſo ignorant, but he muſt confeſs, it is leſs hazard to prevent a war before it is begun, than with valour and courage to reſiſt after it is begun.

Wherefore are our caſtles ſeated on the ſea-coaſt, but to prevent the invaſion of an enemy, or other inſolencies offer'd by ſtrangers? or why are people train'd in ſeveral ſhires, but to be in readineſs to prevent foreign and domeſtick attempts? Whereas if caſtles were to be built, and ſoldiers trained after the time the enemy ſhall appear upon the coaſt, in what eſtate were *England* to make a defence? And this imployment his majeſty now has by ſea, may be paralelled with the other two compariſons: and I will therefore conclude, that the wit of man doth not conſiſt ſo much in ſeeing, as in foreſeeing and preventing peril and danger that may fall upon him.

But whereas poverty is made the excuſe for people's not giving what his majeſty requires, the true cauſe ſhall appear, that hath bred your want, as you ſhall confeſs, and that it is in your powers to redreſs it; as, namely, Your pride, and other needleſs and unneceſſary expences that depend on it. The ſecond is your gormandizing and exceſſive feaſting, lately crept in amongſt you, not formerly uſed. The third is the hateful and loathſome cuſtom of drinking, which begets all diſorders, and is the increaſer of all vices. The fourth is a vain and ambitious deſire of titles, which after they are purchaſed with money, draws on a greater expence upon their eſtates, to maintain that port ſo dearly bought. The fifth is the ſumptuous buildings, and ornaments of houſes; all men ſtriving for oſtentation to out-do their neighbours, with whom they are in faction and emulation. The ſixth is the miſerable covetouſneſs of ſome, and the laviſh prodigality of others. The ſeventh is the want of care to have things ſold according to their juſt value, in equity of law; but that every man rates his own commodity according to the neceſſity of the buyer. The eighth is the extortion taken by griping uſurers, from people that are neceſſitated. But, above all, the number of baſe lawyers that cauſe ſuits, not with a charitable intent, to end, but knaviſhly to multiply them; and with that expence to the client, as no queſtion can riſe, of what value ſoever, but a bill, anſwer, and order, will be of more charge, both to the plaintiff and defendant, than what is demanded of moſt of you towards the furniſhing his majeſty's royal navy. Theſe are the true cauſes of want in commonwealths, which proceeds from your own ſuperfluities, vanities, and your revengeful humours.

Moſt of theſe abuſes were foreſeen by *Licurgus*, the great law-maker, who made decrees againſt them: he alſo forbad pompous burials, and baniſhed the uſe of ſilver and gold, as things moſt prejudicial to commonwealths; which law of his continued five hundred years, and no man found himſelf

ſelf agrieved for want of money; for it made love, increaſed goodneſs, and baniſhed vices.

But that which you term want, proceeds not from poverty, but from plenty; for he that hath much deſires more, covetouſneſs being never ſatisfy'd. The true uſe of riches is in him that hath moſt and deſires leaſt; and the beſt riches is to abſtain from covetouſneſs.

In old times he was eſteemed rich that was of a fair, upright, and good behaviour. He that ſhall except againſt the honourable deſign of this fleet, may be accounted an arrogant and ignorant perſon, and a contemner of the king's propoſitions, excuſing it under colour of want, and with little reaſon. Thoſe that repine at princes actions out of ſtubborneſs, or refractorineſs, are within a degree of impugning the ſovereignty; and in ſuch a caſe they want nothing but power to carry on their conceived treaſon. They do not conſider that princes are born not to obey any but their own laws; and the ſubjects are born to ſubmit to the wills of princes, where reaſon ſhall be required at their hands, for the good of the commonwealth; and that nothing deſerves ſuch ſevere chaſtiſement from kings, as ſuch contempt as oppoſes them or their authority. *Marcus Pelio* ſays, That commonwealth is everlaſting, where the king ſeeks obedience, and people labour to get his love by their carriage.

Latter times have taught us a moſt woful and lamentable precedent, in the like caſe, to parallel with this: *Lewis* II. king of *Hungary*, being threatened with the power of *Soliman*, the great and magnificent *Turk*, required aid of his ſubjects to withſtand ſo puiſſant an enemy, that was like an inundation of water to overflow him, them, and their country; but moſt of his ſubjects, whom you too nearly imitate in obſtinacy, refuſed to contribute to his demands, ſtanding upon the priviledges of the law ſo long, till it was too late to give ſuccour; and in concluſion, the king and his army were deſtroy'd, and his people and country became ſlaves to the *Turkiſh* government, under which they now live.

Herein appeared the ingratitude of the vulgar ſort to their king; and how eaſily they might have met with this danger, before it lite ſo heavily upon them: they regarded not the benefit they had received, or might receive at their prince's hands, if they had been willing to have yielded to his deſires; for that ſubject that will not yield to obedience, may as well renounce the name of king and his authority, and by conſequence reſiſt laws, juſtice, and peace; and then follows a continual war, without hope of reconciliation, and the commonwealth is deſtroy'd.

I obſerve, that nothing breeds this wilfulneſs in ſubjects ſo much as jealouſy, that thinks princes have other ends than they pretend, not conſidering that kings affairs muſt be kept ſecret; for their deſigns being diſcovered, are diſappointed and ruined.

The *Romans* ſucceſs was imputed to nothing ſo much as ſecrecy in their expeditions. They were wont to ſay, That when they diſcovered their ſecrets, they gave away their liberty, accounting ſecrecy as the guardian of their affairs; and it is an old ſaying, *That a ſecret is hard for one to keep, enough for two, and too much for three.* Of all things, a ſubject ſhould not deſire to know the ſecrets of princes; for *Philip* of *Macedon* bid a philoſopher to demand any thing at his hands, and it ſhould be granted. The philoſopher humbly beſeught him, as his greateſt ſuit, *That he would not diſcover to him his ſecrets:* and yet you would be wiſer than philoſophers, to murmur at kings actions, when you ſhould with obedience ſeek to gain their love; for no king can be ſo unnatural to himſelf, or ſuch an enemy to his people, as not to govern to the profit of both, becauſe he receives equal gain or loſs with his ſubjects.

Nothing deceives men more than a falſe conceit of themſelves, which makes them run into unavoidable dangers; but let ſuch men learn, that wiſdom is life, and ignorance is death; the one underſtands what it does, as the other is dead for want of underſtanding. Much danger enſues for want of reaſon, and much good is left undone by too much folly.

If this refractory counſel you embrace, proceed from others, and not from yourſelves, deſpiſe it; for it has another deſign than they think fit to let you know, which may enſnare you, like a bee that is often hung in his own honey. Therefore be not enticed with fair words, doubtful hopes, or ſeeming probabilities; but remember that a man has power over himſelf and tongue, before he ſpeak or promiſe; but after his words are out of his mouth, they have power of him: and you will find that perverſe and deſperate counſel is full of perturbation, where men are embracers of evil advice; and therefore think an hour before you anſwer to their propoſitions, and a day before you yield to uncertain things that may bring danger.

You muſt likewiſe think and conſider of the condition of them that counſel you, the occaſion of their counſel, and the probability of what they counſel; for if it be out of private ends, out of anger, out of diſ-

content, out of revenge, or to the prejudice of kings deſigns, conclude ſuch to be evil counſellors, and ſhun them as you will a ſerpent, that never ſtings ſo deadly as when ſhe hiſſes not.

If you ſuſpect their counſel proceeds from ambition, beware of it; for ambition teaches one to become diſloyal, and he deſires to draw others to conſent to him in his ill purpoſes: if you be young, to whom this ſeditious counſel ſhall be given, follow the advice of *Solomon*, who ſays, *That folly is tied in the hearts of young men, and cannot be untied but by good inſtruction*; for indeed young men want experience: they are incredulous of good advice, wanting years to judge; and as poor in their judgment, being apt to delight in the muſick of their own praiſe.

Let the warning of our late parliament admoniſh you; for there cannot be a more perfect precedent than by things lately done, and in your own remembrance; then you ſhall ſee the fruit of ſelf-conceited ſubjects, that oppoſe the king in his demands, and the reward they have reaped by it; you have beheld the impriſonment of ſome, and the diſgrace of others, which ſtill lies as a heavy burden upon their ſhoulders, and cannot be diſcharged without ſubmiſſion, and acknowledging their errors, which ſome have done; and yet for all their obſtinacy they have produced no good to the commonwealth; for the wiſer ſort cenſure them as giddy, raſh, and inconſiderate, to offend ſo highly with their tongues, or to meddle with affairs above their reach, or what they could pretend to as members of parliament; for parliaments are called by authority of the king, who has power to diſſolve them as he pleaſes, which puts an end to all they can ſay: wherefore a man ſhould be ſilent, unleſs ſilence hurt him, or his ſpeech be profitable to others.

Your part in a parliament is to give way, and obey ſuch laws as ſhall be made by conſent of the houſe; which laws have no authority till the king confirm them; neither can you challenge any privilege after the confirmation, till it be warranted by commiſſion from the king, either in office or imployment; for it is the king that rewards or puniſhes at his diſcretion; and by proof you have found, and ever will find, that after your rangling and jangling, nothing will get more favour than obedient diligence; for kings are not drawn by violence, but by humility and meekneſs. The Scripture tells us, That the way to get love of our princes, is by ſuffering, and not forcing; for ſo they may taſte of his goodneſs and mercy. It is a great virtue and wiſdom in man, not raſhly to enterprize a thing above his reach, or to be led by perſuaſion of fair words, ſoft ſpeeches, or forward threats, that deceive none but fools: and if you rely upon the inſtigation of others, that are of your fraternity and familiarity in parliament, who have nothing but words for their beſt witneſs, it is inſolent madneſs; for what can they do but ſhew paſſion, like ſilly women, whoſe tongues are their beſt weapons.

All you can do for the preſent, is, to challenge the priviledge of the parliament, of which you are members; but when that is over, you are brought to account for the indiſcretion of your tongue, which is the beſt or worſt member in a man's body; but not to be ſo much uſed as the ear or mind, which in reaſon ſhould rule the tongue.

Another obſervation I collect, that wiſe men impute to your inconſiderate folly, That your words have produced no profit to the commonwealth, but great prejudice to all; for thereby you have incenſed the king, and given him occaſion to ſtretch out his prerogative to the uttermoſt; and alſo to awaken laws that have been many years ſleeping, to his advantage, and inconvenience to the ſubject; for laws are eſtabliſhed to bridle the haughtineſs of mens minds, and the ſtubbornneſs of their conditions; and therefore it is dangerous to vex and anger princes upon ſuch occaſions.

The beſt thing ſubjects can do, is to live peaceably; for by concord ſmall things increaſe to the good of all; whereas by diſcord all is leſſened, and in the end nothing comes but repentance.

The third exception againſt thoſe two fleets, generally ſpread abroad, is, the unſufficiency of the captains and commanders wanting experience, as they ſuppoſe; which I ſuppoſe rather to be divulged without truth or proof, than on any good ground they have for it, and to be a mere ſcandal, proceeding from diſcontent and ill nature; and after that rate any man may be ſlander'd, if calumny paſs for truth.

But if there were any ſuch cauſe of exception to their ſufficiency, there were none ſo like to know or find it as the king himſelf, or his lords, that have trial of their abilities; and therefore it is a great malepertneſs to inſiſt upon this.

The ground they have to confirm their belief may be our long peace, which has given no occaſion of war, and no means to gain experience; and the death of ſo many commanders, who lived and were imployed in the queen's expeditions, a time when they ſailed with victory.

The common ſort of people, who are led by ſhew and ignorance, eſteem no man valiant but ſuch as can ſhew ſcars and hurts, as tokens of their courage, like lewd bullies, or quarrelſome roiſters, who never regard the juſtice of the quarrel, honour,

wiſe conduct, or value victory obtained without blood, or the diſcreet management of a warlike action: and if a man go about to convince them of their errors, he had as good ſpeak to the deaf; for he ſhall neither be heard or believed.

The laſt year's fleet was ſet out on account of the *French* and *Hollanders* vying with his majeſty as to prerogative and power, which in a ſhort time would have blazed out into open war, had it not been prevented by a ſpeedy fleet, which ſome of our refractory men repine at; not conſidering that it was better and leſs chargeable to meet danger before it fell upon them, than to expect the coming of it; for the firſt enterprize in war gains the beſt reputation, eſpecially when our enemy ſees he is neither feared nor dallied with, which will make him think how to eſcape danger, rather than to go forward with force and courage; and we muſt account that victory moſt honourable that is obtain'd with leaſt loſs and effuſion of blood.

The *Saxon* king *Edgar* left a brave reputation to all poſterity, and to this day we look upon it as an act of renown and fame, that he ſailed about *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, with thouſands of ſhips, not once, but often; and yet no hiſtory makes mention of any conflicts or encounters he met with, but only did it for the ſafety and reputation of his kingdoms, and to daunt his enemies, if they had appeared: which caſe may be paralelled with his majeſty in theſe our days, who is lord of the ſame ſeas, enjoys the ſame right king *Edgar* did, and has a greater ſtrength and force than he to maintain it.

If it were not for the honour and ſovereignty of the ſeas due to the king, who knows not but that it is more ſafety and eaſe to paſs out of the kingdom in a ſmall veſſel, than in a royal ſhip of the king's; for every harbour is able to entertain a bark of little draught; but it is not for his majeſty's reputation to accommodate a prince or ambaſſador in ſuch a veſſel, who comes courteouſly to viſit him, which every man may hire, and lies open to all dangers of enemies and pirates.

We have many precedents of emperors, kings, and queens, paſſing our ſeas, that have been honoured and accompanied with the fleets of *England* for their ſecurity, and to ſhew the king's magnificency on the ſeas, and yet no hoſtile act appeared: I would ask the detractors in this caſe, Whether in reaſon or reputation the king ſhould not have ſhewed his greatneſs for the guard of the ſeas, and the ſubjects ſhould not contribute to that extraordinary expence, ſince they are intereſted in the dignity of it? for all ſucceeding ages, when they ſhall read of it, will look upon it as an honourable and noble action; and though the king and ſubjects be all dead, their honour will never be forgotten.

In 1588. when the *Spaniards* threatened a conqueſt of *England*, if they had happened to have been diverted, as it was once thought they would, can you believe it had been ſafe or prudent for us, upon a bare ſuppoſition, to have ſtopp'd and ſtay'd our fleet from going to ſea? or to have called it back when at ſea? or do you imagine the ſubjects at that time would have thought it diſcretion to have ſaved their moneys laid out in fitting our navy, and have made excuſes of want, or diſlike of the deſigns, or the lack of experienced commanders, who I will undertake were fewer, and knew leſs than they now do?

In the year 1599. the queen, with admiration to all her neighbours that beheld it, rigged, victualed, and ſet to ſea, the moſt part of her ſhips, in fewer days than any of her progenitors had ever done, expecting an invaſion from *Spain*; the rather believed, becauſe the *Spaniſh* preparation was at the *Groyne*, the next harbour to her; which fleet of the *Spaniards* was the ſame year diverted by the purſuit of a fleet of *Holland*, that had lately ſurprized the iſland of *Canaria*: and though the queen was made ſecure by this accident, and that her fleet returned from the *Downs* without ſeeing the enemy, yet did not a man in the realm repine at the expence demanded towards the furniſhing of it. By this you may ſee the difference of times, and the difference of mens conditions, and how providence and foreſight in war are as much to be approved and eſteemed, as the active part when men ſhew their valour in fight.

If you were as willing to know, as you are apt to judge the difference of times, you would find, that the great and fortunate victories in the days of queen *Elizabeth* were not atcheived ſo much by force and fighting, as by fortune and providence, and the fear the *Spaniards* conceived of us; for unleſs it were in the year 1587. when Sir *Francis Drake* made an attempt upon *Cadiz* road, and quelled the enemy that was preparing for an invaſion of *England*; in 1588. when we were put upon our own defence, in 1596. when my lord of *Eſſex* and my lord admiral took *Cadiz*, and defeated fifty nine ſhips of great value and burden; and in 1601. when Sir *Richard Leveſon* and Sir *William Monſon* took a carrack, deſtroyed and ſeized upon certain galleys defended by the caſtle; the reſt of the fleet employ'd by the queen had never cauſe nor opportunity to ſhew their valour or force in a naval battle; though I confeſs there were many other famous and fortunate voyages with

with wealth and reputation to our nation, as namely, and in my firſt book I have treated, *Drake* to the *Weſt Indies* in 1585. *Portugal* expedition in 1589. the earl of *Cumberland* the ſame year to the *Tercera*, where he met with many encounters by land, and prevailed, and what ſhips fell into his hands was without reſiſtance: many other voyages were worthily performed by him; the lord *Thomas Howard* in 1591. the taking of a carrack by private ſhips in 1592. being a ſhip of great value; *Drake* and *Hawkins* to the *Indies* in 1595. where they both died; Sir *Martin Forbuſher* to *Breſt* in 1594. the earl of *Eſſex* to the iſlands in 1597.

And to make a ſhort repetition of the *Hollanders* actions, ſo unworthily boaſted and bragged of, it cannot be found that they ever made a fight with ſix ſhips to ſix, ſince their wars with *Spain*, which is nigh ſeventy years; though it is not to be doubted, but that they have many able and ſufficient captains amongſt them, bred from their youth in ſea affairs, that would have ſhewed themſelves ſufficient commanders, if there had been occaſion; and in the ſame manner would thoſe of ours, you call unable captains, have done the like; for they are of the condition of the *Hollanders* I ſpeak of; they know as much in ſhips, and how to govern or fight, as the longeſt-experienced captain that has had the fortune to exchange moſt bullets, with the loſs of their blood.

I wonder that this can be an exception to our captains; but that ſuch envious perſons will ſeek all pretences to ſlander them; for how can you think that without practice of war men can become experienced captains? And their purſes will tell them they have not ſo much furthered their imployment ſince the death of queen *Elizabeth*; which ſhews not only an evil diſpoſition, but a dangerous conſequence that may lite upon this kingdom, by refuſing their reaſonable and convenient payments; for they mean thereby that we ſhall not only live in ignorance, but to take away all occaſions to breed ſoldiers and commanders: for war is not to be followed for pleaſure, if men ſee not the means to maintain it, or hopes of preferment.

Let them conſider that in natural bodies, the longer one lives in health, ſickneſs is the more dangerous when it comes; and ſo it is in war falling upon a fruitful country, that has long enjoy'd tranquillity: and therefore though no likelihood of war appear, yet do you like a skilful phyſician, who prevents a diſeaſe before it ſeizes his patient, rather than ſtruggle with it when it has taken poſſeſſion of him, and his remedies come too late; for dangers by wiſe men may be ſooner avoided, than overcome by force and courage, ſo they be prevented in time.

Let theſe people I have ſpoke of pretend what they liſt, or frame notions to pleaſe their fancies, yet I am perſuaded all ancient *Engliſh* men of honour, blood, and name, will contribute to the preſervation of the narrow ſeas, from the violence of oppreſſors, who ſeek unjuſtly and outragiouſly to commit diſorders, which cannot be reſiſted but by numbers of ſhips to equal their forces; and if people out of perverſeneſs deny to contribute to a deſign ſo juſt, noble, and of ſuch reputation, when the matrons of *Rome* voluntarily offered their jewels and bracelets, which obtained great privileges, what ſhame will it be in you to deny it upon ſuch ſlender and ill-grounded reaſons?

Let us compare our ſeas with our flouriſhing cities in *England*, that are orderly and carefully governed: think you it were well done of people to repine at the charge of their watches, as a needleſs expence in our peaceable commonwealth, where our laws give authority to puniſh offenders? we may well believe that murders, thefts and diſorders, will follow, if ſuch watches ſhould be taken away and aboliſhed. And the like, or greater, would enſue, if the ſame providence and care were not had in the government of our ſeas. Now will I proceed to the management of the expedition in 1636. where the earl of *Northumberland* commanded in chief.

The Voyage it ſelf.

Ships.	Commanders.
The Triumph,	The Earl of *Northumberland* admiral.
The St. Andrew,	Sir *John Penington* vice-admiral.
The James,	Sir *Henry Marom* rear-admiral.
The Victory,	Captain *Walter Steuart*.
The Repulſe,	Captain *Lewis Kirke*.
The Nonſuch, &c.	Captain *Pory*.

UNDER correction, I muſt crave leave and liberty to examine the errors and overſights committed in this voyage, if any ſhall appear, as I did in the beginning of my firſt book, and have continued till my laſt; wherein I took upon me, a free

freedom to except againſt the ill-carried actions of that time, and ſhew the way how they might be amended, and better ordered; for ſmall faults at the beginning may be eaſily prevented by admonition, if it be well followed.

What I did was not out of fear or flattery; and, as I have ſaid before, I walk'd ſo uprightly, that if the commanders deſerved well, I gave them their due; if ill, no man can ſay I ſpared them; nay, I was ſo bold, that if there were any error or fault committed by the ſtate in their directions, with modeſty I reproved it, and ſhewed my reaſons for ſo doing, to give the better light to ſucceeding enterprizes; for experience is the mother of knowledge, and to be valued above authority or opinion.

This royal fleet being all furniſhed and ready for the ſea, but not without ſome defect in the ſhips, as appear'd by the diſaſters that befel many of them, his majeſty made choice of the earl of *Northumberland*, a gallant and hopeful young gentleman, to command as general; though there could be no exception to the lord of *Lindſey*, the former commander, his carriage giving no diſtaſte to the king, that ever I could hear of, as appeared by his majeſty's own words, declaring, that the reaſon of electing him, was becauſe he deſired to breed up his nobility, to give them encouragement to take a liking to the ſea, by former precedents, as men principally to be choſen for great imployments; and that he meant to make it a yearly cuſtom to keep a fleet to guard and defend the ſeas.

The ſhip appointed for vice-admiral, was the *Anne Royal*, equal in greatneſs and goodneſs with any of his majeſty's ſhips, and one that had made trial of her ſundry fortunes; the firſt in the year 1588. where ſhe was honoured as admiral, and carried the arms of *England*, as due to the lord admiral; and this was the firſt time of her appearing at ſea.

The next action of hers was in the enterprize upon *Cadiz* in 1596. where my lord admiral commanded in her, with no leſs victorious and honourable ſucceſs than the firſt. She was choſen as much for her goodneſs, as for my lord's affection to the ſhip; for in truth ſhe was worthy of all honour.

But as fortune is of that perverſe and uncertain temper, that ſhe never ſheweth herſelf conſtant, but mutable; and what ſhe gives is not to continue long, but only lent; ſhe has that power of herſelf, that no body can hold her againſt her will; ſo this paragon of ſhips was attended with the worſt fate that ever befel ſhip belonging to the crown of *England*, and far unworthy her former exploits; for in her way from *Chatham* to *Tilbury Hope*, (a thing not to be believed, if the lamentable truth did not put it out of doubt,) whether through the negligence of the officers of the navy, or their indiſcretion, or of the maſter, or the unskilfulneſs of the pilot, (for in ſuch caſes every one will lay it upon another, to excuſe himſelf,) ſhe run aground, and was loſt; an accident ſo rare, that it made many ignorant and ſuperſtitious people divine and fear, that ſome ill fortune would attend the voyage.

It was the more wondered at, becauſe in the eighteen years war under queen *Elizabeth*, no ſuch diſaſter befel any of her ſhips, who had gone through more dangers and hazards in the open and ſpacious ocean, where their buſineſs was, than ever happen'd ſince; but I thank God, (excepting the loſs of her, which with the charge of another ſhip will be recovered, and that of a *Whelp* that miſcarried by the inſufficiency of the pilot,) the reſt of the ſhips returned ſafe, though not without ſome peril, which is naturally incident to ſea affairs, and the rather in this, becauſe ſome men imputed it to careleſſneſs, others to the inſufficiency of officers, and ſome to deſtiny.

My lord arriving in the *Downs*, expected his vice-admiral, the *Anne Royal*, who you have heard unluckily miſcarried; however, he ſet ſail with the reſt of his fleet, for the weſt country, and the *St. Andrew* was appointed by the king to ſupply the want of the *Anne Royal*.

As there was occaſion, my lord imploy'd ſundry of his ſhips in ſeveral ſervices; and the *Victory*, one of the principalleſt, was ſent into *Spain*, and returned an ambaſſador from that king into *England*, he being forbidden the paſſage through *France*, becauſe of the wars betwixt the two kingdoms; and not then adventuring to ſend him by ſea, unleſs it were under the guard of one of his majeſty's ſhips.

The Errors committed in this Voyage.

NOW to proceed to the exceptions of this voyage, with which I will end this ſecond book, and collect ſuch errors, miſtakes, and overſights, as ſeem worthy of reprehenſion, hoping it will give no more offence, or be imputed to preſumption in me, any more than thoſe I have excepted againſt in my firſt book, and part of this ſecond; with whom I have been free, not out of deſign to diſcourage, but as a friend to warn them; for, according to the old ſaying, he that is warn'd is half-arm'd, and prevention is as much to be commended as valour in execution. It is held far greater wiſdom to foreſee, than to ſee; the one being natural to all eyes to behold,

the other proceeding from judgment, care, and diſcretion.

Callicratides, general of the *Lacedemonians*, might have ſaved himſelf and his army, had he hearkened to advice, in forbearing to charge the *Athenians*; but by his improvidence he was overcome. *Quintus Fabius*, the *Roman*, through his foreſight and carefulneſs, did the contrary, and retired for his advantage. Here appear'd the wiſdom of *Fabius*, and the headſtrong wilfulneſs of *Callicratides*, the one loſt life and honour, the other purchaſed the name of *Maximus*, given him by his country.

Nothing can be a better inſtructor to a general, than admonition by precedent, for which cauſe I bring theſe examples, to give light to ſucceeding times and ſucceeding commanders. The firſt exception againſt this expedition, I obſerved, was, as I have ſaid, the loſs of the *Anne Royal*, which was neither blemiſh nor blame to my lord general; for ſhe followed the directions of others, before ſhe came under the command of him. The officers of his majeſty's navy are the men only worthy to bear the rebuke of it, who, for want of experience in ſea affairs, are led principally by precedents of former times, too lamentable to behold, that their government muſt depend upon the example of times; and yet, if they had but walked the paths of them that went before them, they ſhould not have introduced this innovation, to direct our fleets to *Tilbury Hope*, there to preſs men out of colliers, and other merchant ſhips; when two ſmall pinnaces might have done the ſame ſervice, and as they were preſs'd, have put them preſently on ſhore, where they were to travel but three or four miles by land to *Chatham*, there to be entertained and entered into pay.

And whereas in going from *Chatham* to *Tilbury Hope* we paſſed by the *Neſſe*, which we muſt alſo do in going directly to ſea, with the ſame wind that carries us out we may be ſooner at ſea from the *Neſſe* than at the *Hope*, whither we muſt go. Thus you ſee, people that governed by precedent, fail'd in not following precedents; and this unhappy miſhap that fell upon the *Anne Royal*, came by a precedent of their own, which otherwiſe had not happen'd: this new precedent, I will undertake, was never with advice or conſent of any captain; for they were put to an extraordinary expence by it, being a means to draw their friends and acquaintance aboard, whom they entertain with coſtly banquets; which proves a greater charge to them than the whole voyage; and till of late his majeſty did ſtrictly prohibit it, more powder was waſted by their vain oſtentation in ſhooting, than they ſpent otherwiſe.

My lord of *Northumberland* being now at ſea, and having ranged and ſcoured the ſhores of *Ireland*, where it is moſt likely that fleet would have appeared, if there had been any to have oppoſed him, he returned to the ſound of *Plimouth*, to be further inform'd of the ſtate of things thereabouts; and finding no ſhips, nor ſhew of oppoſition to his deſign, he left the ſhore, having received intelligence of certain *Turkiſh* pirates that lay hovering thereabouts, and had committed ſome ſpoils upon his majeſty's ſubjects.

My lord loſt no time to haſten the purſuit of thoſe pirates, as he could be informed of them at ſea; for in truth both his care and celerity were to be commended, though his haſte had little availed to have ſubdued the pirates, if he had met them; for by reaſon of their ſwift ſailing, they have the advantage of all other ſhips they meet in the ſpacious and open ſea: this may ſeem ſtrange to them that know it not, that ſhips can be built to ſuch advantage in ſailing, all of them being built with one kind of iron and timber; but what follows will demonſtrate it to any that doubt of it.

You muſt underſtand, that all the *Turkiſh* pirate ſhips are veſſels of chriſtians, taken from them by violence, which when the *Turks* are poſſeſſed of, they uſe all art and induſtry to make better ſailors than all other ſhips; and to this purpoſe they firſt cut down their half decks, and all other weighty things over head, which makes them wind tite and burdenſome: they take out moſt part of their knees and binding works, to make them nimble and ſwift, like a man that is tite truſſed, and has his doublet buttoned, that by looſening it he is able to run the faſter. They never regard the ſtrength of their ſhips more than for one voyage; for they want not continual prizes, which they take of chriſtians, and thus ſafe. Every fortnight or three weeks they grave their ſhips, and make them clean, to go the better: they carry no weight over head, or in hold, but victuals; by means whereof, and all theſe things conſidered, no ſhip is able to equal them in going.

The only hope I confeſs my lord had, if they had met them, which in truth was very uncertain, was in over-bearing them with ſail, and the others would have been forced to take in their ſails. The ſecond, if there happen'd a calm, and the pirates ſcatter'd, that they could not help one another, with the number of his long-boats he might board and maſter them with the multitude of his ſmall ſhot. The third was to ſurpriſe them in harbour, where they could not get out and eſcape. The fourth, that with leſs and nimble ſhips they might have the hap to board ſome of them, and ſo keep them employed, to hinder their way till greater ſhips could come to relieve them. But all theſe are uncertain.

My

My lord being now at ſea with his fleet, and looking out diligently for pirates, he met with an *Iriſh* ſhip, lately come from *France*; and being asked for news of that coaſt, he did aſſure him, That the *French* fleet, which made ſo great a noiſe, was fitted, and gone to the eaſtward of the channel, and that 'twas generally ſuppoſed they meant to beleaguer *Dunkirk* by ſea: this intelligence made my lord immediately bear up, and take that wind to follow them; but arriving at the *Downs* within few days after, he found himſelf impoſed upon, and abuſed by this falſe information; for neither was there any ſuch fleet arrived, nor any likelihood of their coming. At this time the wind continued ſo long weſterly and ſoutherly, that my lord was not able to recover the weſtern parts again, by which means the pirates committed great inſolencies and ſpoils upon the coaſts.

The error and overſight of the carriage of this buſineſs, was in giving over much credit to the report of the *Iriſhman*, it being the ground my lord was to proceed upon afterwards; and had he waited but a few hours before he ſtood to eaſtward, he might have been informed of the truth thereof, by ſhips that continually paſſed the channel; or whether the *Iriſhman* might not have been corrupted by the *French* to give falſe intelligence, to divert my lord's purpoſes, could not ſpeedily be determined by only asking queſtions: for the like happen'd heretofore in our war with *Spain*; the *Spaniards* ſubtilly cauſing a carvel of advice to be taken with counterfeit letters, directed to the general of the *Weſt Indian* fleet, requiring him to come home in thirty five degrees; which we finding by the letters, haſtened into that heighth to expect them; but the true and former directions to the general was, to hail in thirty ſix degrees and twenty leagues to the northward of it, whereby he avoided us ſo many leagues.

It ſhould have been likewiſe conſidered, and men of greater experience than my lord ſhould have made it known to him, that there was no great occaſion to purſue the *French* with that unadviſed haſte; for their anchoring before *Dunkirk*, to beleaguer it at ſea, is no more to the taking of the town, than if they had kept their ſhips in the ports of *France*; for the coaſt gives no liberty to land, being a plain flat, and ſandy ſhore. Beſides, they run a great hazard, both to ſhips and men, being there at an anchor; for if a northerly or northweſt wind take them with a ſtorm, they cannot avoid both ſhipwreck and death of men. Beſides, why ſhould the king of *France* put an army in peril to invade *Flanders* by ſea, when his territories lie within nine miles of *Dunkirk* by land? And to prove the danger the ſhips were to undergo, had they brought themſelves to an anchor on that coaſt, I will ſhew, as it were in a glaſs, an accident that happen'd on the like caſe, wherein their folly would have appear'd.

When our wars of 1625. began with *Spain*, ſome men, out of ſingularity to get fame, which proved but their ſhame, with certain ſhips of war, undertook to ſurpriſe the enemies veſſels lying at *Mardike*, a new harbour near *Dunkirk*; and though this overture was much oppoſed by experienced ſeamen, who alledged unanſwerable reaſons againſt the enterprize, yet willfulneſs had that predominate power over wit and reaſon, that the contriver of this ſtratagem attempted his idle project, and commanded the ſhips to anchor where they were directed; but before they had lain there long, they were ſurpriſed with a ſtorm at northweſt, ſo that they could not claw off the ſhore; and in ſhort, three of the ſhips, with all the men wilfully periſhed, the enemy on land beholding it; which made a doleful cry and complaint in the port of *Dover* and *Sandwich*; for there appear'd flocks of widows bewailing their miſeries, through the mad and ſilly undertaking of ignorant directors.

If the *French* had thought that the beleaguering of *Dunkirk* with ſhips would have cut off relief and ſuccour from ſea, their weakneſs and want of knowledge in ſea affairs had appeared, not in words, but by example, precedent and proof of the hundred *Spaniards* at *Dover* before ſpoken of, who notwithſtanding there were forty or fifty ſhips of war of *Holland* placed to intercept them, ſome in the road of *Dover*, others in the road of *Gravelling* and *Dunkirk*, yet by my advice and counſel aforeſaid, arrived ſafe in the port of *Dunkirk*, the hour and tide aſſign'd by me for the town to bid them welcome.

And becauſe this ſhall be a light to after-times, (if there be the like occaſion,) this knowledge they ſhall receive from me, that with a leeward wind, and a leeward tide, ſhips may paſs into the ports of *Flanders*, in deſpight of any force that ſhall forbid them.

My lord lying at the *Downs*, waiting a north-eaſt wind to carry him to the place where the ſouth-weſt wind firſt took him, in the mean time his majeſty reſolved upon an imployment for his lordſhip of greater importance than this was, *viz.* to ſend him to the northward amongſt the fiſhermen that fiſh'd there, to make good his majeſty's proclamation not long before divulged, to prohibit and forbid any ſuch fiſhing upon his coaſt of *England* and *Scotland*, by all foreign nations that would not acknowledge his majeſty's prerogative on thoſe ſeas.

My

My lord was as ready to perform that ſervice, as his commiſſion gave him authority to do it, and with ſpeed repaired to the places of fiſhing aforeſaid, where he met many buſſes of *Holland*, which he took, and cauſed them to deliver, by the way of tribute, (acknowledging his majeſty's regality,) a certain ſum of money from each of them; but ſome other fiſhing veſſels eſcaped by flight, fearing they ſhould have been worſe uſed than the reſt of their fellows were; but neither do I hear that the ſtates of *Holland* do approve this act, as allow'd, or allowable by them; ſuch is the pride and ingratitude of popular ſtates.

But if I may ſpeak without offence to this point, or that my opinion had been demanded what to have done herein, I ſhould have adviſed, that my lord ſhould have repaired to *Braſound* in *Shutland*, an iſland belonging to his majeſty by his kingdom of *Scotland*, there to have arrived the two or three and twentieth of *June*, a time limited by the *Hollanders* to make their abode in that port; and in the day following, the four and twentieth, they have liberty by their own laws to put out of harbour to caſt their nets, and to proſecute their fiſhing.

Thus had his majeſty brought the *Hollanders* to his mercy, poſſeſſed their ſtrength, their wealth, and indeed their whole provinces, which he might have releaſed and reſtored afterwards, if he had pleaſed, upon acknowledging a ſovereignty, and obliging them to pay a yearly acknowledgment. This would have ſhewed a commanding power over them, and yet directed by goodneſs and mercy. And thus much of the voyage in 1636.

I will now addreſs myſelf to adviſe ſuch great perſons as ſhall take upon them the command of generals by ſea.

Advice to Great Perſons and unexperienced Generals at Sea.

COmmonly great perſons of authority, place, and blood, are elected and choſen chief commanders in great expeditions and actions at ſea, to give the greater honour and reputation to ſuch enterprizes as they ſhall be employ'd in: and therefore, as a ſervant to ſuch great perſons, I will adviſe, by way of caution, ſome things, before they accept of ſo weighty and important a charge, who cannot challenge it out of experience, or other deſerts, more than their prince's favour and their own greatneſs: and many times perillous dangers and uncertain caſualties depend upon ſuch uncertain employments.

Many examples, both antient and modern, ſhew, That the beſt-deſerving generals have bitterly taſted the diſpleaſure of their employments; for no man's carriage can be ſo clear without blot or blemiſh, or his ſucceſs prove ſo uncontroulable, but there may be found ſome cauſe of exception by evil and malignant ſpirits they ſhall leave behind them, and who, perhaps, will be made judges to cenſure their actions; ſo dangerous a thing it is to come under the hands of ire and wrath: for that we call ire, the *Grecians* term'd a deſire of revenge, which is ſometimes increaſed upon provocation, and ſometimes proceeds only from ill nature. It has that evil and canker'd diſpoſition, that it believes not a friend; it ſpeaks with malice, and will not admit of reaſon; commonly the greater the deſert, the greater malice attends it from ſuch perverſe defamers; and the worſt is, there is no defence againſt ſuch envy; for we are all the ſons of envy; we are born, live, and die with envy: ſhe ſpreads herſelf and poiſon againſt thoſe that fortune raiſeth higheſt, and ſets her thoughts to diſpraiſe deſert. There is an old proverb amongſt good men, *That good will defend them from wicked perſons, and the tumult of the common people.*

The ſecond cauſe that makes men covet employment, is to ſhine above others in authority, as a means to obtain their haughty ends, which may be truly termed ambition; for ambition is of that nature, that it ſees not what is before her eyes, nor conſiders the ſtate and uncertainty of man's life; for if he be of low degree, he ſtands upon braſs; if high, he treads upon glaſs; he climbs by ſteps and degrees, but falls ſuddenly when he leaſt looks for it.

There are three things that make a man's way dangerous to walk in, ice, glory, and ambition. There is no affection ſo great as ambition, though naturally it is inſatiable: like a hungry dog, that will leave his firſt prey, and fall upon another; ſo is ambition, not reſpecting what one hath got, but ſtill ſeeking more. Nothing doth more nouriſh this humour of ambition than baſe flattery; and a man had better fall amongſt thieves, than flatterers.

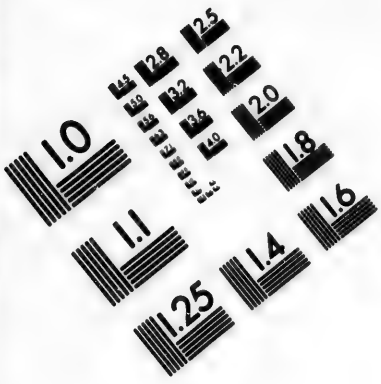
Your beſt natures are obſerved to be apteſt to embrace flattering counſels, like worms that eaſily creep into ſoft and ſweet wood; but the difficulty is, how to know ſuch flatterers from others; for wolves reſemble dogs, and flatterers look like friends. The cunning of a flatterer is how to entice good natures with hopes; for there is nothing more ſweet to man than hope, nor any thing more diſpleaſing than to be debarr'd his hope. Therefore time will be the diſcoverer of ſuch deceitful ſycophants; for when a man ſhall ſuſpect ſuch a one, let him

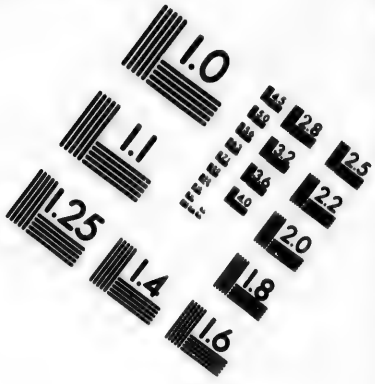
him not connive with his untruths or delays; but tie him to a limited and prefixed time, to perform what he gives hope of; for nothing but delays gives him advantage to deceive: thus ſhall the flatterer be taken in his own ſnare, when he ſhall fail of performing what he promiſed; and the party flattered ſhall own, that nothing is ſo vain as to be deluded with idle hopes of glory. It is like a ſoldier that is led by an ill captain into error, and yet with a ſeeming pleaſure.

The third thing an unexperienced commander is to fear, is the doubtfulneſs and deceitfulneſs of fortune, in whoſe ſhip he muſt imbark himſelf, to try the unconſtancy of the ſea; for the power of fortune is ſo univerſal, that ſhe rules kingdoms, and overcomes armies; ſhe deſtroys princes, and raiſes tyrants; and indeed ſhe is ſo obſtinate and perverſe, that no art can prevail againſt her, or detain her by force. The evil ſhe gives we ſee not; ſhe pinches, and we feel it not; what ſhe ſays we hear not, and when we think we have her, ſhe is fartheſt from us. Her property is to bereave us of ſenſe, that no ſight or example ſhall help us; as we ſee by many men that loſe their money at play, and yet cannot forbear it; and though ſome marry and repent, yet they will not be warned by it; and though people be daily drowned, yet it will not terrify others from adventuring to ſea, ſtill hoping for better hap: like deſperate gameſters that put their fortune upon a chance at dice; whereas, if they would duly conſider, the beſt hap at play, is, not to play at all; for though fortune give the luck to win one day, ſhe revokes it the next with double loſs. Beware of her therefore; for ſhe never truly favours, but flatters; ſhe never promiſes what ſhe intends to perform; ſhe never raiſes one ſo high, but ſhe plucks him down as low again; ſhe ſhews herſelf not ſo fickle or wavering in any thing as in accidents of war, where ſucceſs is uncertain. *Hercules* who eſcaped ſo many dangers by land and ſea, at laſt died by the hands of his friends: *Alexander* ended not his days in the war, but was ſuppoſed to be baſely poiſon'd: *Julius Cæſar*, who won fifty two battles, was killed ſitting in the peaceable ſenate-houſe.

The way to revenge one's ſelf of fortune, and to avoid the evil in her, is rather to ſubmit to reaſon, than to rely on her. The *Carthaginians* would never judge of fortune, effect, or ſucceſs, but according to wiſdom, judgment, and diſcretion; they would not be raiſed by good fortune, or dejected by bad; but like a tree well rooted, that no wind or weather could move. For my part I think the wiſdom of man is to be temperate, mild, and patient, and to take in good part what fortune ſends.

You may ſee by what is gone before, the property of malice and fortune; ſo that a great commander is not to encounter with an enemy alone to ſhew his valour againſt; but the other two will have an intereſt in him, which wiſdom cannot prevent: but the ſafeſt way in a general, is to obſerve the admonitions following for the beſt ſecuring of himſelf and action. The firſt, is maturely to examine his own ability, and whether he covets the employment himſelf, or not, or that it was impoſed on him by the king. If deſired by himſelf, it is the more dangerous, and what errors he commits are the leſs excuſable; and he put to rely on the favour of the prince: let it be the one or the other, his ſecureſt way will be humbly to crave his majeſty that ſuch a vice-admiral may be appointed, as is approved for his ſufficiency and integrity; but not to give him that authority and command, as to derogate from his honour. And for the better conveniency and performance of the ſervice, it is neceſſary that the vice-admiral be aboard the general, and ſtill ready and at hand to adviſe; and for him to appoint an able man in his own ſhip, till they come to battle. This did *Philip* king of *Spain* to his natural brother Don *John* of *Auſtria*, in the famous battle of *Lepanto*: Don *John* being young, valiant, and forward, it was thought convenient to temper him with a grave adviſer, which was Don *Lewis Reguezines*, commander major of *Spain*. In the action in 1588. for *England*, the ſame king employ'd the duke of *Medina Sidonia* for general, but gave authority to Don *Diego Flores de Valdes*, a man of great experience, to adviſe and counſel him, which proved a happineſs to the duke; for the enterprize failing by the council of *Valdes*, as is to be ſeen in my firſt book, the blame lighted on *Valdes*, which he worthily deſerved; and the leſs fault was found with the duke for it. I would not ſay thus much, if I were not a friend and ſervant to nobility, and deſired their ſpirits might be nouriſh'd in ſuch brave employments; and will be ready with my beſt endeavours to do them all the honour that lies in my poor power.





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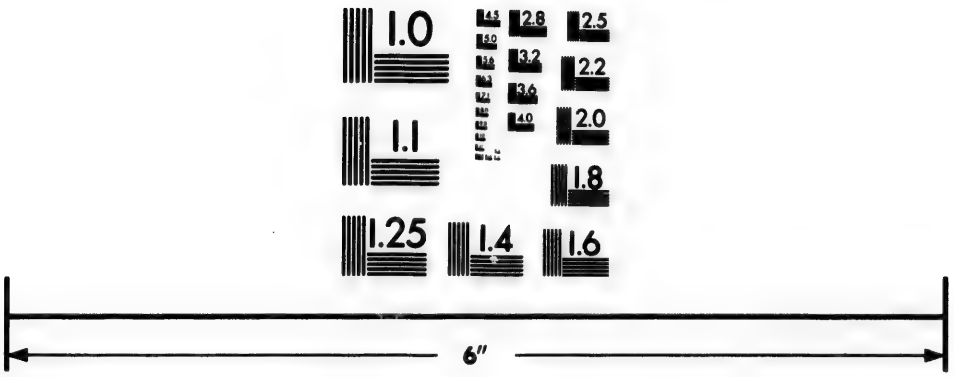

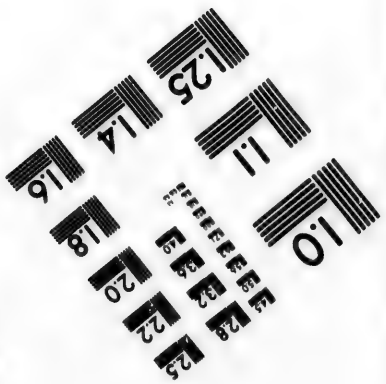

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How a King ſhould elect a General by Land or Sea, a Counſellor of State, and a Governor over his People and Provinces.

HAVING declared in my third book the office of a general by ſea, and in this ſecond, admoniſhed ſuch generals as take upon them ſo weighty and important a charge, without experience firſt gained, to be cautious and wary before they accept of ſuch a command; now ſhall follow the care a king ought to have in the choice of a general, either by land or ſea. And becauſe generals are commonly guided by inſtructions from a king, reſolved on by his council of ſtate; to which conſultation generals are ſeldom called, till the charge of the expedition be committed to their management, I will now give my private opinion what kind of man a king ſhould make election of for a counſellor of ſtate, to be aſſiſting to him with his advice; of a general, who has the rule and government of his forces and actions; and of a governor, whom he ſends into ſeveral countries and provinces to rule over his ſubjects; for the proſperity of his kingdoms depends upon their ſufficiency, *viz.* a counſellor to adviſe, a general to execute, and a governor to rule.

I will begin with the counſellor of ſtate, as the firſt conſiderable thing a prince ought to think of. A king's election muſt be according to the profeſſion the party is bred in, as artificers tools are choſen to do their office and labour; for a king is abuſed, and his judgment queſtion'd, that ſhall be made believe all men are capable of all places and employments, when indeed ſome of them are of no more uſe than an ax to an auger, or a knife to a ſickle; and it is as unſeemly a thing to prefer ſuch a counſellor, as to preſent armour to a woman, books to a clown, or nets to a ſcholar. Kings therefore muſt have a care to whom they commit the affairs of the realm, either domeſtick or foreign, civil or eccleſiaſtical, and not refer all to one man; for they are diſtinct things, that require ſeveral counſellors, and not to be executed by him that thinks a king's favour adds knowledge to his conceived underſtanding.

Kings and princes ought to have two eſpecial cares in the government; the one, how to rule in peace; the other, how to carry their affairs in war; both which muſt depend upon the choice of counſellors, who muſt be provident what they adviſe, and aſſured that what they ſay is honeſt, neceſſary, profitable, and poſſible. They muſt not quickly determine, leſt they repent at leiſure: they muſt adviſe ſlowly, but execute ſpeedily: they muſt not rely on the name and falſe word of fortune; for to great perſons ſhe is deceitful, to good men unſtable, and to all unſure.

A good counſellor ought to have theſe properties, to be good and juſt; for ſuch have weight in their words; to be virtuous and ſpeak truth, as well in abſence as in preſence: they muſt be plain in buſineſs, and reprehend with love; they muſt praiſe the good, and admoniſh the bad; they ought not to ſpeak much; and when they do, to let it be to purpoſe; for what they have in their mouths muſt be the picture of their hearts.

If their opinion be asked in point of war, they muſt be cautious what to anſwer; for the ſecurity, honour, and good hap of their maſter, depends on it, and the man's reputation of wiſdom will appear by it; which, when it ſhall be known to his enemy, will breed terror; for when king *David* had war with *Abſolon*, he pray'd, *That God would blind the underſtanding of his principal counſellor Achitophell, whom he more feared than the force of Abſolon's hoſt.*

A counſellor cannot give a better anſwer to his maſter's demand in point of war, than *Auguſtus Cæſar* did in the like caſe, who ſaid, *That a war ought to be commanded by gods, juſtified by philoſophers, maintained by princes, and executed by wiſe captains, and courageous ſoldiers.* And moreover he adviſed, *That neither battle nor war be undertaken, unleſs there evidently appear more hope of gain than fear of danger.* He compares it to him that angles with a golden hook, which if it be ſnatched away, the fiſh that is taken cannot countervail the loſs.

Cæſar would not ſo much rely upon himſelf, as upon the opinion of *Virgil*, how a commonwealth ſhould be beſt governed; who anſwered, *If wiſe men hold the helm, and good men be ſeated in place over the bad; if the beſt men have due honour, and the reſt be not injuriouſly dealt with; if judges and men in authority will not be led by malice, friendſhip, anger, or love:* For nothing ruins commonwealths but hypocritical and covetous counſellors, that ſupport their deceitful credit, and make a prince believe he cannot err.

But a wiſe king will ſoon know ſuch a counſellor, by obſerving his words, which will diſcover his intentions, and lay open his conditions; and a juſt king will reward him that ſhall thus falſly ſeduce and corrupt,

rupt, as in reason he should be rewarded that poisons a publick fountain or spring, whereof all people drink; for both king and subject have part of this pernicious counsel.

A king therefore ought to be careful of three things; the first of himself, the second of his subjects, and the third of his counsellors, officers and servants; for *Cæsar* in his time complained of the miseries of princes, saying, *They are subject to perfidiousness, to imaginations, to detestable treason, deceitful conspiracies, and destructive poisons; some deceive, and others flatter and betray them*; so that they are made the subject of all discourse.

For the honour of the sex, I will mention *Zenobia*, a queen of *Asia*, and will make her the mistress of counsel, for counsellors to imitate. They write of her, that she was constant in her enterprizes, faithful in her words, liberal and just, severe in punishment, discreet in speech, grave in determining, and secret in her doings.

The indifferent man to make a counsellor to a prince, is neither to be too old, nor too young; for youth shews lightness; and if a prince take absolute power to himself, it shews a bold rashness, and will be subject to be seduced by flattering servants, that will make his will their authority; but with this caution, That it be done with honour, duty, and reverence to their masters, and security to themselves; for it is not the name of a counsellor that gives reputation, but the due execution of his place; he must be an equal distributor of justice to all people alike in the commonwealth, lest, in comparison of land, by labouring to make one part too fertile, he leave the other part barren.

A counsellor ought to be wise, and cautious withal, what advice he gives: For there are two principal things that make a prince beloved; the one, is defending his people against oppression; the other, to have peace and alliance with those countries and princes that afford them trade and commerce, which war seldom produces; and yet I confess, that war well made, produces a more perfect and firm peace; and the best time to make such a war is in peace, that moneys may be best raised. And though all war of it self is unjust, yet a good cause may make it lawful, but not when it is out of humour, out of spleen, or out of private respects; and yet let it come when it will, they cannot propose any war to a prince, but it is better to accept of mean conditions of peace than endure the fortune of it; for *Aristotle* says, *Fortune shews herself most favourable where there is least hope.*

The *Athenians* hearing the council was dishonest which *Aristones* gave *Themistocles*, though profitable, with one voice cried, *If it be not just, it cannot be commodious nor commendable:* whereupon *Themistocles* commanded, it should be no more talked of. Let this be a caveat to counsellors, that they either hold their peace, or speak things that are probable and honourable to kings and kingdoms, and take it for a maxim, *That peace is the nursery for happiness.*

The solidest advice a counsellor can give his master, is, to win the affections of his subjects; for then he will have their hands, their hearts, and purses, which is the marrow and sinews of war; and yet, as I have said, all things considered, it is better to avoid war; for the nature of it is to bring one into bondage, and peace makes him free; the one is a tyrant's will, the other a prince's decree: but if the necessity of a war cannot be avoided, the first thing a prince must provide is plenty of money; it will encourage soldiers, terrify enemies, and imbolden alliances, when they shall see no likelihood of want thereof to go forward with their enterprizes. The next consideration, is to have a grave consultation for the prosecution of the war, not at once, but often; but let them beware they rely not upon passionate advisers; for choler is an enemy to counsel, and never to be allowed of but in extremity, when desperateness is the last and best remedy and help; for great actions ought to be resolved on at leasure, and executed with speed; and it is better to escape with judgment, than to go forward with courage; and to use victory wisely, than to get it happily. The victory *Hannibal* obtained was attributed to the direction and advice of his council; and many who are brave in the field, want maturity to direct themselves or others; which shews all men are born, as well in war as other faculties, to support one another.

When princes are provided of counsel, money, and all other things for the war, let not them nor their generals presume upon their multitudes, strength, or power of men; for God orders battle, and bestows the victory when he pleases to stretch forth his arm, which is of greater force than all princes, powers, and armies: but commonly he does not use to do it but in defence of equity; for generally the chance of war is like a cast at dice, either good or bad, and may be spoiled by oversight, or mended by play.

Now shall follow the sufficiency, and next the election a prince should make of a counsellor; for many men fly with the wings of others, and seem outwardly to be what inwardly they are not; and if he hearken to the praise of others reports, they

they are uncertain, becauſe delivered out of hate or affection; for good words deceive both the wiſe and the fooliſh.

It behoves a king therefore to enquire after ſuch a man's birth, education, and reputation; though I confeſs his birth is the leaſt exception; for all ages prefer virtue before blood: *Caius Marius*, a great captain, was born of baſe parentage; the emperor *Valentinian* was the ſon of a ropemaker, and divers others little better.

The philoſophers did not account the lives of men by their degrees and callings, but by the good they did, and the virtuous name they held. Silence is a great light to diſcover the diſcretion of a counſellor; for haſtineſs, anger, and wrath, are the properties of a fool; the empty veſſel makes the greateſt ſound; and the leaſt wits are the greateſt talkers: but the greateſt folly is to rely too much on a man's own ſenſe, and to be proud when he is praiſed. Learning is a great help to wiſdom; it makes young men ſober; it is a conſolation to old men; it enriches the poor, and adorns the rich: it is evil to diſdain learning, but worſe to impugn it; and the want of it is the worſt of all; for indeed there is as great a difference between the learned and the unlearned, as betwixt the living and the dead, or a phyſician and his patient; though learning can no more help a dull wit, than labour make a barren ground fertile.

There is a ſurer method (for a king) to chuſe a counſellor, than by his birth, education, or hearſay; for a man may have all, or moſt of theſe parts, and yet want judgment, or be of a peſtilent temper, that ſhall deſtroy the reſt; for there are ſome who can give good advice, and not follow it; like a harp, that's pleaſanter to others, than to him that plays on it; or a bay-tree, that is ever green, but without fruit. Therefore judge not of gold by the colour, no more than of a man at firſt ſight, till you prove him: but the ſureſt rule for a king to try the ſufficiency of a counſellor, is to examine him in private and ſuddenly, and to propoſe to him things of the greateſt importance and wiſdom, for the government of a commonwealth; then to command him immediately to write his opinion to all the particulars propoſed, in his own preſence, not ſuffering him to return, or have conference with any others; which will be a ſurprize upon him, and the king will ſee and diſcover his abilities, and whether he be a worthy miniſter for his ſervice, or no, or commended for kindred, friendſhip, bribes, faction, or other falſe pretences, and eſteem him accordingly that commends him. And thus much for the king's knowledge, how to elect a counſellor of ſtate.

How to elect a Governor.

THE next that follows ſhall be the choice of a governor a king ſends to rule over his countries and provinces. Let *Plato* be the adviſer in this point, who ſays, *A governor muſt be loved of many, and feared of all; he muſt endeavour to do good actions, and deceive none with words; he muſt be conſtant and pitiful*; for the clemency of a governor makes a man aſhamed to commit offences. *Seneca* ſays, *That clemency is a great ornament in a governor; and that mercy, which is not accompany'd with juſtice, is a fault reprehenſible; and that juſtice without mercy is not juſtice, but cruelty.*

When *Auguſtus Cæſar* ſent his governors into ſeveral countries to rule, he was wont to tell them, *I truſt you with my honour, and commit my juſtice to you, that you envy not the innocent, nor be a butcher to offenders, but that with one hand you be a help to the good, and encourage the evil to amend: my meaning is, to ſend you to be a tutor to the fatherleſs, a ſupport to widows, a phyſician to the ſick, a ſtaff to the blind, and a father to all.*

Alexander found the country of the *Sidonians* in much diſorder, and the people deſired a juſt and upright governor to rule them; which being granted, the chief of the nobility expected preferment, and to be advanced in the government; but *Alexander* deceived all their hopes, and appointed one *Abdolonymus*, whoſe virtues he was informed of, and who was a poor labouring man, though of regal deſcent.

A governor in all his actions muſt be ſecret, pleaſant, and liberal; he muſt fear nothing, but be ever feared; he muſt imitate *Alexander* and *Adrian* in juſtice. A man complaining to *Alexander* againſt another, he ſtopped his ears, ſaying, *He muſt keep them for the party accuſed.* *Adrian* the emperor, upon an information made to him, the accuſer brought his complaint in writing; the emperor told him, *It was but paper and ink, and perhaps forged; therefore wiſhed him to bring witneſſes.* A philoſopher adviſed princes not to ſend children, fools, malicious or covetous perſons, or that are revengeful, to govern.

He that is appointed governor of a country, is little leſs than tutor of a prince's perſon, or inſtructor in his breeding; he is the pilot of his ſhip, the ſtandard of his army, the keeper of his people, the guide of his way, the treaſurer of all he has; becauſe all is put into his hands to govern. *Ageſilaus* exhorts his deputies rather to ſtudy juſtice, and to govern well, than to give way to the inſatiable deſire of riches; for a king loſes much love by others

others corrupt dealing; and as injuſtice provokes deſpair, ſo revenge is the executioner of injuſtice. An ambitious governor, who covets and affects greatneſs over the people he rules, is like a rat, that would make himſelf lord over mice; but ſuch high minded men muſt know, That there is nothing ſo great as to tread falſe greatneſs under foot.

Above all others, never chuſe a melancholy man counſellor to a prince, governor of a country, or general of an army; for commonly they are baſely minded, vain, enemies to noble thoughts, malicious, ſuperſtitious, and phantaſtical; as on the contrary, a ſanguine complexion is witty, has a good memory and judgment, can diſcourſe well, is loving, affable, loyal, liberal, and of great courage; and yet all theſe parts and properties are nothing without ſecrecy, which is the guardian of great affairs: ſecrecy was wont in antient time to be pictured as a goddeſs, with her hand ſtopping her mouth. I confeſs it is a difficult thing to keep counſel, and dangerous to reveal the ſecrets of a king. It is an old ſaying, *That a ſecret is hard for one to keep, enough for two, and too much for three. Plato* ſays, *Whoſoever reveals his ſecrets, gives away his liberty; and a fool being ſecret, is held wiſe; an open man is like a clear glaſs, which can hide nothing that is put into it.* Counſel without ſecrecy is like an abortive, brought forth without life, that was impriſoned in the womb of ſecret thoughts. Secrecy is the key of the cabinet where counſel is incloſed; and the reward of ſecrecy is, That it is without danger. And thus much for the election of a governor; and to proceed to my third point, which is the choice of a general for war.

How to make Choice of a General.

It is neceſſary that a general have theſe properties following; knowledge, valour, authority, fortune, and a ready wit; for the faireſt tilter is not the beſt ſoldier, nor a favourite at court more fit to make a general, than a ſheep to have the leading of lions.

The firſt man that brought war into diſcipline was *Beſorus*, king of *Egypt*, who made not war to conquer countries, but to ſpread abroad fame and renown. The perſon of a general is as much to be feared by his ſoldiers as his enemies; for too much clemency and familiarity towards his ſoldiers, breeds a neglect and contempt.

The *Romans* were ever ſtrict and ſevere in their commanders; they never entertain'd ſoldiers they could not maintain and govern; for a great army has more weight than force: they are ill to rule, and worſe to truſt: neither would they entertain an army of ſtrangers, ſaying, *They took a wolf by the ear*; for as it was dangerous to detain them, ſo it was worſe to let them go. They choſe young and generous men for ſoldiers, that were virtuouſly inclined; they gave them an oath, not to fly from battle, or leave their ſtations, unleſs it were to take up a dart, and throw at an enemy, or to ſave a friend. *Alexander* rather choſe expert ſoldiers than multitudes; for brave ſoldiers make glorious captains, that will exchange their life for honour: they know their bodies are ſubject to death, but their deeds remain to the world's end: and the greateſt honour a ſoldier can obtain, is, That a king will confeſs that he has gained by his merit, what he granted him out of liberality.

The qualities of a ſoldier muſt be theſe, To have a good heart and brave ſpirit; he muſt not be idle or ill imploy'd; he muſt not give nor take wrong; he muſt ſerve God, and deſpiſe the devil; he muſt obſerve the wiſe, and love the good; he muſt let the enemy ſee his face, and not his back; and give God the glory of all his actions.

Valour is not all that is required in a ſoldier: it muſt be mixed with diſcretion and conduct; for raſhneſs is hot in the hand, and ſlow in the end, that will adventure without fear or hope of prevailing; for ſucceſs is but a tutor of fools, as conduct proceeds from judgment. There are many things in the war which give better counſel to men, than men to things; and therefore a general ought to be no more limited than a pilot at ſea, that has the conduct of a ſhip.

The greateſt honour and eſteem a captain can purchaſe, is to overthrow his enemy by ſtratagems, rather than by hazarding; by counſelling, rather than by combat; and that captain who has performed any exploit by policy, enjoys more in the fame of it, than in the ſalary or reward given him.

Let generals, captains, and ſoldiers beware their war be not againſt their king or prince; for that is unjuſt, though there were provocation: for no provocation can give lawful power to begin ſuch a war, and purchaſe the name of rebels; whoſe circumſtances are ſuch, they are followed with threats, and kept up with intreaties: they feed upon promiſes, and attempt with fear; they are very ſuſpicious, and live upon hope; they are not content with little, nor pleaſed with reward; becauſe they leave not the king to follow the beſt cauſe, but out of hope of benefit by robbing and ſpoiling: and indeed a rebel knows not what he deſires, nor has a feeling what he doth; for their fury is ſuch, as not to admit of counſel, which makes their minds full of perturbation, becauſe they are embracers of their own will.

An heroical captain will oblige his enemy by good deeds, rather than by fear; for ſo did *Leo Africanus* to thoſe of *Carthage* he took priſoners, for humility and clemency are of noble extraction: a country conquer'd is better preſerved by love, than force or cruelty; for a ſoldier ought as well to relieve the oppreſſed, as to overcome his enemy. It is written of *Cæſar*, That he never left man unrewarded, nor offence unpardoned; whereby he grew popular: He told the council of *Rome*, That nothing was ſo glorious, nor pleaſant in this world, as to pardon an injury done; and indeed no man is victorious and conqueror, but he that uſes victory with clemency. The emperor *Titus* pardoned one that would have ſlain him, which got him much love and eſteem amongſt the *Romans*. *Adrian* treated with thoſe men that had been his enemies before he was emperor; which got him no leſs love and reſpect. *Soliman* the great *Turk*, called the *Magnificent*, reproved *John Sepaſius*, the new-raiſed king of *Hungary*, becauſe he would not pardon the archbiſhop of *Gran*, ſaying, There could not be a greater felicity than to pardon our enemies; and though they ſhould prove unthankful, yet it were better to be requited with ingratitude, than fail of the glory of ſhewing mercy. This act made his actions more favoured in *Hungary*.

Auguſtus Cæſar proclaimed twenty five thouſand crowns reward to him that ſhould apprehend *Corocota*, a great robber. *Corocota* hearing of it, went ſecretly and ſubmitted himſelf to *Cæſar*; which ſo much moved him, that he pardoned and received him into his favour. When *Scipio* took *Carthage*, he found a beautiful woman betrothed to a gentleman called *Indibilis*; and ſhe being in *Scipio*'s hands, he ſent her to her parents: in recompence whereof they returned a great quantity of money; which *Scipio* refuſed to accept of, but commanded it to be given to the young woman in dower. This courteſy ſo far prevailed upon thoſe people, that they ſubmitted themſelves to *Rome*. The ſame temper *Pompey* uſed to many fair ladies he took in his war againſt *Mithridates*, which wrought the ſame effect. *Selim* the great Turk, who was ſo cruel that he ſlew his father and brother, took many beautiful ladies, whom he uſed honourably, and ſent to their parents; which availed him much in his victories. *Joſephus* writes, That the covetouſneſs of *Marcus Craſſus*, who robbed the temple of *Jeruſalem*, was the cauſe of his puniſhment; he dying miſerably in his army, and in the hands of his enemies. *Julius*, uncle to *Julian* the apoſtate, robbed the church of *Antioch*, and was viſibly puniſhed; his intrails rotting out, and worms creeping out of them, and his excrements coming out at his mouth. *Alexander*, to his praiſe, would not ſuffer hurt to be done to the temples, nor any thing within them, when he ſacked *Tyre* and *Thebes*.

Honour is the next degree to clemency and mercy in a ſoldier, and nothing accounted more diſhonourable in him, than breach of his promiſe and word given; it makes not only himſelf odious, but it leaves an everlaſting ſtain of perfidiouſneſs upon his nation and poſterity. I could tax ſome of our chriſtian kings with this abominable vice, if I thought example would reſtore them to better grace, and wipe away their old offences; for no body can ſeek praiſe by his counterfeit virtue: for fame cannot profit, but ſhame may hurt him in the end.

A ſoldier muſt not be ſtained with vice; his care muſt be how to think well, and how to do well; for death is a continual watchman over him. A true ſoldier is of ſo heroical a ſpirit, that he had rather periſh in his deſires, than live in baſe thoughts. He ſhould not be moved with adverſity, nor elevated with proſperity; for *Plato* ſays, That a noble and brave minded man, hath more trouble to tame his heart, than to attempt great matters; and will think it more pain to ſtoop to a ſtraw, than to reach to a bough; he will ſcorn to deſire honour, and not to deſerve it with virtue and valour, and will think it an unworthy act to have his thoughts upon baſe things. A philoſopher ſays, He dies not, who leaves a good fame; nor he lives not, who hath not a good eſteem: they did not value men by their birth or age, but for their noble deeds they did. The triumphs that were ſo famous at *Rome*, were not eſteemed unleſs the party had done ſome act of honour or renown.

I will now diſtinguiſh betwixt ſuch worthy ſoldiers as I have ſpoken of, and the contrary, who make others virtues their vices. The heathens had ſuch regard to their oaths, that they made it death for a man to forſwear himſelf. *Hannibal* gave leave to ten priſoners he took, to go to *Rome*, with promiſe to return; two of them failed, which they found afterwards to be an act of ſo great indignity, that they killed themſelves. *Parmenio* adviſed *Alexander* to overcome his enemies by deceit and treaſon; *Alexander* anſwered: If I were *Parmenio* I might do it; but being *Alexander*, he would not offer it. The phyſician of king *Pyrrhus*, made overtures to *Fabricius* to poiſon his maſter, if he would reward him: but *Fabricius* was ſo far from conſenting to ſo foul an act, that he diſcovered it to *Pyrrhus*, and writ to him. That it was not the cuſtom of the *Romans* to overcome their ene-

enemies by treaſon. *Juſtinian* the emperor being at war with the *Perſians*, hired the *Hunnes* to ſerve him; but they falſly put themſelves into the pay of the *Perſians*. *Juſtinian* inform'd the king of *Perſia* of it; who juſtly commanded the *Hunnes* to be ſtrangled for breaking their words, to the ſhameful example of a chriſtian king. *Uladiſlaus*, king of *Hungary*, being at war with *Amurat* the great *Turk*, he ſwore the articles of peace made betwixt them, but falſly and perfidiouſly broke it. Hereupon the battle follow'd, and *Amurat* took out of his boſom the articles ſworn to by *Uladiſlaus*, and lifting his hands and eyes to heaven, ſaid, Theſe are the conditions ſworn to by the chriſtians, which falſly they have broken; but if thou be'ſt God, as the chriſtians do eſteem thee, revenge this falſeneſs they have done me. He had ſcarcely ſpoken theſe words, but *Uladiſlaus* was ſlain, the *Hungarians* routed, and *Amurat* got the victory. Here *Uladiſlaus* perfidiouſly broke his faith; and though he had lived, yet he had loſt all by loſing it.

But to redeem this treachery by a chriſtian emperor, of more fame and worth than the latter times have ſent forth, I mean *Charles* V. he being in the wars of *Tunis* in *Barbary*, the baker of *Barbaroſa* his enemy, the titular king of *Algiers*, repair'd to him, with offer to poiſon his maſter with a loaf of bread of his own baking; which the emperor worthily rejected, and told him it was an act of a *Turk*, and not of a chriſtian, and gave him leave to depart like a villain as he came.

God is ſo angry with unjuſt actions, that many times he puniſheth the intentions of thoſe that deſire to commit unnatural cruelties. To inſtance in *Charles* king of *Sicily*, who after his ſubjects had rebelled, and maſſacred the *French* at the *Sicilian* veſpers, beſieged the city of *Meſſina*, and put it to ſuch ſtreights, that the people begg'd mercy; but with great anger and paſſion he refuſed it; upon which they grew ſo deſperate, that they made choice rather to die than ſubmit, and couragiouſly ſallied forth upon the king's army, overcame him, and became free. This raſhneſs made the king afterwards ſubject to the government of don *Pedro* king of *Arragon*.

In the like manner *Lewis* earl of *Flanders* was uſed at the city of *Ghent*; for being before it with thirty thouſand men, and it being put to a great extremity and pinch, the people of *Ghent* craved mercy, as *Meſſina* had done; which the earl refuſed, unleſs they ſubmitted themſelves to his mercy with ropes about their necks; but they finding his obſtinacy and wilfulneſs ſo great, ſix thouſand of the citizens ſallied out of the town, overcame the earl, and made him fly in diſguiſe to a little cottage near *Bruges*; and upon this defeat, many other places revolted from him.

Had theſe princes had any grace, or ſenſe of their religion they outwardly profeſs'd, they would have known what a father of the church had taught them, That to pardon many for the merits of one, was chriſtianity; but to puniſh many for the fault of one, was tyranny. Out of conſcience one ſhould be more fearful to injure a poor man, than a rich; for a rich man revenges himſelf, as thoſe of *Ghent* and *Meſſina* did by force; the others with tears.

Let cruel and perverſe natures think what they pleaſe of themſelves and actions, they will find the pleaſures they do to a friend; it will make him more friendly: and a courteſy done to an enemy will be a means to make him become a friend; but the ground thereof muſt proceed from God; for *Cicero* ſays, That take away the piety towards God, and you'll take away all fidelity and conjunction of human ſociety.

To conclude this point I treat of, I think that prince moſt happy who has the three ſorts of people aforeſaid to ſerve him, *viz.* wiſe and grave ſenators to counſel, juſt and upright magiſtrates to govern, and valiant, young, and diſcreet ſoldiers to execute: The one ſupports the other in convenient time, like fruit which comes not altogether, or ends altogether; ſome learning, others obeying; or like antient and ſage fathers, that leave their tender ſons to ſucceed them in their profeſſions and virtues.

And now I will end with the imployment of the king's ſhips, from the year 1635. till this year 1640. wherein you have ſeen the cauſe of their imployment; for then his majeſty began to have a feeling of the inſolencies committed on the narrow ſeas; which he redreſſed by thoſe fleets aforeſaid, and ſince has ſo quelled his neighbours, that they dare not but do reaſon to his majeſty's ſubjects; as appears by theſe particular benefits following it has produced.

The firſt, is an acknowledgment of his majeſty's ſovereignty of the ſeas, which of late years ſeemed to be queſtioned. The ſecond, is the peaceable trade we now enjoy into the ports of *Flanders*, which the *Hollanders* were wont to forbid, though they were warranted by the articles of peace in 1604. which trade of *Flanders* hath turned to great profit to his majeſty in cuſtoms, and ten times as much to his ſubjects, by the commerce of that province; for I muſt confeſs with grief, that our nation was much injured till now of late, by thoſe baſe people of *Holland*; for they ſtuck not to interrupt our trade, ſeizing of our *Engliſh* barks, at the very

inſtant they permitted ſhips of their own to enter the ports without impeachment; and though I have made often and ſundry complaints thereof, yet no remedy could be obtained; and as I conceive, it was contriv'd at out of policy, which theſe fleets aforeſaid have now order'd for the liberty of the ſubject, and reputation of the king and country.

The next that followeth is,

How to make War upon Scotland, *if they follow their rebellious Courſes.*

THOUGH this diſcourſe of *Scotland* is fitter for the fifth book, which contains projects and ſtratagems of war, yet becauſe it is an active time, and concerns the ſea, which is the chief drift of my narrative, I have annexed it to thoſe actions that are gone before, and will proceed to make war againſt *Scotland*, with moſt conveniency, and leaſt expence and charge.

The proportion of his majeſty's ſhips to be employed, I would not wiſh to be above three, for theſe reaſons: the world ſhould not think it a ſervice of that importance, as to require a greater force; and to theſe three ſhips to have an addition of ten or twelve colliers, of two or three hundred tons burden, that trade to *Newcaſtle*.

It is not fit for above three ſhips of his majeſty's to be ſo far from the narrow ſeas, *Fran[illegible] Holland* fronting upon us, which war[illegible]os, nor readineſs to arm to ſea, wha[illegible] they ſhould intend againſt us; but [illegible]hall prevent any ſuch deſign of theirs, when our ſhips ſhall appear at ſea upon our own coaſt.

In the colliers ſhips aforeſaid, to tranſport a regiment of fourteen or fifteen hundred ſoldiers; and to eaſe the charge, to allow every ſhip but thirty ſeafaring men, which will not amount to the third part of charge of victuals and men, and yet do the ſame ſervice as ſo many of the king's ſhips would perform.

Beſides the colliers aforeſaid, I would wiſh that as many fiſher barks may be preſſed, to arm them with ſmall guns, and every man to have his muſket and pike, and to be furniſhed with all other proviſions, as ſalt, and hooks to fiſh, that when they are not otherwiſe imploy'd, they may continue their fiſhing, and ſupply the army, both by ſea and land: we ſhall find theſe veſſels of great importance, as well to ſend from port to port upon any occaſion, as to tranſport our men from one ſhore to another.

At our firſt arrival, that we have care to poſſeſs and fortify very ſtrongly ſome town near the ſea, on the north ſide, and the ſame on the ſouth and *Lowdon* ſide, and to put into them a ſufficient garriſon out of the fifteen hundred men aforeſaid, and the reſt of the ſoldiers to keep as a running camp to forage the country; for by help of the fiſhing veſſels aforeſaid, they may be ſpeedily tranſported from the north ſide to the ſouth, or from the ſouth to the north, and havock and ſpoil the country as they liſt; and the two towns poſſeſſed and fortified, will ſerve them for a retreat; and the country of *Scotland* thereabouts will be forced to maintain four thouſand men continually for its defence; two thouſand on the one ſide, and two thouſand on the other; for the *Frith* ſo divides them, that one cannot ſuccour another under an hundred miles march, by the bridge of *Sterling*.

Beſides, theſe towns being fortified and made ſtrong, will ſerve ſuch *Scots* for places of rendezvous, as ſhall fly from the covenanters, and ſubmit themſelves to his majeſty's obedience; which no doubt many will do, if the former proclamation be publiſhed, which his majeſty ſet forth when he was in *Scotland*; for all tenants to leave their landlords upon the condition expreſſed in that proclamation; only I would have this added to it, That whoſoever ſhall thus fly, bring with them their arms to the places of rendezvous, where they ſhall receive ready money for ſuch arms as they ſhall bring, to the uttermoſt value: and this will be a ready way and means to diſarm great part of the rebels.

The next care muſt be to ſupply the army with corn; for the boats will be of great help to ſuccour them with fiſh, the corn to be baked into biſcuit, either in *Holy Iſland*, or at *Berwick*, and thence ſent to the army; which for want of ovens, mills, and perhaps of wood to bake it, cannot be ſo well furniſhed with bread.

How to carry the Action at Sea with leaſt Expence to his Majeſty.

IMPRIMIS, To take away the ancient abuſe of purſers, commonly known, whereby neither king nor ſubject ſhall be wronged: this I will make apparent, when there is occaſion to treat of it by the council of war.

Item, Whereas every four men are meſſed with equal proportion of victuals in the king's ſervice at ſea, we have often uſed in the queen's time, in our ſouthern expeditions, to make our victuals go the further, to bring five men to the allowance of four

four, and ſo we have got a week in every month.

Item, The ſame courſe we may now take, and with more content to the company; for in thoſe days, and thoſe voyages of the queen's, we could never be ſupplied with victuals, no, not ſo much as water, till our return; as here we ſhall have plenty of fiſh and water.

Item, That one of the beſt colliers ſhips be appointed for the officers of the ordnance, to carry ſuch proviſions as properly belong to that office, which will nothing hinder the tranſportation of ſuch ſoldiers as ſhe carries.

Item, To carry in her ten or twelve culverins and demy culverins, to fortify the iſland of *Eskiffe*, which is the guard and defence of the harbour of *Leith*.

Item, Beſides plenty of all kind of ammunition, that they carry a thouſand arms to ſupply the king's party, if there be occaſion; as alſo good ſtore of ſeaſoned deal boards, ſpikes, all manner of iron tools for carpenters and ſmiths; proviſion for pioneers; and every pioneer to have a pike-ſtaff to lie by him, whilſt he is at work, that he may take himſelf to it, if he be aſſailed by an enemy; to carry good ſtore of fowlers, as of great importance many ways; to carry twenty pitched pots of iron, with all kind of ingredients, to be uſed in a ſtratagem to ſet on fire their coal-pits; to be careful that the mould for their bullets do fit the bore of their musket.

Item, Beſides the ſpoil the *Engliſh* ſoldiers ſhall make in the country, that they be careful to deſtroy their corn, as the next way utterly to ruin them; for beſides that they will take away their bread, they will utterly deſtroy their ſtraw, which is the food of their cattle and horſes; for hay they have none.

How to provide for the Weſt Part of Scotland.

THERE muſt be as great a proviſion made for the weſt part of *Scotland*; as for the eaſt, I have ſpoken of: and how to do it with the leaſt charge, and moſt conveniency, I will here ſet down.

Imprimis, To furniſh three ſhips of an hundred tons each; and to be provided and fitted in *Barnſtable* in *Devonſhire*, with forty mariners in each ſhip; we ſhall ſave thereby five hundred miles ſailing, by furniſhing them at *Barnſtable*, or that part of *Devonſhire*, or *Cornwall*, and not at *London*; beſides the ſhift of three ſeveral winds, as from *Barnſtable*, a ſoutherly, weſterly, or an eaſterly wind will carry us directly to *Ireland*, or oppoſite to *Ireland*; ſo that there will be much time gotten, and great expence ſaved.

Item, There muſt be the ſame proviſion made of fiſher-boats, corn, ſalt, arms, and all other neceſſaries, as is ſet down for the eaſt part of *Scotland*.

Item, To command, upon pain of death, that there be no manner of trade betwixt *Ireland* and *Scotland*, or betwixt the *Iſle of Man*, or any other place whatſoever and *Scotland*.

Item, That the three ſhips and boats aforeſaid do ſeize upon all barks and veſſels whatſoever, great and ſmall, on that weſtern ſide of *Scotland*, and carry them into the ports of *Ireland*, there to put them ſafe aſhore, taking out of them their ſails, maſts, ropes, rudders, that they may not ſteal, or be ſtolen away; and if his majeſty have occaſion to tranſport an army from *Ireland* to *Scotland*, theſe ſhips and boats will be able to do it, which otherwiſe on a ſudden all *Ireland* cannot furniſh.

Item, That a diſcreet gentleman be choſen to command this action to the weſt part of *Scotland*, and ſo to order things, that there be one ſhip in a port of *Ireland*, and another in a harbour of *Scotland*, to ſend and receive intelligence of the ſtate of the two kingdoms, and what help and aſſiſtance is required from one to another.

Item, That a ſcout royal be built in the iſland of *Arran*; and ſuch a place to be choſen where the water and channel is deepeſt for ſhips to ride and float: this fort will be able to defend ſuch ſhips of ours, as we ſhall imploy on that coaſt, if it happen that *France*, or any other nation, ſhall give the *Scots* aſſiſtance by ſea.

Item, To make the caſtle of *Dunbarton* impregnable, which may be eaſily done; and there to keep a magazine for all proviſions of war. *Dunbarton* is ſo ſeated, that it keeps all the northern parts of *Scotland* in awe; and that *Frith* of *Arran*, where it lies, goes as far to the eaſtward as *Glaſcow*, and weſtward to the cape or mull of *Cantire*; ſo that betwixt *Glaſcow* and *Cantire* there will be no paſſage over the water, having no proviſion of boats.

And from *Glaſcow* to *Sterling* is but ten or twelve miles, from whence the river runs into the eaſt *Frith*, and ſo into the ſea; in which ſpace likewiſe there is no paſſage for want of boats and bridges; inſomuch, that we ſhall have but ten or twelve miles to fortify, *viz.* from *Glaſcow* to *Sterling*, which if we do, we ſecure the ſouth part of *Scotland* to *England* from any incurſions the northern parts or highlanders can make againſt either of us; and ſo we ſhall pale them in their own bounds and country, where it is not fit for civil men to live.

This being done, if his majeſty pleaſe, he may join that ſouthern part of *Scotland* with *England*, and make it but one entire kingdom, allowing the inhabitants the ſame privilege the *Engliſh* enjoy: and this is no more than has been in former times; for ſome while *Northumberland* and *Cumberland* belong'd to *Scotland*, and ſometime to *England*.

If his majeſty ſhall pleaſe to do it, and make himſelf abſolute maſter of *Scotland*, let him raze the caſtles and fortifications of *Edinburgh*; for we may ſee by example of all ages, that the caſtle of *Edinburgh* is the place (in all combuſtions) that either king, rebels, or foreign enemies covet to take; for whoſoever poſſeſſes it, is not ſo quickly or eaſily beaten out of it; for, indeed, the caſtle is the defence of the whole country, being ſupply'd with victuals.

And inſtead of *Edinburgh*, which is the ſupreme city, and now made the head of juſtice, whither all men reſort, as the only ſpring that waters the reſt of the land within the kingdom, I would wiſh his majeſty did fortify, ſtrengthen, and make impregnable the town of *Leith*, and there to ſettle the ſeat of juſtice, with all other privileges *Edinburgh* enjoys, referring it to the choice of the inhabitants of *Edinburgh*, whether they will make their dwelling where they do, or remove to *Leith*, where they ſhall enjoy the ſame liberties they did at *Edinburgh*.

His majeſty may do it out of theſe reſpects; *Leith* is a maritime town, and will ſave a great labour and charge in carrying and conveying their merchandize to *Edinburgh*, which no man but will find a conveniency in.

Leith is a ſea town whither ſhips reſort, and mariners make their dwellings; and the *Trinity-Houſe* there ſettled; and lies more convenient for tranſportation and importation, it being the port-town of *Edinburgh*, and in time of war may cut off all proviſions betwixt the ſea and *Edinburgh*, and bring *Edinburgh* to the mercy of it.

From *Leith* to *Murro-Frith*, and from *Murro-Frith* to the iſlands of *Orkney*, there is never a harbour in that part of *Scotland* that will entertain any ſhip of great burden; inſomuch, that if his majeſty fortify the town of *Leith*, and the iſlands of *Inskiffe*, it will ſecure the whole kingdom of *Scotland*; for by ſea no enemy can attempt it, and by land we ſhall be provided to defend it. By famine an enemy can have no hope to force them to yield, becauſe we ſhall ſupply them by ſea; if the people within the town prove mutinous and rebellious, with our ordnance out of ſhips, we ſhall be able to beat their houſes about their ears, and make them ſubmit their lives and goods to our diſpoſal. As I advite the caſtle of *Edinburgh* to be abſolutely razed, ſo would I in like manner wiſh, that all the caſtles in *Scotland* were ſo ſerved, except *Leith* and *Inskiffe*, as aforeſaid, *Dunbarton*, the new erected caſtle in the iſland of *Arran*; and, if there be need, to continue fortified the two towns, the one of *Lowden* ſide, and the other on *Fife* ſide. Theſe places excepted, it were good there were a law enacted, That it ſhould not be lawful for any one piece of ordnance to remain in *Scotland*, under any pretence whatſoever; then ſhall the fortifications aforeſaid be without danger, either by ſiege, or otherwiſe; and of ſtrength ſufficient to defend themſelves againſt all enemies, domeſtick or foreign, eſpecially when the ſea lies open to us to be relieved with fiſh or food, and in our power to forbid others to take benefit of the ſea.

For the northern part of *Scotland*, (which I have paled out from the reſt of the country, as unworthy to be reckon'd with theſe ſouthern parts, both in reſpect of the ſoil, as alſo for the brutiſhneſs of the people,) I wiſh conſidering their qualifications, that they may be only taught ſo much civility and breeding, as to acknowledge his majeſty the true ſovereign king over them, without impoſing any kind of tax on them; for the country cannot afford it. And becauſe their natures and diſpoſitions are turbulent, and never free from quarrels and tumults among themſelves, I would wiſh that they ſhould be encouraged in that factious way with one another, that their thoughts may be employ'd otherwiſe than in plotting and contriving miſchief againſt the ſouthern and civil part of *Scotland*; this would in time either reduce them to civility, or by diviſions quite extirpate them.

This weſtern part of *Scotland*, I have treated of, is the moſt dangerous place of all the kingdom to receive relief out of *France* by ſhipping; and the more dangerous, becauſe from many parts of *France*, as namely *Breſt*, *Rochel*, and all that coaſt thereabouts, one wind will carry them out of their harbours, without ever ſtriking ſail, till they arrive in that part of *Scotland*.

An Admonition to Gentlemen to beware how they engage in Sea Voyages, or give Ear to Projectors that put them upon ſuch Actions.

MAN for hope of gain is apt to be led into many inconveniencies, when he has an opinion of the wiſdom or honeſty of him that perſuades; and this no where appears plainer than in ſea adventures, into which ſuch impoſtors and cheats have drawn gentlemen, to the ruin of themſelves and poſterity.

I know ſome who have perſuaded gentlemen, that the *Indies* afforded nothing but gold, and that for fetching, and that they filled their own purſes with gold; and thoſe gentlemen ran headlong to deſtruction, without giving ear to advice, or believing any friend that adviſed them to the contrary.

But that ſuch gentlemen may ſee their miſtake, I will touch upon the ſtate of the *Weſt India* trade, by which they may perceive what they are to expect by robbing at ſea; for I have already made out what they are to get by pillaging aſhore; and I wiſh this may come to the hands of thoſe who are in danger of being drawn in by ſuch unhappy projectors.

He that will undertake a voyage, either with fleet, or private ſhips, muſt conſider, that in the *Weſt Indies* he is out of all hopes of carracks, ſhips from *Guinea*, or *Braſil*, and all other trade, and muſt expect only ſuch as are bound thither, or trade from place to place.

They muſt alſo conſider, their ſhips will ſoon grow foul, and not be able to fetch up thoſe that have been lately careen'd. Fires made aſhore will give warning of an enemy being on the coaſt, and ſo prevent him. And, laſtly, the wind and current ſets with that violence and conſtancy, that it is impoſſible to keep to windward of any port, if we keep the ſea, or to recover a heighth, if we are put to leeward of it.

Therefore the error of our planters in *Virginia* and *Bermudas* ſhall appear, who were drawn principally into thoſe enterprizes, in hopes to annoy the *Spaniards* trade in the *Weſt Indies*, not knowing that the current ſets with ſuch force from cape *Florida* to the northward, that it is impoſſible to bear it up.

They were ſo ignorant as not to know, that if they go from thoſe places to the *Weſt Indies*, they muſt firſt fetch the *Canaries* for a wind, which is a thouſand leagues from them, and but five hundred from *England*; ſo that they are five hundred leagues nearer the *Weſt Indies* going out of *England*, than out of *Virginia*.

Nor do they conſider, that the water does not riſe ſo much in *Virginia*, as to grave their ſhips; or the ſmall conveniency that place yields to careen them; or the ſudden guſts that come from the land, and will endanger them in their careening.

But ſuppoſe *Virginia* to be nearer, and no impediment for our ſhips to ſail from thence to the *Indies*, I would ask, what poſſibility there is, rather to meet a fleet in the open ſeas there, where I have ſhewn the force of wind and current will put them to leeward, than on the coaſt of *Spain*, whither they are bound, and muſt repair, and where there are capes and head-lands, which they muſt make before they put into the ſhore or ports?

Reaſon will make any one confeſs, it is more likely to find a man one looks for at the door he muſt certainly go in at, than on a wild heath, where he has many ways to go by; and ſo it is with ſhips, it being better to wait for them at a cape or head-land, which they muſt make, than in the ſpacious and open ſea. And thus much for this point.

But ſeeing I have run over the caſualties or uncertainties, or rather the impoſſibilities to annoy the *Spaniards* in the *Indies*, I will ſhew the inconſtancy of ſea affairs, by precedents of the *Engliſh* fleets that were employ'd againſt *Spain* in time of war, wherein the wealth taken in the voyages will appear; and by it let us judge, what profit we are to expect by ſuch actions, which are governed by unconſtant winds and fortune.

The

The Number of Voyages ſet out by her Majeſty during the War, and the Profit they turned to.

1585. SIR *Francis Drake* to the *Indies*, ſome few pieces of ordnance.
1587. Sir *Francis Drake* to *Cadiz Road*, after which he took a carrack that had winter'd at *Moçambique*.
1588. A defenſive, but a victorious action.
1589. The expedition to *Portugal*, no profit at all.
1589. My lord of *Cumberland*, ſome gain to himſelf, but nothing to her majeſty.
1590. Sir *Martin Forbuſher*, and Sir *John Hawkins*, no profit at all.
1591. The lord *Thomas Howard*, almoſt a ſaving voyage.
1591. The earl of *Cumberland*, no profit at all.
1592. Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s fleet, a carrack taken; many adventurers.
1593. The earl of *Cumberland*, ſome gain to himſelf, none to the queen.
1594. A defenſive fleet in *Britany*, no profit. Sir *Martin Forbuſher* ſlain.
1595. Sir *Francis Drake* and Sir *John Hawkins* to the *Indies*, where they both died; only ſome ordnance.
1596. *Cadiz* expedition, two galleons with their ordnance; the galleons ſold for 300 *l.*
1597. The iſland voyage, almoſt ſaving.
1599. The *Downs* action, a defenſive fleet.
1600. Sir *Richard Lewſon*, no profit at all.
1601. Sir *Richard Lewſon*, but with a defenſive fleet in *Ireland*.
1602. Sir *Richard Lewſon* and Sir *William Monſon* took a carrack, a ſhip of great value.
1602. Sir *William Monſon*, no profit at all.
1603. A defenſive fleet, when the queen died.

The End of the Second Book.

THE

THE

EPISTLE.

TO ALL

Captains of Ships, Maſters, Pilots, Mariners, and Common Sailors.

IN all reaſon the dedicating of this third book is more proper and due to you, than any of the others to whom they are commended: forasmuch as what is contained in them, you and your profeſſion are the principalleſt actors and authors of, as the wheel from whence the reſt receives their motion.

For what would it avail that all boughs of trees were oaks, or every ſtalk of hemp a fathom of cable, or every creature a perfect artiſt, to frame and build a ſhip? what were all theſe more than to the eye, were it not for you, your art and skill, to conduct and guide her? She were like a ſumptuous coſtly palace nobly furniſhed, and no body to inhabit in it; or like a houſe in *Athens*, *Laertius* writes of, in which all that were born proved fools; and another, in the field of *Mars* near *Rome*, whoſe owners ever died ſuddenly; both which were commanded, the one by the ſenators of *Athens*, the other by the emperor *Mark Anthony*, not only to be pulled down, but the timber to be burnt.

How ſhould we know that *France*, *Italy*, and *Spain*, produced wine out of the grape, or *England* other commodities not heard of by them? how ſhould we know the *Indies*, and wealth therein, or the means to receive it from thence, were it not for your skill and labour? how ſhould we know that all nations differ from us in language, or one from another, but by your navigations? all iſlands, how little ſoever, would be in the error of the *Chineſes*, who thought there was no other world nor people but their own, till the *Portugueſe*, by their travels and mathematical art and learning, made it apparent to them. All theſe ſecrets muſt be attributed to your art, adventures, and painful diſcoveries.

What ſubjects can make their king and country more happy than you, by the offenſive and defenſive ſervices you may do them at ſea? what wealth is brought in or carried out of the kingdom, but muſt paſs through your hands? what honour has *England* of late years gained, and all by your adventures and valour, which has made you excellent above all other nations? Who knows not that your parts and profeſſion deſerve favour of the ſtate? who knows not that the whole kingdom has uſe for you? and that there is a neceſſity to nouriſh you?

But whether it be the ſea that works contrary effects to the land, or whether it be a liberty you feel aſhore, after you have been penned up in ſhips, like birds in a cage, or untamed horſes, when they are let looſe; certain it is, neither birds nor horſes can ſhew more extravagant lewdneſs, more diſorder of life, and leſs fear of God, than your carriage diſcovers when you come aſhore, and caſt off the command your ſuperior officers had over you: for though in deſperate perils at ſea, you promiſe to your ſelves amendment of life, and perhaps vow never to try that kind of fortune more, as women in labour do, never to have to do with their husbands; yet when they are paſt, they are ſoon forgot of both, and you return to your old accuſtomed vomit, without ſenſe of promiſe, or danger eſcaped, but rather improve in your wicked courſes.

He that could as eaſily reduce the common ſailor to civility and good behaviour aſhore, as to be under the government of a diſcreet commander at ſea, were more than man; for the nature of ſailors is to ſtand in more awe of a mean officer at ſea, whom they love and fear, than of a great perſon on land, whom they neither fear nor love; and therefore the way to reduce them to goodneſs muſt proceed from the commanders that govern them: their words muſt be as well mixed with honey as gall; they

muſt tell truth, and not pleaſe with flattery; for a man cannot be both a friend and a flatterer.

This adviſing office is only fit for men that have been bred and trained up in the ſchool of looſeneſs and liberty, and recalled by years and grace to civility: they muſt teach them to embrace the good, and eſchew the evil, and muſt uſe the terror of God's juſtice, and the reward of repentance: they muſt ſhew the hate God bears to wickedneſs, to lying tongues, to hands that ſhed innocent blood, and a heart that deviſes miſchief: and on the contrary, the love God has for virtue and goodneſs, adviſing them not only to be good, but to take away the occaſion of being evil. This will be the hope to make them leave ſinning, when they ſhall be aſhamed and afraid to commit ſin; for *Seneca* ſays, *That the clemency of a governor makes many aſhamed to offer offence.*

But now let me apply my ſelf to you, the men of command and authority over theſe untaught and untamed creatures, to whom this charge is committed. Beware that your counſel be good, and that you follow it your ſelves; if not, you are like a harp, that ſounds pleaſantly to others, and enjoys no part it ſelf; or to *Criſpianus*, a ſervant of *Trajan* the emperor, whoſe words were ſweet and effectual to perſuade, but he never acted any thing but what was worthy of reprehenſion and puniſhment. Remember that example is of greater force than perſuaſion with many men; and when theſe men ſhall ſee your life concur with your admonitions, it will be the ſtrongeſt force and motive for their converſion: for indeed he is not worthy to live, that takes not care to live well; and *Cicero* ſays, *He dies not, who leaves a good fame; and he lives not, that hath an ill reputation.*

BOOK

BOOK III.

Containing the Office of the Lord High Admiral of *England*, and all Miniſters and Inferior Officers under him, and what belongs to each Man's Office; with many other Particulars to that Purpoſe.

The Office of the Admiralty of England.

THE maſter of the office is the lord high admiral of *England*, who holds his court of juſtice for trials of all ſea cauſes for life and goods, being aſſiſted by the doctor of the civil law under him, intitled, the judge of the admiralty, a marſhal, and other inferior miniſters of juſtice, proceeding in all affairs according to the civil law. The advocates, proctors, civilians, in all great cauſes and trials of pirates, eſpecially the lieutenant of the admiralty of *England*, and the four principal officers of the navy, were wont to ſit on the bench as aſſiſtants to the judges; which officers of the navy uſed to commit ſuch offenders as imbezzeled the king's goods, or had otherwiſe misbehaved themſelves, to the priſon belonging to the court, to receive their trial there, unleſs in the mean time they were releaſed by the lord admiral.

Every lord admiral ſubſtitutes his deputy or vice-admiral in every maritime ſhire in *England*, except in ſuch places where the lords of manors challenge a right formerly granted by the kings of *England*, as will appear by their grants.

Theſe vice-admirals are carefully to look that all things be performed that are ordained by the lord admiral, and yearly to keep a court in their ſeveral countries, where every man's complaint may be publickly heard.

Another branch of this office conſiſts merely in the government of his majeſty's navy, which ſince the beginning of queen *Elizabeth*'s time has been of great conſequence, and has divers feed-officers paid out of the receipt of his majeſty's exchequer, being patentees under the great ſeal of *England* for performance of the ſame, (beſides many other inferior officers, who hold their places by the lord admiral's warrant only,) who are the preſent ſubject of this diſcourſe. They are as follows.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
THE lord high admiral of *England*, the grand maſter of the office, whoſe fee is *per annum*	133	6	8
The lieutenant of the admiralty, whoſe fee is *per annum* 100 *l.* his diet 10 *s. per diem*; two clerks, one at 12 *d.* the other at 8 *d. per diem*; and 10 *l.* for his boat-hire, in all *per annum*	325	19	2
The treaſurer of the navy's fee 100 marks, diet 6 *s.* 8 *d.* two clerks at 8 *d.* each *per diem*, and 8 *l.* boat-hire	220	13	4
The comptroller's fee 50 *l.* diet 4 *s. per diem*, two clerks at 8 *d. per diem*, and 8 *l.* boat-hire	155	6	8
The ſurveyor's fee 40 *l.* diet 4 *s. per diem*, two clerks at 8 *d.* a piece *per diem*	146	6	8
The clerk's fee 33 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* diet 3 *s.* 4 *d. per diem*, and 8 *l.* boat-hire	102	3	4
Three aſſiſtants to the principal officers, at 20 *l.* fee each of them *per annum*	60	0	0
The keeper of the great ſtore 26 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* diet 2 *s.* 6 *d. per diem*, and 6 *l.* boat-hire	76	5	10
The ſurveyor of the victuals, for his fee 58 *l.* diet 5 *s. per diem*, and one clerk 8 *d.*	161	8	4

The

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
The king's merchant's fee, 30 *l. per annum*, without any other allowance	30	0	0
The grand pilot's fee, 20 *l. per annum*, *black deeps*	20	0	0
The maſter ſhipwright, at 12 *d. per diem*	18	5	0
Allowance to a maſter for his attendance in grounding of the queen's great ſhips, at 6 *d. per diem*	9	2	6
Captains of all her majeſty's caſtles and forts on the ſea ſide, except the cinque-ports.			

Theſe were the antient officers in fee till the reign of queen *Elizabeth*; ſince which time there is added,

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
A ſtore-keeper by patent at *Portſmouth*, who is allowed to his fee *per annum*	20	0	0
Two other maſter ſhipwrights, allowed each of them *per annum* 33 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*	66	13	4
The ſtore-keeper at *Woolwich*	50	0	0

Memorandum, That there are many other inferior officers and miniſters that are paid by the treaſurer of the navy, whereof the four maſter attendants and clerks of the check hold their places by patent, without any fee out of the *Exchequer*, being granted by king *James*, with the lord admiral's conſent, and the reſt, by immediate warrant from the lord admiral to the officers, *viz.*

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
The four maſter attendants, each at 61 *l.* 2 *s.* 1 *d.* wages *per annum*, beſides their victuals, and the king's coat out of the wardrobe	244	8	4
The clerk of the check at *Chatham*, who is allowed on the quarter-books for his wages *per annum* 50 *l.* in reward of his extraordinary ſervice, 43 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* and for paper, quills, ink, and travelling charges, coming quarterly with the books from *Chatham* to *London*, to deliver them to the treaſurer and other officers, 6 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* in all	100	0	0
The clerk of the ſurvey for his wages, 12 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* and his reward otherwiſe 30 *l.* in all	42	13	4
The ſtore-keeper for his wages 12 *d. per diem*, and in reward of his extraordinary pains, 31 *l.* 15 *s.* in all	50	0	0
The clerk of the check at *Deptford*, who is allowed on the quarter-books for his wages *per annum*	30	0	0
The clerk of the check at *Woolwich*, 12 *d. per diem*	18	5	0
The clerk of the check at *Portſmouth*, who hath for his fee *per annum* 20 *l.* and for paper 1 *s.* 8 *d.* alſo for extraordinary pains by way of reward by the lord admiral's warrant of late 20 *l. per annum*	40	1	8
A clerk of the rope-makers at *Woolwich*, for keeping the ſtores, and check of the workmen twice a day, 2 *s. per diem*	36	10	0
A maſter workman directing the rope-makers, allowed *per annum* ſtanding fee	50	0	0
A clerk at *Chatham*, that keeps daily checque of the rope-makers, and looks to the ſtores, 2 *s. per diem*	36	10	0
A maſter workman over the rope-makers there, at	50	0	0

Standing Officers belonging to the ſhips, who have wages according to the rates of ſhips.

First Rate, beſides victuals.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
A Boatſwain	29	6	7
A Maſter Gunner	26	1	5
A Purſer	26	1	5

Second Rate.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
	26	1	5
	23	17	11
	23	17	11

Third Rate.

A Boatſwain	21	14	6
A Maſter Gunner	19	11	0
A Purſer	19	11	0

Fourth Rate.

	19	11	0
	19	17	7
	17	7	0

Fifth Rate.

A Boatſwain	17	17	7
A Gunner	15	4	2
A Purſer,			

Sixth Rate.

	15	4	2
	19	4	2

l.	*s.*	*d.*
332	8	10

A ma-

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
A Maſter Gunner of *Bayes Sconce*, has wages *per Annum*	14	13	03
A Maſter Gunner of *Warham Sconce*, the like	14	13	03

At Chatham.

A Boatſwain of the yard at *Chatham*	25	00	00
Two Porters, each at twenty marks *per Annum*	26	13	04
A Houſe-keeper	13	06	08
A Chirurgeon	13	06	08

At Deptford.

A Boatſwain of the yard	25	00	00
A Porter of the gates	13	06	08
A Meſſenger of the navy	18	05	00

It now remains to give an account, by way of collection out of former proceedings and cuſtoms of this office, what may be the general and particular duties of theſe officers in the execution of their places for his majeſty's ſervice.

And, firſt, for the lord high admiral himſelf, who is great maſter and comptroller of the office, I neither can, nor will preſume to intermeddle therewith, being ſufficiently known by the extent of his letters patents, and former precedents.

The lieutenant of the admiralty is a place not extended to any late precedents, to manifeſt itſelf, and therefore omitted.

The four principal officers of the navy, and of late times the commiſſioners that executed their places, are the conduit pipes to whom the lord admiral properly directs all his commands for his majeſty's ſervice, and from whom it deſcends to all other inferior officers and miniſters under them, whatſoever.

Firſt, their general duties are, as I conceive, to attend the lord admiral, as men for their experience and reputation fit to adviſe his lordſhip in all cauſes and conſultations for the advancement, furtherance, and managing ſuch undertakings as they are commanded by his majeſty and the ſtate, as well for ſervice of his highneſs's ſhips at ſea, as for the building and maintaining them at home; and likewiſe to adviſe his lordſhip, from time to time, of all occurrences tending to the ordering and managing of his majeſty's ſervice, whatſoever, for the navy.

Secondly, They are to obſerve weekly meetings, or oftener, if the ſervice require it, at *London*, as well to attend the execution and direction of ſuch warrants as ſhall come from the lord admiral, as alſo for the ordering of all buſineſs furthering his majeſty's ſervice; and to give ſatisfaction to the ſubject for all materials delivered, or workmanſhip performed by them for his majeſty's uſe.

Thirdly, They are jointly to agree with each merchant, from whom any great proviſion or bargain of cordage, hemp, timber, planks, maſts, great anchors, and all ſorts of materials, which are bought for the price, at that preſent, ordinary ſold betwixt man and man; and thereupon to make them bills or contracts for the ſame, according to the courſe of the office, which is the debt from the king, being firſt vouch'd from the inferior miniſters, in the proper places for the quantity and quality.

Fourthly, they are to uſe the uttermoſt to procure moneys for the maintaining all his majeſty's ſhips, pinnaces, and other veſſels, and boats uſeful, in compleat equipage, building, and furniture; and as any of their number happens to decay or periſh, to ſupply them with new, and repair their wants.

Fifthly, They are to proportion a convenient magazine of timber, ſeaſon'd planks, great maſts, and all ſorts of outlandiſh commodities, as pitch, tar, roſin, hemp, anchors, ſails, canvas, and cordage for twice moorings, and once ſetting forth to ſea all his majeſty's ſhips, and to ſee the ſame ſupply'd at all times; to furniſh his majeſty's ſtores, and whatſoever is wanting, to acquaint my lord admiral, and never to ceaſe labouring to the ſtate for money, till thoſe main proviſions be furniſhed; which cannot be had in the kingdom at all times, nor ſufficient quantity made ready, when the materials are not had, in many months.

Sixthly, They are, as time and buſineſs can permit, to be preſent themſelves, or when more important buſineſs hinders them, their clerks, at all payments of all ſorts of workmen and labourers, to the end they may be witneſſes to the real payments made; and that his majeſty be not abuſed by the employment of more numbers than is neceſſary for works on ſhore, nor for longer time than the ſervice requires; nor that boys and young prentices be paid ſo much *per diem* as able workmen. Likewiſe at ſea, and in harbour, to ſee that no more men be paid than have truly ſerv'd; and in caſe they either find clerks of the check, or purſers faulty in their places, in keeping their books ill, to puniſh them as their offences deſerve.

Seventhly, They are to be careful that no workmen or labourers be received or entered into his majeſty's pay, for any works to be done by the day, till there be materials firſt in ſtore, whereupon to employ them; nor to uſe more than is neceſſary, nor to continue them longer than the ſtuff laſts

to ſet them on work; wherein if the maſter ſhipwright, or any other maſter workman, be found faulty by conniving, to ſuſpend ſuch from his place, as an unworthy member, till my lord admiral be acquainted with the offence.

Eighthly, They ought to be very careful in the choice of inferiour miniſters, as any happen to die off, recommending to the lord admiral able experienced men, according to the places; the want whereof has bred much detriment to his majeſty's ſervice both by ſea and land.

Ninthly, They are to obey my lord admiral's warrant, as well for direction of his majeſty's ſervice in all things concerning this office, as alſo for extraordinary payments according to uſual precedents; as by virtue of his lordſhip's warrant, to direct theirs to the ſubordinate miniſters under them, for the execution of ſo much as concerns their particular places reſpectively.

Tenthly, They are to overſee all inferiour officers and miniſters; and as often as they can, by themſelves, or their authoriz'd ſubſtitutes, to muſter all men that are employ'd by ſea or land, and paid damages out of this office, and to check all defaults they find, by muſtering for his majeſty's beſt advantage.

Eleventhly, They ought to foreſee that ſeaſonable payment be made to all men employ'd in his majeſty's ſervice, and not to keep them nor ſhips longer in pay than the ſervice requires; and to this end, they ſhould uſe all frugal courſes to ſave his majeſty's purſe.

Twelfthly, They ſhould make quarterly payments to the ordinary, and half-yearly to the ſhips on the narrow ſeas, as has been accuſtom'd; for want of which, his majeſty's charge is much increaſed, and the ſubject diſcourag'd.

Thirteenthly, They ought to take a yearly account of the victuals of the navy, comparing the pay-books in the treaſurer's office with the warrant for victuals; and according to the muſter of the men ſerving, to allow of the iſſues, with ſuch accidental waſtes, as by ancient precedent hath been uſual, and no more.

Fourteenthly, They ought to ſign eſtimates for money, as well for the ordinary ſervice, as extraordinary, to the end the lord treaſurer may ſee the charge his majeſty is at, and continuing the ſame, that the payments may be ſeaſonably provided.

Fifteenthly, They ought to take account of all ſtore-keepers once every year, at the leaſt, to the end his majeſty may ſee what proviſion he has in ſtore, and what has been expended that preſent year.

Sixteenthly, They ought to appoint a ſurveyor at the ſeaſon of the year, to mark out and fell timber for his majeſty's ſervice, for ſupply of ſtore; and to cauſe the ſame to be converted into moulded and meet timber, and cut into ſeveral ſorts of planks moſt uſeful for his majeſty; and to ſee that the ſummer be not let ſlip for land and ſea carriage of the ſame into his majeſty's ſtores.

Seventeenthly, They ought upon my lord admiral's warrant, requiring the preparations of any ſhips or fleets for the ſea, immediately to make warrant from themſelves to the victuallers, to make a due proportion of ſea victuals, according to the ſervice and number of men; and in the mean time for harbour and victuals for ſo many ſailors as ſhall be employ'd to rig the ſhips, to be delivered by petty warrant to any one officer, or to the clerk of the check, as will appear upon muſter to be preſent in the work: likewiſe to the maſter attendants, the maſter ſhipwrights, clerk of the check and ſurvey, to take notice of the ſervice in hand, and to require a preſent certificate from them of all wants to perfect the hulls, rigging, tackling, and furniture of thoſe ſhips appointed to be made ready for the ſeas; and thereupon to take immediate order likewiſe for the providing of all materials wanting, and appoint workmen and ſailors to go in hand with them with all expedition.

Eighteenthly, That one of the three officers (not the treaſurer, in regard of his continual attendance for moneys at *London*) do, in their turns, quarterly reſide at *Chatham*, for the expedition and overſight of the works there, and for providing of neceſſaries, and directing of all the inferior officers; and the rather to prevent the imbezzelling of the king's goods; as it was in the time of the late commiſſioner's government, who had always one of themſelves, or an able aſſiſtant dwelling at *Chatham*, to order the buſineſs there, no doubt, for his majeſty's great advantage; the neglecting whereof is no ſmall damage to his majeſty.

Particular Duties.

The Treaſurer.

HE is to make eſtimates of the charge of all his majeſty's navy, both ordinary and extraordinary, and to preſent them ſeaſonably, being ſign'd by the lord admiral and the other principal officers, to the lord treaſurer of *England*, who allowing the ſame, does of courſe give order to the clerk of the ſignet, to draw a bill for the king's ſignature, warranting the payment of ſo much money as the eſtimate amounts

to

to out of the receipt of his majeſty's exchequer, which he is to iſſue to thoſe ſeveral heads for which it has been demanded; and in caſe the ſhips happen to continue longer in employment than was mention'd in the firſt, then to make their eſtimates for their ſurpluſſes, as long as the ſervice endures, and ſollicite for privy-ſeals and orders for money till it be received, to ſatisfy the ſubject for materials to be bought before-hand, to furniſh the ſhips and wages to the company at their return. He is to make a like eſtimate of building of new ſhips, or repairing the old; likewiſe for the repair of his majeſty's dry docks and ſtore-houſes; and for a magazine of ſtores, when occaſion requires.

He is to take due care to get money ſeaſonably to pay all workmen, called to any extraordinary works in his majeſty's yards, or for reparations aboard the ſhips, and to clear them as ſoon as the works are ended; likewiſe for payment of ſhips companies returning from ſea, that his majeſty's charge of victuals and wages be not longer continued than the neceſſity of the ſervice requires.

He is to take care to pay the ordinary of the navy every quarter, and the ſhips ſerving on the coaſts every ſix months, *(viz.) March* and *September*.

He is to give convenient notice to the officers, who are vouchers of his account, of all pays to be made, to the end they may call for books of the clerks of the check, and purſers, for their clerks to take notice of every general and particular pay to workmen and ſeamen, taking the officers hands to the books of the total of the abſtract, or number of men paid.

He ought within ſix months next after the month of *December*, every year, to make up his former accounts; which being fairly ingroſſed in a larger book, he is to procure the other officers hands to every page thereof, cancelling the particular bills or books firſt paid by each, then to deliver the ſame with a preſs certificate from the auditor of the receipts of the exchequer, to the auditor of the preſt, and after ſollicit them to examine it, and procure a declaration under the lord treaſurer and chancellor of the exchequer, one of the barons and auditors hands, within ſix months more, to the end it may appear how he ſtands charg'd on his accounts to the king for the money he has received.

He is to keep his office conſtantly at *Deptford* or *London*, that the ſubjects may certainly know where to find him, to receive their moneys for proviſions delivered to his majeſty's uſe, or for wages due, upon lawful demands.

Contra Rotulator.

He is to keep counter-books with the treaſurer of all manner of payments; and likewiſe a ledger-book written *verbatim*, as the book delivered to the auditors for every year's account, to the end he may upon all occaſions witneſs as well the payments made by the treaſurer, and the ſtate of his account with the king, as alſo to ſatisfy the other officers at large of ſuch precedents and payments as paſt by his and their vouchers in the execution of his majeſty's ſervice.

He is likewiſe to keep like counter-books with the ſurveyor of marine victuals, and more eſpecially than any of the other officers. examine and keep a note of the remainder of victuals return'd by purſers at the end of their voyages, and to charge it on account for the king on the victualler.

Surveyor: *The firſt Part of his Duty.*

He ought to ſurvey the quantity and quality of all manner of proviſions deliver'd for the uſe of his majeſty's ſhips or navy, to the end he may as well ſatisfy himſelf as his fellow-officers at their meeting, what prizes are fitting to allow for that which is good; as alſo to ſee that no bad and unſerviceable ware be thruſt on the king for the merchants advantage.

He is once a year to take ſurvey of all the hulls of all his majeſty's ſhips, pinnaces, and boats, remaining in harbour at *Chatham*, *Deptford*, *Woolwich*, *Portſmouth*; and at the return of any ſhip from ſea, to view and examine what defects happen'd in the hull or maſts, and to note them down particularly under the title of every ſhip; wherein the king's maſter ſhipwright, and his aſſiſtants, with the maſter carpenter, and the maſter attendants, ought to aſſiſt and teſtify, under his and their hands, in what condition every ſhip was, expreſſing their wants at the time the ſurvey was taken.

He ought likewiſe every year to ſurvey the defects of reparations of all his majeſty's ſtorehouſes and wharfs, calling to aſſiſt him ſuch maſter workmen as are experienced, to view the ſame; and then to add in the next eſtimate a due valuation of materials and workmanſhip that muſt be us'd and employ'd to repair the ſame.

He ought likewiſe, after the launching of every ſhip new built or repaired in any of his majeſty's dry docks, to take an exact ſurvey of the quantity and quality of all ſorts of timber, planks, boards, trumels, maſts, nails, and other iron works employ'd about

about the ſaid ſhips, remaining in ſtore; to the end it may appear upon account ſince the laſt general ſurvey, before the ſhip came into the dock, how much of each ſort of proviſion has been expended on her.

The ſecond Part of his Duty.

He ought alſo once a year to take a general ſurvey of all the new cordage, ſails, canvas, boats, maſts, and all other ſorts of materials, whatſoever, under the charge of the ſeveral ſtore-keepers in every of his majeſty's yards and ſhips that lie long in harbour; and thereupon to examine what has been ſupplied ſince the former ſurvey, and ballance the receipts and iſſues in an exact form of account; to take the ſtore-keepers hands ſeverally to the ſurveyors books, charging themſelves with what remains.

He, or the clerk of the ſurvey allowed under him, ought, at the return of every ſhip from ſea, with the aſſiſtance of ſuch maſter attendants as are preſent at the place, or may be had, to take an exact ſurvey of all the rigging, ground-tackle, and furniture belonging to her, noting under every particular dimenſion their preſent quality, to the end he may ſhortly after account with the boatſwain and carpenter of that ſhip for their expences in that voyage, and be ready againſt their next going out to furniſh her wants; that ſo reaſonable demands may be made to ſupply her in compleat equipage for further ſervice.

He is likewiſe to take the yearly ſurvey of all mooring anchors, other ſtraggling anchors lying ſpare at the river ſide, or in any of his majeſty's yards not formerly charged: he ought, in caſe it fortune that any of the king's ſhips ſhould put into *Plimouth* or *Briſtol*, or any other unuſual harbour, by reaſon of leakineſs, or any other apparent defect, to go himſelf, or ſend a ſufficient deputy, to take an exact ſurvey of the ſtate of her hull, maſts, and yards, with all her furniture and tackling; and after preſent an eſtimate of the charge in repairing, and ſupplying of their wants with all convenient ſpeed, and procure the lord admiral's warrant to proceed, to make her able to come about to *Chatham*, unleſs ſhe were fitted for further ſervice, if cauſe required.

The Clerk of the Navy.

He ought to regiſter his acts, agreed and performed at their publick meeting, and to note the days of every meeting, and what officers were then preſent.

He ought to keep notes or remembrances of all buſineſs that is material for the furtherance of his majeſty's ſervice, and to call on them firſt to be debated and ordered, before any new propoſitions be received, or any private perſon's buſineſs handled at their meeting.

He ought to keep records *verbatim* of all the warrants ſent from the lord admiral directed to the four principal officers, and to keep them ſafely in a cheſt lock'd up for all their ſafeties, if any occaſion ſhould after happen.

He ought to take particular notice of all warrants or deputations, thought fit to be made for purveyors, preſs-maſters, and ſuch like miniſters, and to preſent them in a readineſs to be ſigned by them all at the next meeting.

He was formerly imployed in taking up all outlandiſh proviſions, as pitch, tar, roſin, oil, and other ſmall ſtores provided for preſent diſpatches; likewiſe of nails, baskets, compaſſes, lead-lines, and leads, running-glaſſes, *&c.*

In all theſe ſeveral duties of each officer, in caſe any of the reſt deſire to be put, or to have copies of any records, or matter that more properly belongs to the other places, they are to have it without denial; and being equally intereſted in the king's ſervice, every of them ought to perform each other's places in the upper officers abſence, in caſe the ſervice required it.

The Officers Aſſiſtants.

The next in place to the principal officers, are the three aſſiſtants, who in extraordinary employments in time of war, were, upon the lord admiral's command, to give their advice in the conſultations about the affairs of the navy; and in the abſence of the officers, to execute their buſineſs in places remote: but in the laſt thirty years, it ſeems, there has not been much uſe of them; I ſuppoſe rather in reſpect of the officers jealouſies to have competitors, than for want of employment fit to further the king's ſervice.

The Keeper of the great Stores.

He has, by his letters patents, the keeping of all the ſtores belonging to his majeſty's navy; but in reſpect his ſalary was not ſufficient to maintain deputies in all places where the king has cauſe to uſe them, neceſſity of times has begotten ſeveral ſtore-keepers in all his majeſty's yards where the king's works are managed; and at *Woolwich* and at *Portſmouth* they have grants for their places under the great ſeal, and fee paid out of the *Exchequer*.

He at his firſt coming receives his charge upon ſurvey, and puts his hand to the ſurveyor's book, acknowledging to be charged with all the proviſions therein contain'd.

He

He ought not to receive any thing into his charge but by warrant, nor deliver any out; and properly, in regard of his account, the ſurveyor of the navy ſhould be one to direct his warrant to him for all buſineſs.

Surveyor of Victuals.

This officer, who, it ſeems, was at firſt inſtituted to ſurvey the quantity and quality of all victuals, to the end neither his majeſty may be deceived in goodneſs, nor the ſubject of his due, is now become victualler himſelf; whereupon there are many abuſes crept into the office, fit to be reformed.

The King's Merchant.

No doubt this office at the firſt inſtitution, was of notable good conſequence for his majeſty's profit, when he was employed only for his underſtanding, to inform the officers of the rates of all outlandiſh proviſions, as hemp, cordage, tar, pitch, oil, maſts, deal boards, *&c.*

But ſince it has been converted from adviſing for the king, to merchandizing for himſelf, which of late has been quite out of uſe; but in caſe it were reduced to the firſt quality, without queſtion, his ſervice would be very beneficial, for providing of thoſe main materials at the beſt hand, when the ſeaſon may afford it at the cheapeſt rate.

The Grand Pilot.

This man is choſen for his long experience as a pilot on a coaſt, eſpecially to carry the king's great ſhips through the king's channel, from *Chatham* to the narrow ſeas; as alſo for his knowledge to paſs through the channel called the *Black Deeps.*

Three Maſter Shipwrights.

Theſe men ought, in their turns, to have the new building and repairing of all the king's ſhips; and when it happens, by order of the ſtate, any ſhips are built by contract with ſtrangers, yet ſome of them ought always to attend the overſight of all timber, planks, and other materials, put in them, that they be of fit ſcantlings and fizings, well ſeaſoned, and of ſtrength and quality ſufficient, according to the burden agreed on, and ſo finiſhed in all points workman-like.

Four Maſter Attendants.

Theſe men attend at *Chatham*, quarterly, one after another, as well to direct and overſee the boatſwain and ſhip-keepers in harbour to perform their ordinary ſervice of the ſhips, as alſo to carry in and out of the river ſuch ſhips as happen to be ready for ſea, and to ſee them rigged and fitted compleatly: alſo one of them is allowed ſix pence *per diem* for his particular attendance at the grounding of the king's great ſhips.

Clerks of the Check.

Theſe men are of great truſt, and much buſineſs committed to their charge, *viz.* the entring all ſeamen into pay aboard the ſhips in harbour, and the ſhipwrights and other workmen in day work: the firſt he muſt muſter once a month, and the other twice a day: his ticket ſerves in the abſence of an officer to the victualler, for the victualling of the ordinary ſhip-keepers, and other ſeamen employed in rigging of the ſhips bound to ſea: he keeps likewiſe a book of the receipts of all proviſions received into the ſtores, and prepares quarter books for the four officers, for ordinary and extraordinary men's wages.

Clerk of the Survey at Chatham.

He is to certify the want of every ſhip prepared for the ſea, and to ſend the certificate, under the maſter attendants and his own hand, to the ſurveyor of the navy at *London*, to the end he may take preſent order to ſupply all the proviſions wanting, to be ſent with all ſpeed to *Chatham*; which being come down, he is, by ticket under his hand, to direct the ſtore-keeper to deliver to every boatſwain and carpenter their due proportion of all kinds, as well to furniſh the ſhips in compleat equipage in harbour before they go out, as for ſea-ſtore for the voyage: he is to make indenture betwixt the ſurveyor, or boatſwain, and carpenters, confirming all manner of ground tackle and furniture belonging to the ſhip, and for ſea-ſtores to the carpenters, and to take their hands ſeverally to the one, and to put his hand to the other part, which they are to carry with them to ſea, to ſhew their carpenters what ſtores are in the ſhips.

At the return of any ſhip from ſea, he is, with one of the maſter attendants and maſter ſhipwright, for things in their elements, to ſurvey the remnant of all ſtores return'd, and to note down all particular qualities, to be half worn, or fourth part worn, or decayed, according as the maſter ſhall judge them to be uſeful for the king's ſervice; and thereupon he is to make up the account of waſte in the voyage, and to diſpoſe the remainder to be returned into the king's

ſtore, or left in the ſhip, as ſhall beſt accommodate the king's ſervice.

Clerk of the Rope-Yard

Receives into his charge all the hemp, tar, and other neceſſaries for the making of new cordage, and delivers the ſame to the maſter workman, being firſt dreſſed and heckled, to be ſpun into yarn for ropes: he alſo keeps check, by calling all the workmen twice a-day to their labour, and keeping them to their ſtrict hours.

Maſter Workmen over the Rope-Makers.

There are two of theſe at *Chatham*, and another at *Woolwich*, to direct the labourers and ſpinners of yarn; and afterwards in laying in ſeveral ſorts and ſizes of cordage, and in ſtowing the moſt part at *Woolwich*, and tarring it only at *Chatham*.

The Boatſwain, Gunner, and Purſer, are Officers aboard the Ships.

The Boatſwain

Has the chief charge in looking to the ſafe riding of the ſhip at her mooring in the river, and to under-run them as often as need requires.

He has the keeping of all the ſhip's ſtores, rigging, and furniture, charging himſelf on account to the ſurveyor of the navy, by acknowledgment under his hand to a book mentioning all the particulars, whereof he has a copy delivered him: he is alſo to come himſelf, and bring the ſhip's company with him to the dock, or to ſuch other places as the flag is hung out, to ſhew where the works of that day are to be perform'd.

The Gunner.

The gunner has the charge of the ordnance, their carriages, with ſuch ſtores as appertain to them, accounting for all to the office of the ordnance. No other ſervice is required here but his attendance on board, and being found faulty that way, is checked of his victuals for that time.

The Purſer.

He is to give his continual attendance, and to ſee that the company's victuals in harbour be brought them aboard weekly in their proportion, and well conditioned.

Gunners of Sconces.

They have ſeveral houſes, and ſome pieces of ordnance and ammunition under their charge, and are required to give their daily attendance in them.

Boatſwain of the Yard.

He commands the labourers to their ſeveral works, and ſees the proviſions taken of hoys, or return'd from the ſhips, and carried ſafely, and orderly laid in the ſtore-houſes within the yard.

Porters of the Gates.

They attend to open and ſhut the gates morning and evening, and to wait at the doors all the day, to keep in the workmen, and to prevent carrying away or imbezzling any of the king's proviſions; and one of them attends every morning as ſoon as the watch is broke up, till the workmen come in.

Houſe-Keeper.

He takes charge to look to the king's houſe at *Chatham-Hill*, and the officers lodgings there, and the king's ſtuff, againſt their coming to pays, or other meetings for the king's ſervice: he keeps the orchard and garden belonging to the houſe in good order likewiſe.

Surgeon.

He attends daily to cure ſuch hurt men as happen among the ordinary ſhipkeepers.

Meſſengers of the Navy.

He attends the officers at their meetings, and provides horſes and victuals for the pay-maſters, at ſuch time as they go to make payments: he is alſo, at the officers directions, to fetch any delinquent before them, and to keep him under cuſtody till they give order for his releaſe.

What kind of Men are to be choſen four principal Officers of the Navy.

I Conceive that the treaſurer of the navy were fit to be either a merchant or a mariner, that is or has been an owner of ſhips, and can judge by his own experience both of the goodneſs and uſe of all the materials belonging to the building and tackling of ſhips, and may, upon ſpecial accidents of ſervice, cut off his majeſty's charge, take up a good ſum of money for his majeſty's eaſe, and to content the ſubjects, that otherwiſe will be grumbling for their wages when the ſervice is ended.

The

The ſurveyor's place being too much for any one man to perform, to be ſeparated into two diſtinct offices: the one a ſhipwright, who, for his experience in building new ſhips, for the king or merchants, the precedent part of his life, may be abſolutely enabled to make choice of materials of timber, planks, and all other incident proviſions in ſeaſon; and can both command and direct workmen of all ſorts to be imploy'd in the building and repairing of all his majeſty's ſhips and veſſels; which cannot be ſo perfectly performed by any other man that has not had uſe of the mechanick part of that art, and is a full imployment for any one to act, beſides the publick meeting for general diſpatch neceſſary for the navy.

The other a mariner bred, that has had the charge as maſter, and greater place, as captain, if ſuch can be had, of ſhips of bulk and ſtrength, knowing all the furniture and tacklings of a ſhip, and can well judge and rate the materials of all kinds, and ſo be able to make choice, and recommend to the lord admiral ſuch perſons as he finds fit to execute the boatſwain's place; and can, of his own experience, judge of all waſtes expended at ſea, and take the accounts of the ſhips returned from ſea, beſides other general and particular duties mentioned under the title of the ſurveyor's place.

The comptroller and clerks places to be reduced into one, who ſhould be an experienced clerk, long bred in the office, and underſtanding throughly paſſiges of all demands, accompts, and allowances, uſual and of right appertaining to all particular places throughout the office of the victualler and treaſurer of the navy; which a ſtranger, though never ſo good an accomptant or clerk, cannot in many years attain to, if he has not been brought up in the execution thereof.

Provided always, That beſides their experience and abilities to perform the active part of his majeſty's ſervice, theſe men be of good ſubſtance and eſteem in their eſtates; otherwiſe the inferior officers will ſcorn to be commanded or directed by them; beſides the obligation his majeſty will find from men of means to perform his highneſs's ſervice faithfully, rather than from needy mean qualified perſons.

Now it remains, that every one of theſe officers, from the higheſt to the loweſt, under the lord admiral, ſhould be limited and ordered by particular inſtructions to perform the duties of their places; for want of which, ſome have incroached beyond their right for private profit, and the moſt have been negligent in performing what they ought and of neceſſity ſhould be done for the furtherance of his majeſty's ſervice, which has ſuffered much on this account.

Places granted by Warrant from the Lord High Admiral.

THE three aſſiſtants to the maſter Shipwrights.
Anchor-Smith.
Maſter Caulker.
Houſe-Carpenter.
Two Chirurgions for the ordinary or extraordinary.

At Chatham.

Store-keepers.
Rope-makers.
Clerk of the rope-houſe.
Houſe-keeper at *Chatham-Hill.*
Painter for the navy.
Gunners of *Wareham Sconce, Bays Sconce.*
Boatſwain of the yard.
Two porters of the yard.
Pump-maker and top-maker.

At Woolwich.

Rope-maker.
Clerk of the yard.

At Deptford.

Boatſwain of the yard.
Porter of the gates.
Meſſenger of the navy.

All places of boatſwains, gunners, purſers, cooks, carpenters, belonging to his majeſty's ſhips and pinnaces.

All captains and maſters in his majeſty's ſhips and other veſſels, and in all other ſhips in his majeſty's pay.

A brief Collection out of a Diſcourſe of a principal Seaman touching the Shipping of England, *and Officers of the King's Ships.*

THE native ſh[illegible] of this kingdom has ber[illegible]ed (through the almighty providen[illegible] walls of braſs, to ſecure it from foreign invaſions or incurſions, as long as we remain maſters of the ſeas.

Beſides the great riches and honour the crown and ſubjects of this kingdom have gained in peace, by tranſporting our native commodities into the remoteſt parts where any known trade by ſea has been, bringing home the chiefeſt wealth and commodities thereof, and beating our proudeſt enemies, even at their own doors. It may therefore eaſily appear, how neceſſary it is, as well for our honour and welfare, as for our ſecurity and ſafety, to maintain the ſhipping of the kingdom.

In the year 1588 there was not above one hundred and twenty ſail of men of war to encounter that invincible *Armada* of *Spain*, and not above five of them all, except the queen's great ſhips, were two hundred tons burthen, and did not exceed thoſe rates in all queen *Elizabeth*'s time; ſo that our ſeamen were, by their experience and courage, rather the cauſe of our victories, than the ſhips.

Then in the beginning of king *James* his reign, who brought peace with *Spain* and all our neighbouring countries, our merchants, in regard the *Hollanders* and *Eaſterlings* had greater ſhips than our nation without ordnance, being able to tranſport commodities to and fro at far cheaper rates than the *Engliſh*, freighted ſtrangers, and neglected our own ſhipping; inſomuch, that our owners ſuffered their ſhips to decay, not regarding to repair them; ſo that in thirteen years of king *James*, there were not ten ſhips of two hundred tons left belonging to the river of *Thames*, fit for the defence of the kingdom; whereupon, the *Trinity-Houſe* men complained to the king of the ſtate and decay of ſhipping, entreating his majeſty to revive divers antient ſtatutes againſt tranſportation of *Engliſh* goods on foreign bottoms; producing for example likewiſe, That the *Venetian* ſtate finding the decay of their ſhipping, prohibited their merchants to tranſport or import any merchandize but in ſhipping of their own country, or to freight any ſtrangers ſhips in foreign parts, if any *Venetian* ſhip were in that port wanting freight.

But the merchants oppoſing the mariners, prevailed againſt them, ſo that no redreſs was then had; and not long after it happened, in the fourteenth year of king *James*, That two great *Holland* ſhips of two or three hundred tons apiece, came to *London* from the *Levant*, laden with currants and cotton-wooll upon the account of *Holland* merchants reſiding here, which our merchants apprehending it might endanger their trade, immediately became petitioners to his majeſty and the lords of his council for redr[illegible], and ſo prevailed with the ſtate, that a proclamation was publiſh'd, That no *Engliſhman* ſhould carry out, or bring into this kingdom, any manner of goods but in *Engliſh* ſhips.

Hereupon the mariners and owners of ſhips of this kingdom began to build ſhipping again; and finding profit by them, and becauſe the turks and pirates of *Algiers* and *Tunis* were many and ſtrong by ſea, able to overcome all ſmall ſhips, they built ſhips of greater burden, *viz.* three, four, or five hundred tons each, and furniſhed them with ordnance and ammunition proportionable to their burdens, and plenty of men for their ſafety in ſailing outward and homeward; inſomuch, that within ſeven years after, the ſtate finding ſo many great ſhips built, thought fit to ſave his majeſty the five ſhillings upon every ton, which *Henry* VIII. and his ſucceſſors to that time, had allowed their ſubjects, for building of ſhips of one hundred tons and upwards, and took it quite away; which, notwithſtanding, did not diſcourage the owners to build, finding the benefit of trading in ſhips of ſtrength.

And in the fifth year of king *Charles*, beſides the ſhips trading to *Newcaſtle*, and on the *Eaſtland* trade, being two hundred at leaſt, at two hundred ton each, the moſt part whereof were afterwards fitted with ordnance for men of war, there were found belonging to the port of *London* one hundred ſail of merchant ſhips, furniſhed with ordnance; a number, in the opinion of moſt ſeamen, fit to parallel the forces of any ſtate or prince in *Chriſtendom*.

The number and ſtrength of the ſubjects ſhips, built and maintained without any charge to the ſtate, on the profit of trade in time of peace, or the advantage of reprizal in time of war, preſerves the ſtrength of ſhipping and ſeamen in *England*, and not only the power of his majeſty's navy royal, though it be conceived to be of more force than any other king's in the chriſtian world.

On the contrary, if there be no benefit of trade to ſupport it, of neceſſity it muſt decay as faſt, being always decreaſing, where ſhips bring in no gain.

The

The experienced valiant ſea-ſoldier and mariner, who knows how to manage a ſhip, and maintain a ſea-fight judicially, for defence of himſelf and offence of his enemy, is only fit to be a captain, or commander at ſea; for without good experience, a man otherwiſe couragious may ſoon deſtroy himſelf and his company.

The ſea language is not ſoon learned, much leſs underſtood, being only proper to him that has ſerved his apprenticeſhip: beſides that, a boiſterous ſea and ſtormy weather, will make a man not bred on it ſo ſick, that it bereaves him of legs, ſtomach, and courage, ſo much as to fight with his meat. And in ſuch weather, when he hears the ſeamen cry, ſtarboard, or port, or to bide alooff, or ſlat a ſheet, or haul home a cluling, he thinks he hears a barbarous ſpeech, which he conceives not the meaning of. Suppoſe the beſt and ableſt bred ſeaman ſhould buckle on armour, and mount a couragious great horſe, and ſo undertake the leading of a troop of horſe, he would (no doubt) be accounted very indiſcreet, and men would judge he could perform but very weak ſervice; neither could his ſoldiers hope of good ſecurity, being under an ignorant captain, that knows not ſcarce how to rein his horſe, much leſs to take advantage for execution, or retreat: and yet it is apparent to be far more eaſy to attain experience for land ſervice than on the ſea.

The bred ſeaman is for the moſt part hardy and undaunted, ready to adventure any deſperate action, be it good or bad; as prodigal of his blood, whatever his commander order him, if he loves or fears him.

The ſeaman's deſire is to be commanded by thoſe that underſtand their labour, laws and cuſtoms, thereby expecting reward or puniſhment, according to their deſerts.

The ſeamen are ſtubborn or perverſe when they receive their command from the ignorant in the diſcipline of the ſea, who cannot ſpeak to them in their own language.

That commander who is bred a ſeaman, and of approved government, by his skill in choice of his company, will ſave twenty in the hundred, and perform better ſervice than he can poſſibly do that underſtands not perfectly how to direct the officers under him.

The beſt ſhips of war in the known world have been commanded by captains bred ſeamen; and merchants put their whole confidence in the fidelity and ability of ſeamen to carry their ſhips and goods through the hazard of pirates, men of war, and the danger of rocks and ſands, be they of never ſo much value; which they would never do under the charge of a gentleman, or an unexperienced ſoldier, for his valour only.

The *United Provinces*, whoſe ſafety and wealth depends chiefly upon their ſea affairs, and who for ſome years paſt have had great employment, and enlarged their dominions much in remote places, uſe only their expert ſeamen to go captains and chief commanders in all their ſhips of war and trade.

Great care muſt be had to chuſe a commander or captain of diſcretion and good government, who is to be preferred for his ſkill and experience; for where the ſeamen are left without orderly diſcipline, there can be nothing expected but confuſion and ſhame.

The ſeamen are much diſcouraged of late times, by preferring of young, needy, and unexperienced gentlemen captains over them in their own ſhips; as alſo by placing lieutenants above the maſters in the king's ſhips, which have never been uſed till of late years.

The ſeaman is willing to give or receive puniſhment deſervingly, according to the laws of the ſea, and not otherwiſe, according to the fury or paſſion of a boiſterous, blaſphemous, ſwearing commander.

Puniſhment is fitteſt to be executed in cold blood, the next day after the offence is committed and diſcovered.

A captain ſhould chuſe able and honeſt men for his company, as near as he can; but eſpecially his maſter and maſter's mates ſhould be of good government, whereby he is like to have a proſperous and good voyage.

Puniſhments at Sea.

A captain may puniſh according to the offence committed, *(viz.)* putting one in the billbows during pleaſure; keep them faſting; duck them at the yard-arm, or haul them from yard-arm to yard-arm under the ſhips keel; or make them faſt to the capſtan, and whip them there; or at the capſtan or main-maſt hang weights about their necks till their heart and back be ready to break; or to gagg or ſcrape their tongues for blaſphemy or ſwearing. This will tame the moſt rude and ſavage people in the world.

Diſcouragement to Seamen.

When they have unexperienced needy commanders; bad and unwholſome victuals, and complaining of it, can have no redreſs; cutting their beef too ſmall; putting of five or more to four mens allowance; want of beer; long ſtaying for their wages.

The Election of a General or Admiral by ſea, and what is requiſite in ſuch a Commander for the Government of the Fleet under his charge.

NO fleet can be well-governed without a head; no flock of ſheep without a ſhepherd; no army by ſea or land without a general, or ſupream commander, who muſt be authorized, either by immediate commiſſion from a prince, or his ſubſtitutes that holds his place by patent from him; as, namely, for matters of the ſea, from the lord high admiral of *England*.

There have been often diſputes, whether the title of admiral or general were more proper to a ſea commander; and though I dare not preſume to conclude of either, yet I think it is as unproper to call an admiral general by ſea, as to call a general admiral by land; though I confeſs their authorities are alike in command of mens perſons, yet is the juriſdiction of the admiral by ſea greater than the other, in that he ruleth and guideth a fleet of ſhips, which are of more importance to the king and ſtate, than the lives of men are that ſerve in them.

The authority of a general being granted, the next conſideration is in his election, that he be a man of experience, valour, conduct, temper, conſtancy, and diſcretion; that by his clemency and good carriage he gain love; and by his juſtice, fear, as well from his ſoldiers as enemies, after the example of *Julius Cæſar*, who, to his great praiſe, is ſaid, never to have forgot the ſervice done him, or every remembered injury offer'd him.

Such a general is to make election of his captains, to be of the ſame temper; and out of them to make choice of three or four to be of his ſelect council, upon whoſe judgment he may preſume and rely, not truſting altogether to his wit and will; for wilfulneſs and want of experience in generals are the utter overthrow and bane of actions, as may be collected out of ſundry of thoſe which I have treated of in my firſt and ſecond books.

The next caution I give a general, is, That neither ambition, covetouſneſs, vainglory, nor honour, make him ſeek employment, till the prince command him; but eſpecially, that he be no projector of voyages, where princes are not the only undertakers. Let Sir *John Norris* and *Drake* be an example in their voyage to *Portugal*, and *Drake* and *Hawkins* to the *Indies*; for he that deſires to undertake an action which does not abſolutely depend on the prince, muſt examine the ſtate of himſelf and friends, who engage themſelves with him; and if he is to have the whole diſpoſal of the action, to forecaſt that there be no want of things neceſſary.

But above all, he muſt take care that his project be grounded upon ſuch aſſurance, that he fail not in the performance of it; though this is impoſſible: it is only in the power of man to promiſe, but in the hands of God to diſpoſe; for if any of his deſigns fail, it will prove the overthrow of his action, the loſs of his reputation, and ſhew the weakneſs of his judgment; whereas on the contrary, he that is called to a place of command by his ſovereign, ſhall perform the ſervice with a good conſcience, be furniſhed with all his wants for the action, and follow the directions preſcribed him; ſo that whether the event be good or bad, he ſhall keep his credit, and be thought worthy of employment; for the principalleſt thing of a general, is to follow the directions of his prince; and of an inferior officer, to perform the command of his general; which Sir *Richard Greenville* neglected, to his own deſtruction.

Amongſt the *Spaniards*, private men undertake no publick actions, but the king is the whole adventurer and diſpoſer of them himſelf; and generals are appointed as they are eſteemed; who if they diſobey the king's directions, anſwer it with life or diſgrace; as to inſtance in Don *Diego Flores de Valdez* in 1588. Don *Alonſo de Baſſan*; Don *John de Puerto Carrero*, and *Diego Sote*, the one commander of the galleys, the other of the ſhips, in our voyage to *Cadiz*, in 1596. Don *John* was baniſhed into *Barbary*; the other committed to priſon, where he died: this makes them not deſire employment, as amongſt us, and more careful to perform the ſervice for their own ſafety when they are employed.

A general is to examine the ſtate of his ſhips, men, and victuals, before he put out of harbour; and finding any impediments, he is to puniſh the offence where it deſerves, and to ſee himſelf provided of all wants before his departure; for when at ſea, it will be too late to be relieved; and herein Sir *Francis Drake*, though an old captain, ſhewed himſelf but a young general, in his voyage to the *Indies* in 1585. and to *Portugal* in 1589.

The next care of a general, is to give inſtructions to his captains in as brief and plain a manner as he can, that no ambiguities may ariſe, as, namely, the place of meeting, if they loſe company. Secondly, how to govern their men. And, thirdly, how to work upon any occaſion that ſhall happen at ſea, as by ſhewing of lights in the night, by ſhooting of ordnance day and night, or ſtriking their topſails by day; for the better underſtanding whereof, I have

ſet

ſet down ſome particulars touching that point, joined to their directions. After a general is provided of all thoſe things I have related, the next thing is to expect the opportunity of a wind and fair weather, and not to put out of harbour but with a ſettled large wind; and being at ſea, he muſt be as provident to ſlack ſail for his fleet, as he ſhall ſee occaſion; for it is a great weakneſs in a general, upon a contrary wind to bear a preſs ſail, ſeeing the reſt of the ſhips muſt ſtrive to do the like, though it be to the hazard of their maſts and ſails; for if they miſcarry in either, they muſt of neceſſity be forced home; whereas in bearing a ſlack ſail, they will not loſe two leagues in four days, which will be recover'd in leſs than two hours with a large wind. And herein we may blame the unadviſedneſs of my lord of *Eſſex*, in keeping the ſea in his voyage to the iſlands in 1597. with a contrary wind, foul weather, and a preſs ſail, till his fleet were ſcatter'd; when in three hours he might have harbour'd in *Falmouth*, and avoided the rigour of the ſtorm.

A general muſt have a care to aſſign a place of rendezvous where his fleet ſhall meet, and eſpecially to provide, as the neceſſarieſt thing in his expedition, to have intelligence of his enemy, and to keep them from intelligence of him, by example of 1588. and 1595.

A general that is only appointed for ſea ſervice, not for land, ought to be careful not to carry gentlemen, more than ſome few for the reputation of himſelf and action; for whatſoever gentlemen promiſe or pretend to the contrary before their going out, when they have been long at ſea, and are tired with the tedioufneſs thereof, and find the want of victuals, they are apt to be the firſt to cry home, whoſe examples will make others do the like; as I have ſhewed in the voyage to *Cadiz*, and the year following to the iſlands.

A general that is to enterprize a ſervice of importance, ought, before he propoſe it to his council, to require the opinion of his beſt and truſtieſt captains in writing, who ſhall have ſufficient leiſure to debate all circumſtances before they give their judgments; for a man that is ſuddenly and rawly taken, cannot give that reſolution, as upon mature deliberation: it is like a conſultation, which ever proves the beſt; and a general, out of their writing, will be able both to judge and determine what to do.

And this did my lord of *Eſſex* in his voyage to the iſlands, requiring a captain he relied on, to give his judgment in writing. Firſt, whether he ſhould attempt the king of *Spain*'s ſhips in *Ferrol*, or no. Secondly, whether before or after his being at the *Terceras*. And laſtly, the manner how to aſſail them. The captain's anſwer you will find in the ſecond book, with that voyage.

The Directions of a General to his Ships, if they loſe company.

IF you happen to loſe the fleet, you ſhall ſeek to get yourſelf into the heighth of and there lie off and on leagues for days; and if you meet not the fleet, nor with directions, you ſhall ply to the heighth of and keep ſome leagues to ſeaward; and if you hear nothing in days, you ſhall get yourſelf into the heighth of and lie off and on till you meet the fleet, or directions.

Inſtructions from a General to his Vice-Admiral, Rear-Admiral, and Captains, to be obſerved by them at Sea.

MORE than the reputation of a vice-admiral, is to be ſecond man in command; and that in abſence or death of the admiral, he has the abſolute charge; yet in preſence of the admiral, he is to follow the inſtructions given by him, or reſolved on by council, in which council he is the ſecond perſon, and is to have all rights done to him next the admiral.

As he is vice-admiral, ſo is he admiral of a ſquadron; and as he wears the flag in the foretop, being vice-admiral, ſo he is to wear what coloured flag he pleaſe in the main top, as admiral of his ſquadron.

He is to have a vice-admiral and rear-admiral of his ſquadron, though the uſe of a rear-admiral is but a late invention, and is allowed but the ordinary pay of a captain, but the vice-admiral of the fleet has half the pay of the vice-admiral: theſe two are to wear the ſame flags; the vice-admiral does the one in the foretop, the other in the mizen, and every ſhip of the ſquadron beſides, is to wear a ſtreamer of the ſame colour in the forehead or mizen-yard, to be diſtinguiſhed from other ſquadrons.

The inſtruction for his ſquadron is to hale them once in twenty four hours; and how to gather them together out of the fleet, when he pleaſes to call them, and many other obſervations, are to be expreſſed in the general articles from the admiral; and becauſe every ſhip in the fleet receives the ſame inſtructions, it is fit that the captain under the vice-admiral, and the maſter of the ſhip, be perfect, and have, as it were, by heart, all the articles before mentioned, that as ſoon as they ſee a ſign made by the admiral, they may prepare to work accordingly.

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It is requiſite that the captain under the admiral, or vice-admiral, be a man of great experience in ſea affairs; for he is always ready at hand to adviſe, when council cannot repair on board; and yet this place is of ſo little eſteem among us, that there is no allowance for it, though amongſt the *Spaniards* it is a place of great reputation, and has the title of *Capitan de la Capitana.*

Such Inſtructions as were given in the Voyage in 1635. *by the Right Honourable* Robert *Earl of* Lindſey.

1. FIRST, and above all things, you are to take care, that all the officers and company of ſhips do offer their beſt devotion unto God twice a-day, according to the uſual practices and liturgy of the church of *England.*

2. In your own particular, you are to have ſpecial care, that you perform your duty faithfully, and with diligence; and if any ſeaman, or other in your ſhip, ſhall raiſe faction, tumult, or conſpiracy, or commit manſlaughter or murder, or ſhall quarrel or fight, or draw blood, or weapon to that end, or commit theft, or other heinous capital offence, you ſhall cauſe preciſe information to be brought to me thereof, that I may inflict condign puniſhment upon each offender, according to the condition of his crime.

3. If any under your command in that ſhip ſhall be a common ſwearer, blaſphemer, railer, drunkard, pilferer, or ſleep at his watch, or make a noiſe, and not betake himſelf to his place of reſt after the watch is ſet, or ſhall not keep his cabbin cleanly, or be diſcontented with his proportion of victuals, or ſhall ſpoil or waſte them, or any other neceſſary proviſion for the ſhip, or ſhall commit any inſolency or diſorder, fitting by you to be corrected, you are to puniſh them according to the order and cuſtom of the ſea.

4. You ſhall take a perfect account of the officers in your ſhips, to whom it belongs, of the receipts of the expences, and remains of victuals, ammunition, and allowance of proviſion and ſtores aboard your ſhip, and ſo weekly to continue the ſame, not ſuffering any ſpoil or waſte to be made thereof, but to preſerve them all the beſt you can, both in quantity and quality; and you ſhall not ſuffer any works to be done in the ſhips that ſhall not be needful and neceſſary for the ſame.

5. To prevent the needleſs expence of powder and ſhot, you are to take weekly account of the maſter gunner of the expence of the powder and ſhot, and all manner of ammunition, proviſions, and ſtores contained in his indentures, not permitting any part thereof to be waſted or embezzeled; nor any piece of ordnance to be ſhot without particular order or directions from yourſelf, and that upon very neceſſary occaſions, and according to his majeſty's proclamations, unleſs it be for ſalutes, keeping the true number and kinds of the ſhot, that their accounts may be thereby examined, which are not to be allowed in the office of the ordnance without approbation under your hand.

6. You are to keep a competent number of men allowed to your ſhip compleat, and to have a full proportion of healthy and able-bodied mariners and ſeamen, and but the allowed number of your retinue, that your ſhip be not filled with idlers; and to take care to get ſuch as are able and healthful bodies, and not boys, or infirm perſons, to perform his majeſty's ſervice.

7. You ſhall not ſuffer any boat to go aſhore without ſpecial leave; and then but upon neceſſary occaſions, as to fetch water, or the like.

8. You ſhall perform to me all due reſpects and obedience, not taking the wind of me at any time, if you be not forced to it, but keep company with me as much as you may, ſpeaking with me both morning and evening, to know my pleaſure, and ſo often as you ſee my flag of council in my mizen ſhrouds, you ſhall come on board me; and when I ſhall weigh anchor at the report of a warning-piece, you ſhall do the like, and anchor when I anchor, ranking yourſelves under the colour of your ſquadron, the vice-admiral taking his place within me, and the rear-admiral without.

9. In the night I will carry two lights, which you are to obſerve and follow, bearing the ſame courſe I do, without ſtraggling, unleſs ſtorms or tempeſts divide us, and then with expedition to return to the place of rendezvous, which I ſhall direct; but if you happen to ſpring a leak, ſpend a maſt, or be otherwiſe diſtreſſed by fire, you are to give notice by ſhooting off two pieces of ordnance, that other ſhips may haſten to your help to avoid danger.

10. If you diſcover any ſhips at ſea, you are to give notice thereof by ſhooting off a piece, and letting fall your main topſail ſo many times as there be ſhips; and if they appear to be *Turkiſh* pirates, or ſea-rovers, you ſhall ſhoot two or three pieces, to warn the whole fleet to put in order either to fight or purſue.

11. It muſt be your principal care to preſerve his majeſty's honour, coaſts, juriſdictions, territories, and ſubjects, within the extent of this your employment, as much as in you lies, that no nation or people whatſoever intrude thereon, or injure any of them; and if you ſhall chance to meet in the

the narrow seas any fleet or ships belonging to any prince, king, or state, you are to expect that the admiral or chief of them, in acknowledgment of his majesty's sovereignty there, perform their duty and homage in passing by; and if they refuse to do it, you are to inforce them thereunto; and in any wise you are not to suffer any dishonour to be done to his majesty, or derogation to his sovereign power in those seas; and if any of his majesty's subjects shall so much forget their duties, as not to strike their topsail in passing his majesty's ships, you are to inforce them thereunto, and to punish the commanders of such a ship yourself, or to give me advertisement of it, that I may take a course with them.

12. You are not to suffer any man of war to fight with each other, or man of war with merchant, in the presence of his majesty's ships in the narrow seas; but you are to do the best in those seas to keep peace, for the better and free maintenance of trade and commerce through the same; for that all men trading or sailing within those his majesty's seas do justly take themselves to be *in pace Domini Regis*, and therefore his majesty in honour and justice is to protect them from injury and violence.

13. If you chance to meet with any strangers ships riding at anchor in any of his majesty's bays or harbours with counterfeit colours, which is a practice of late much used to entrap such foreigners as trade on his majesty's coasts, you are to apprehend and bring them unto me, or send them safe into some of his majesty's ports, to answer such their presumption and offence according to law.

14. If you happen to take any ship and goods from any pirate, sea-rover, or other offender, you must be careful that they be kept in safety, and that no part thereof be spoiled, wasted, or imbezzled, spiking down the hatches and holds, and bring them to me, that I may send them to his majesty's ports and harbours for his majesty's use.

15. If you meet with any men of war, merchants, or other vessel, or ship belonging to any prince or state, either at sea, or in any road, or other place where you shall happen to come, you are to send to see whether there be any *English*, *Scotch*, or *Irish*, or any other of his majesty's subjects; and if any seamen, gunners, pilots, or mariners, shall be found aboard any of them, you are not only to cause such of his majesty's subjects to be taken out and brought to me, to answer their contempt to his majesty's proclamation in that kind, but also to admonish the captain, and principal commanders and officers in such foreign ships and vessels, that they receive or entertain aboard any of their ships no more his majesty's subjects aforesaid, that his majesty have no cause to resent it at their hands; but you are to have special care, that no man be permitted to go aboard any ship or vessel of any of his majesty's friends or allies, to search for any of his majesty's subjects, as aforesaid, for whose fair and honest carriage you will not answer: and you are not in any case to suffer any violence, wrong, or interruption to be given by any of your company to any of his majesty's friends or allies, behaving themselves fairly and respectfully.

16. You shall do your best endeavour to hinder, that none of his majesty's subjects whatsoever at sea, or inhabitants on the coast, do buy, sell, or barter, with pirates, or sea-rovers, and taking notice of such as do or have done, see you give me notice of it, with their names, places of abode, together with a particular of their offences, and such examinations and proofs as you have against them, that I may acquaint the state therewith.

17. If any man of war, or other in any of his majesty's roads, harbours, or coasts, shall offer any violence in taking out any vessels, goods, or merchandize unduly, or commit any other insolencies, you shall do your best to recover the same again from them, and reform the abuse, either by due admonition, or, if that will not serve, by bringing the offenders to answer by justice, preserving by all means the honour of his majesty from such insolencies as much as in you lies, having always due regard to the amity betwixt his majesty, his friends and allies.

18. If we happen to descry any fleet at sea, which we may probably know or conjecture designs to oppose, encounter, or affront us, I will first strive to get the wind, (if I be to leeward,) and so shall the whole fleet in due order do the like, and when we come to join battle, no ship shall presume to assault the admiral, vice-admiral, or rear-admiral, but only myself, my vice-admiral, or rear-admiral, if we be able to reach them; and the other ships are to match themselves accordingly as they can, and to secure one another, as cause shall require, not wasting their powder at small vessels or victuallers, nor firing till they come side to side.

19. You must be careful that no bed of straw, or combustible matter, be aboard in time of fight, nor shall permit any powder to be carried up and down in open barrels or budge barrels; but to command the gunners to lade cartrages, which may be kept covered; and for prevention of fireworks, you are to cause the vessels of urine to be in readiness in your ship, and shall enjoin your ship-carpenter to observe care-

fully in the fight, if any ſhot chance to fall near the bulging-place of the ſhip, and ever to be ready to ſtop them with ſalt hides, ſheet-lead, plugs, or whatſoever may be fit.

20. Before fight you are to ſee all things put in order; then to encourage the company, and not to ſuffer them to board the ſhip or veſſel that ſhall oppoſe them till the ſmoke of their ordnance be cleared up, nor till the men above hatches be ſlain, or beaten off.

21. When we ſet ſail, the vice-admiral with his ſquadron ſhall ſail a-head the admiral, a convenient diſtance; and the rear-admiral aſtern, obſerving the like diſtance. Every ſhip is to rank himſelf under the colours of his own ſquadron, allowing one another fair room, for fear of falling foul, if it ſhould happen to be rough weather.

22. In the night I will bear two lights in my poop, the vice and rear-admiral falling ſomething aſtern of me. But keeping their diſtance, ſhall each of them bear one light in the poop, for the reſt of the ſquadron to follow; both vice and rear-admiral ſhall ſpeak with me twice aday, morning and evening, if wind and weather will permit, and having received ſuch directions as I ſhall give them, they are to fall in their places again.

23. If I caſt about in the night, I will ſhoot a piece of ordnance, and ſhew two lights one above the other, which you are to anſwer, that I may know you ſee me.

24. If I am forced to bear round, you ſhall ſee three lights on the poop of my ſhip, and you ſhall ſhew the like.

25. If your ſhip ſhould happen to run aground upon any danger, (which God forbid,) you ſhall ſhoot four pieces of ordnance, one a little after the other; if in the night, you ſhall burn a fire-pike.

26. If by day or night you find yourſelf near any rock, ſands, or ſhoals that may be dangerous, you ſhall ſhoot off three pieces, and caſt about; but if in the night, you ſhall hang out two lights at your fore-topmaſt head.

27. If I ſhorten ſail in the night, by reaſon of the foul weather, I will ſhew three lights on my poop, one above the other; if I try or hull, beſides thoſe I will ſhew two in my ſhrouds; and you ſhall do the like, that I may know you underſtand me.

28. If in foul weather we loſe company, and after come in ſight of one another; if in topſail gale, you ſhall ſtrike and hoiſe your fore-topſail twice; but if it be not topſail gale, you ſhall brail up your foreſail, and let it fall twice; and if you are anſwered by the like ſign, it ſhall betoken they are of our fleet; and if in the night you come up and hail one another, the word ſhall be *Charles*, and the anſwer *Mary*, whereby you ſhall know the other.

29. If in the night it be foul weather, and over-blow, every ſhip ſhall carry a light in his poop, that we may the better keep clear one of another; and in thick foggy weather, either by day or night, you are to make a noiſe with drum, trumpet, or ringing your bell, and ſometimes ſhooting off a musket, whereby you may keep clear one of another; and if in ſuch weather I caſt about by day, I will ſhoot off a piece of ordnance; and in the night I will ſhoot a piece, and uſe the ſign before mentioned.

30. You ſhall keep one continually in your topmaſt head to look abroad; and if you diſcover any fleet or ſhips, which you conceive I ſee not, you ſhall put you ancient in your top, and bear with them, till you perceive I ſee them; and let no man preſume to wear a flag, though abſent from the fleet, but thoſe to whom it properly belongs.

31. Our principal place of rendezvous is in the *Downs*, whilſt our employment is to the eaſtward of the iſle of *Wight*; if to the weſtward, *Falmouth*; whither you are upon all occaſions to repair, if you ſhould be abſent from me, except you hear otherwiſe where I am, and then to come to me there, to receive ſuch farther inſtructions as I ſhall have occaſion to deliver to you from time to time, for the advancement of the ſervice we have in hand; or where you may conceive wind and weather may force us for more ſafety, either *Wight*, *Plimouth*, or any other port.

32. You are to be careful to keep your company in good order, peace, and unity one with another, and to ſee that they have their allowance of victuals in good order.

33. When you ſee the *Britiſh* flag ſpread upon the mizen-ſhrouds, then the council of war is to come aboard me; if the red ancient, then both captains and maſters.

34. And when there ſhall be any occaſion to diſpoſe of you upon any ſervice apart, I ſhall then give you ſuch farther directions as the ſervice requires. And ſo God keep you, and ſend us a proſperous voyage.

From on board his Majeſty's Ship Royal, the Mere-honour, *riding in the* Downs, *the* 30*th of* May, 1635.

Signed,

LINDSEY.

The

The diſtinct Practice, or ſpecial Duties of Officers belonging to the King's Ships at Sea.

The Captain's Office.

THE captains in queen *Elizabeth*'s time were gentlemen of worth and means, maintaining their diet at their own charge.

A captain has power, upon juſt cauſe of miſdemeanor, or imbezzelling the king's goods, to diſplace any inferior officer, (except the maſter,) who has the abſolute charge of conducting the ſhip in and out, according to the direction given by the captain, to the place whither he ſhould ſail the ſame. And in caſe the maſter commit any offence meriting blame, during the voyage, the captain may require ſtay of his wages, till the matter be heard before the principal officers of the navy, or the lord admiral himſelf, if the offence be criminal.

The captain may require a copy of the ſea book from the purſer, and muſter the company at his pleaſure: likewiſe the boatſwain, gunner, and purſer, ought to ſhew the captain what ſea ſtores they have received into their charge for the voyage; and he may require a copy of the indenture, or bills of charge; in like ſort a note of the ſeveral kinds of victuals from the purſer at the end of the voyage, to certify what has been in any ſort extraordinarily expended in his majeſty's ſervice, or waſted, or loſt by unavoidable accidents; without which the king's officers ſhould not give any extraordinary allowance upon their accounts reſpectively, provided that nothing be allowed upon ſuch certificate, but what has been formerly loſt, and truly iſſued for his majeſty's ſervice only. The captain muſt be very cautious not to remove any of the aforeſaid officers that have the king's goods under their charge, unleſs upon urgent neceſſity, for matters criminal, or neglect of the ſervice; and then to take good teſtimony what ſtores are remaining at the time of their diſcharge, and to commit the ſame to ſuch hands as may be able to account for the ſame to the officers at the end of the voyage.

After the ſhip is at ſea, the purſer ought not to enter or diſcharge any of the company, but by the captain's ſpecial order.

1. The office of a captain is to be diſtinguiſhed into two kinds, *(viz.)* a captain that is lawfully choſen by a general, ſerving under the patent of a prince, from which general the captain receives his commiſſion for his imployment, and inſtructions for him to follow during the time of the voyage; and at the end thereof to be paid the entertainment of a captain, as aforeſaid.

2. The captain ought to have experience and ability, by his art and skill, to controul his maſter, if he do amiſs, or elſe his maſter may willingly commit ſuch an error as will caſt a diſgrace upon his captain.

Theſe latter times have advanced captains, who only take upon them that name, holding it a maxim, that they need not experience, but refer themſelves to the direction of a maſter. I muſt ſay, That the generals who place ſuch captains are very careleſs of their maſter's ſervice, and forgetful of their own riſing from the degree of a ſoldier to a general, and the miſchiefs that enſue upon it; nay, I will ſay, That ſuch a general is improvident of his maſter's profits; for if a maſter ſhould direct a captain, and have the managing of the charge committed to him, why ſhould a prince allow ten ſhillings a day to a captain, when a maſter can execute the place of both captain and maſter for his bare allowance?

A captain of experience being thus ſettled in his command, he ſhall ſee that every officer be choſen in ſuch places, that they may be able to execute the charge committed to them, and not to advance any unworthy perſon for affection. This captain, under a general, has lawful authority to puniſh offences committed within his ſhip; or if his company grow mutinous or ſtubborn, he may have recourſe to the general, who will inflict more ſevere puniſhment, as death, if they deſerve it, which no private captain can do.

If a captain ſhall miſdemean himſelf againſt his company, the like cenſure he ſhall receive from his general, whoſe ſupreme authority begets moderation and agreement amongſt them, which the ſhips of repriſal have no means to accommodate but by violence.

What inſtructions the captain ſhall receive from his general, needs no other repetition than I have already declared in the inſtructions ſet down in this ſame book, to which I refer you; but with this caution, That you be careful to obſerve what is there contain'd.

A captain is to make choice of his lieutenant, and it is as neceſſary that he be a man of experience, as himſelf; and though no ſuch officer be allow'd in his majeſty's ſhips but of late; and that the maſter repines to have a lieutenant above him, yet do I hold it fit to have a lieutenant, and he to have entertainment from the king, as well as his allow'd ſhares in a private ſhip of war, for theſe reaſons;

A lieutenant is an employment for a gentleman well bred, who knows how to enter-

entertain ambaſſadors, gentlemen, and ſtrangers, when they come aboard, either in preſence or abſence of a captain.

A lieutenant is to be ſent on a meſſage, either aboard ſhips or aſhore, upon any occaſion of ſervice, though it be to great perſons, an unfit imployment for a maſter; beſides the maſter is not to depart out of the ſhip, or leave his place, but in caſe of neceſſity.

A lieutenant knows how to uſe gentlemen and ſoldiers with more courteſy and friendly behaviour, and will give better ſatisfaction than any other mariner or maſter can do, who have not been bred to it, but in the rude manner of a mariner.

A lieutenant in a fight is to command the forecaſtle, or the ſoldiers before the maſt, as the captain does abaft the maſt, and to ſee that every man does the ſervice he is commanded.

But the lieutenant muſt have a care that he carry not himſelf proudly or preſumptuouſly, nor that his captain give him power or authority to intermeddle in the maſter's office; for where there is a heart-burning between the lieutenant and the maſter, it will make it burſt out into open diſcontent, and then will follow miſchiefs and factions among the company.

The Second Degree of a Captain, viz. *in Ships of Repriſal.*

THIS captain I ſhall treat of is much inferior to the authority of the other I have ſpoken of: Firſt, his title is not authorized by the immediate power of a prince, but by a ſubordinate; for a king of *England* in time of war ſubſtitutes his lord high admiral of *England* to grant out letters of repriſal to his ſubjects, to take and arreſt by all means, either by ſea or land, the veſſels of his enemy; and this commiſſion is taken out of the court of admiralty, having relation to the lord high admiral and his office.

In this quality any man may make himſelf a captain, if he put in the ſecurity aforeſaid; but what abuſes enſue thereof, I refer you to ſee in the firſt book.

This captain, after a ſhip is furniſhed, is to make choice of his maſter, officers, and company; and though he be ſtyled the captain, yet do they not uſe to obey him ſo ſtrictly as him that has power from a general, as I have ſaid before; for they receive no pay whereby to oblige them, but every one goes upon his own adventure; and therefore they will tie the captain to the ſame conditions in his diet, or his part of any goods taken, as themſelves. His authority is little better than the captain in a pirate; for the intereſt and diviſion of goods are alike, only that this captain has commiſſion to take from an enemy, and a pirate takes without commiſſion, and makes all the world his enemies.

The authority of repriſals, and the law to warrant and limit them, has been antient, and ever ſince *England* enjoy'd *Aquitain*, if it were truly known; for the laws to this day are called the laws of *Alleroone* near *Rochell*, anciently poſſeſſed by the *Engliſh*.

And becauſe I ſpeak of the peculiar laws there eſtabliſhed, I am bound to give you an account of an ancient record extant in the tower of *London*, wherein is to be ſeen, that at a general meeting of all nations of *Europe*, that had relation to the ſea, with one voice and conſent they gave *England* the preheminence and power over all the ſeas, as well thoſe that part *England* and *France*, as alſo the northern ſeas that encompaſs *Scotland* and *Ireland*; by which it is apparent, the kings of *England* did not challenge the privilege of maſters of the ſea by force, but by lawful right, granted by the conſent of all the maritime towns in *Europe*.

The law of theſe actions of repriſal is to divide the goods taken from any enemy into three parts, the ſhip has one part, the victualler the other, the company the third, and the lord admiral to have the tenths of all.

That which is called pillage is the looſe goods and apparel of the company on the upper deck, ſo that it exceeds not a certain proportion, and is equally to be divided to the whole company at the main-maſt.

If a ſhip fight, the captain that takes her, by ancient right, ſhould have the other captain's cheſt, and what he has in it; and every officer to have the like of other officers. The captain is to have likewiſe the beſt piece of ordnance in the ſhip, the gunner the ſecond, and the maſter the beſt cable, and all the other officers after that rate, ſails, muskets, *&c.*

The thirds due to the company is thus divided, and thoſe that make the ſhares are, the maſter, or in his abſence the right-hand mate, the gunner, the boatſwain, and the four quarter-maſters, (not the captain.) But the captain has this privilege, to take away half a ſhare, or a whole ſhare, to give from one to another whom he pleaſes.

	Shares.
In the diviſion, the captain has	10
The maſter	7 or 8
The lieutenant	7 or 8
The mates	5
The chirurgeon	5
The gunner	5
The boatſwain	5

The

	Shares.
The carpenter	5
The trumpeter	5
The four quarter-maſters	4
The cooper	4
The chirurgeon's mate	4
The gunner's mate	4
The carpenter's mate	4
The corporal	3
The quarter-maſter's mate	3
The trumpeter's mate	3
The ſteward	3
The cook	3
The cockſwain	3
The ſwabber	3

The younkers are according to their deſerts, ſome three, ſome two, and ſome leſs; the boys one ſingle ſhare.

A ſhip of war is to keep a man or boy continually in the head of the topmaſt, to deſcry what ſails they can ſee; and upon the deſcrying of any that ſhall prove prize, he is to have given him a reward, at the diſcretion of the captain.

If any prize they take ſhall fight, and make reſiſtance, upon the boarding her, the ten firſt men that ſhall enter her ſhall have every one of them a reward, at the diſcretion of the captain.

Though theſe actions of repriſals yield no profit to a king, but only in his cuſtoms, as all other merchandizes that come into his kingdoms, yet it is a matter of great conſequence, not only to him, but to his whole commonwealth, as appears by theſe reaſons: the number of ſailors and ſeamen are increaſed treble by it, to what they are in the navigations of peaceable voyages; and they are made more couragious, and more like to ſerve their prince and country, when there is occaſion to uſe them, than any other of his majeſty's ſubjects, although their ſucceſſes do not prove proſperous at ſea, but that they return without ſpoil or gain; for I confeſs, of twenty ſuch ſhips as go out with letters of repriſal, not two, for the moſt part, make a ſaving voyage; like a lottery, where one lighting upon a good prize, encourages others to venture in it, till they make themſelves pennileſs, and derided for their pains.

But howſoever it fall with theſe adventurous people, the kingdom feels no detriment or ſcarcity by it; for all the time they ſpend at ſea, they conſume no more victuals than they would have done on ſhore: every man in the ſhip bears his own adventure; ſo that neither king or country is bound to pay them at their return: or though they fail of getting in one voyage, yet upon the end of it they are ready, and never want occaſion to be ſuddenly employ'd again in another.

And laſtly, The king receives benefit by theſe voluntary actions, by annoyance done the enemy, who is impoveriſhed and put into great diſcontent by it; beſides, that many times his proviſions in furniſhing his fleets are cut off in their way to the place of their rendezvous, whereby his preparations fail, to the great ſecurity and profit of the prince their enemy. What this end of the ſtealth produces, you will hear afterwards.

The Office of a Maſter of a Ship of the King's.

A maſter is to be choſen by the *Trinity-Houſe*, who can judge of every man's ſufficiency, as well in the point of his art as his command, which is as much to be regarded as the other in a ſhip of the king's: upon commendations from them to the four principal officers of the navy, he is to receive warrant for taking charge of his majeſty's ſhip. I utterly diſlike that a captain ſhould make choice of a maſter himſelf; I ſpeak it for the ſecurity of a captain; for if any thing but well ſhould befal the ſhip in her voyage, it will be imputed to the captain's election of his maſter, and he only ſhall receive the blame and imputation by it.

His place and charge is to undertake to conduct the ſhip ſafe from port to port, and to direct at ſea to and fro as the captain ſhall require him, by virtue of his inſtructions from the lord admiral in the king's ſervice; he is alſo to give chaſe, manage a fight, or retreat by the captain's directions.

He has power to command the mariners and all the company, to perform the ordinary labours in the ſhip, and to keep due watch in their turns at the helm; and may by himſelf, or the boatſwain and his mates, correct and puniſh, according to the cuſtom of the ſea, ſuch as refuſe his command for the ſervice of the ſhip, wherein I conceive no man is exempted reſpectively.

He muſt be likewiſe acquainted what furniture, ground-tackle, and ſea-ſtores, belong to the ſhip, and to juſtify the needful expences of ſea-ſtores in the boatſwain or carpenter's charge during the voyage, to the end there may be warrant for ſupply while the ſhip is under his charge.

There are ſix things neceſſary and requiſite in a maſter or mariner that takes charge, (*viz.*) the card, the compaſs, the tides, the time, the wind, and the ſhip's way.

A maſter muſt be obedient to his captain, and ſo carry himſelf, that he be obey'd by

by his company; for a maſter that has not authority in his command, is ſlighted by all his men, and the inferior officers, and then the ſervice goes to wreck.

A maſter ought to paſs through all the offices and degrees in a ſhip, before he attain to his place of maſter; that thereby he may both direct and controul the other officers, if they commit errors or miſtakes.

A maſter ought not to be arrogant, willful or head-ſtrong; not to preſume too much on his own skill, without the advice of his mates, who are to be choſen as his ſeconds and helpers, to conduct the ſhip when he takes his reſt; alſo to ſeparate themſelves into ſeveral parts of the ſhip at her tacking about, and tackling of the ſhip, giving ear to the maſter's command, and to ſee it performed; and alſo to overſee carefully ſuch buſineſs as concerns the ſafety of the ſhip, (*viz.*) the anchor cleared, the ſplicing and bending of cables, that the ſhrowds be taut, *&c.* The boatſwain employ'd to do theſe things, may not neglect to perform them ſtrictly, whereby any danger may come to the ſhip.

The office of a maſter is to guide a ſhip into what coaſt, heighth, or harbour the captain ſhall direct him, who is commander of all; and in a fight is to conn the ſhip, and to ſee the handling of the ſails, by appointment of the captain.

A maſter muſt obſerve the ſun and ſtar, to find out the variation of the compaſs, to know the tides, to prick his card, and many other things; which for the better inſtruction of him that ſhall hereafter attain to that place, I have ſet down briefly for them to learn and follow; as namely, the working of the ſun, with the north and ſouth declination; a rule to know the age of the moon, and ſo conſequently to caſt the tides; how many leagues anſwer to a degree; the prime, the golden number, who was the finder out of the loadſtone, and the winds called *Monſons.*

How to work the Sun with a North Declination.

The heighth is 87 Degrees, 54 Minutes.

23	19	46	11	13	12
21	13	23	2	12	20
2	6	23	9	1	2
89	60	89	60	89	60
2	6	23	9	1	2
87	54	66	51	88	58

How to work the Sun with a South Declination.

23	19	46	11	13	22
21	13	23	2	12	20
44	32	69	13	25	42
89	60	89	60	89	60
44	32	69	13	25	42
45	28	20	47	64	18

A Rule to know the Age of the Moon, and ſo to caſt the Tides.

23	19	26	2	9	12	28	13 The Dayes of the Moon
14	2	6	13	29	3	25	2 The Epact
9	4	8	11	7	4	4	3 The Moons from Mar.
46	25	40	26	45	19	57	18
30		30		30		30	
16		10		15		25	

Leagues to anſwer a Degree.

North	20
North and by eaſt	20 1/3
North-north-eaſt	21 1/3
North-eaſt and by north	24
North-eaſt	28 1/3
North-eaſt and by eaſt	36
Eaſt-north-eaſt	52 1/3
Eaſt and by north	102 1/3

It is to be noted, that the north-eaſt winds, which continually blow betwixt the *Canaries* and *Weſt Indies*, blow ſo from the ſixth or ſeventh degree on this ſide the line, to the thirtieth and thirty ſecond degrees; and, moreover, of late it has differ'd; for ſometimes the wind blows ſouthwardly in thoſe heighths, though I confeſs it is ſtrange.

Flavio, of *Amalphy*, in the kingdom of *Naples*, was the firſt finder of the load-ſtone, in the year 1300.

In *October* the north-eaſt, and eaſt-north-eaſt winds blow on the coaſt of *Braſil*, and from *March* to *October* they blow at ſouth-eaſt; and theſe are called the general winds.

The *Monſons*, that is to ſay, the fixed winds in the *Eaſt Indies*, have their beginning from *Moſambique* to *Goa* in the month of *September*; and the ſecond *Monſon*, from thence begins the fifteenth of *December*. The third *Monſon* begins the fifteenth of *Auguſt*. The prime, or golden number, is the time of nineteen years, in which time the moon makes all her changes or conjunctions with the ſun; and when theſe nineteen

teen years are expired, then ſhe begins again. As for example, the year 1579 ſhe changed the 22d of *March*, and every year alters eleven days in her change, till the year 1593. and then ſhe changeth the ſaid 22d of *March* again.

Every moon contains twenty nine days, twelve hours, forty four minutes, from change to change; the whole contents of the hours of the moon, ſeven hundred and eight hours, and forty four minutes.

There is in every year twelve changes of the moon; and the year contains three hundred and ſixty five days, five hours, fifty five minutes, thirteen ſeconds.

In the year of twelve lunar months there are but three hundred and fifty four days, ſo that there are eleven more in the ſolar year, than in the twelve lunar months.

From *January* to *June* you ſhall ſee the moon within twenty four hours after the change, becauſe ſhe has a north declination of the ſun.

From *July* to *December* you ſhall not ſee the moon three days after the change, becauſe her declination is to the ſouthward of the ſun; but you may ſee her in twenty four hours before her change.

The golden number was ſo called, becauſe it was ſent out of *Egypt* in letters of gold to the *Romans*, or the city of *Rome*.

The reaſon of calling it the prime, was, becauſe it was the firſt order the moon's courſe was known by.

An *Engliſh* mile contains a thouſand paces, and every pace five foot, and every foot twelve inches.

The lengthening and ſhortening of the days, is according to the ſwiftneſs and ſlowneſs of the ſun's declination. In the latitude of *London*, the ſhorteſt day is the eleventh or twelfth of *December*; the longeſt ſummer's day is ſixteen hours and a half, the ſhorteſt ſeven and a half, from the riſing to the ſetting of the ſun.

The 12th of *December* the ſun riſes a quarter of an hour after eight, and ſets a quarter before four.

The 29th of *December* the day is a quarter of an hour longer, and riſes at eight, and ſets at four.

The 17th of *January* the day is an hour longer; the 29th the ſun riſes at half an hour after ſeven, and ſets at half an hour after four.

The 12th of *February* the day is ten hours long; the ſun riſes at ſeven, and ſets at five.

The 20th of *February* the day is eleven hours long; the ſun riſes at half an hour after ſix, and ſets at half an hour after five.

The 12th of *March* the day is twelve hours long all the world over: the 24th of *March* the ſun riſes a quarter of an hour before ſix, and ſets a quarter after ſix.

The 7th of *April* the day is fourteen hours long, and the ſun riſes at five, and ſets at ſeven.

The 23d of *April* the day is fifteen hours long; the ſun riſes before five half an hour, and ſets at half an hour after ſeven.

The 15th of *May* the day is ſixteen hours long; the ſun riſes at four, and ſets at eight.

The 11th or 12th of *June* the ſun has its greateſt heighth to the northward; the day is ſixteen hours and a half, and the ſun riſes a quarter before four, and ſets a quarter after eight.

The 10th of *July* the day is fifteen hours.

The 16th of *Auguſt* the day is fourteen hours.

The laſt of *Auguſt* the day is thirteen hours.

The 12th of *September* equal.

The 27th of *September* the day is eleven hours.

The 11th of *October* ten hours long.

The 26th of *October* nine hours long.

The 15th of *November* eight hours long.

The 11th of *December* at ſhorteſt.

The Office of a Pilot and Coaſter.

He is to carry the ſhip over certain ſands, or into ſuch ports and harbours as the maſter is not acquainted with, at what time the maſter himſelf ought not to controul him, but to follow the courſe and directions of the pilot; though the managing and tacking of the ſhip belongs to the maſter.

I give the name both of pilot and coaſter to one man; for the firſt is comprehended in the latter. A bare pilot ſerves only for the port he is hired for; but the coaſter ſerves not only for ſuch a place, but for the whole coaſt, as I will make the compariſon of *England*.

This man's charge is more than in the command of ſhip and company, and is of greater weight and moment than the office of a maſter; for by reaſon of our daily experience in long voyages, the conduction of a ſhip is of little difficulty; for it has not been heard that any ſhip ever went out of *England*, and return'd home again, without finding the country or place ſhe went for; and yet we have very many lamentable precedents, that coming home from ſuch voyages, for want of knowledge of the coaſt, the ſhips have periſhed.

The principal thing in a pilot or coaſter of our coaſt, is to know where he is; by his firſt ſoundings his depth will give him light; and as he draws nearer the coaſt, either of *England* or *Britany*, his depth will leſſen, and by his lead he will take up ſands, by which he ſhall gather which of the two coaſts he is upon, as alſo if he be ſhot into *St. George's Channel*. The meaneſt mariner that trades to *Rochell*, *Bourdeaux*, *Biſcay*, *Portugal*, and *Spain*, knows more in this kind, than the great maſters and others that go

go to the *Eaſt Indies* and long voyages, becauſe they make four or five voyages in and out of our channel to the others one, by which they gain daily experience of our ſoundings, coaſts, marks on land, and the entrance of our harbours, which the others cannot do.

The skill of a coaſter is to know the land as ſoon as he ſhall deſcry it; and after he has made it, then to harbour himſelf; for all ports are alike to a good coaſter. He muſt be likewiſe perfect in caſting the tides, to take his opportunity of coming into a harbour, according to the draught of his ſhip, and the depth of the water.

In 1588. when the duke of *Medina* came for *England*, had he been furniſhed with a pilot that knew the *Lizard*, when he made it for the *Rambead*, he had the next morning given an attempt upon our ſhips at *Plimouth*, when he was not ſuſpected or looked for.

Mr. *Cavendiſh*, at his return from about the world, where he made himſelf and the nation famous by that voyage, has often told me, That the firſt night he entered into our channel, not daring to put in with the land, he endured more trouble and danger of ſhipwreck, than in all his two years and odd months of navigation in the remote and unknown places where he had been.

In the year 1589. we being come in the *Victory*, one of the queen's ſhips, with the earl of *Cumberland*, (as may appear in the firſt book,) near *Scilly*, by our reckonings, were taken with a moſt violent ſtorm at eaſt, that put us upon the coaſt of *Ireland*, where, for want of a man that knew that coaſt and harbours, we were forced to keep the ſea till we were put from ſhore; ſo that before we could recover it again, we endured ſuch great miſery and want of drink, that the like has not been known, as you will find in Mr. *Hackett*'s book, treating of the *Engliſh* voyages. I could inſert many other examples of this nature, but this ſhall ſuffice.

The Office of a Boatſwain

Is to have the charge of all the cordage, tackling, ſails, fids, and marling ſpikes, needles, twine, ſailcloth, and rigging the ſhip: his mates have the command of the long-boat, putting out the anchor, and fetching it home, wafting, towing, and mooring, and to give an account of his ſtore indented with a ſurveyor for the ſame: he is to make choice of his mates to aſſiſt him, his place being more laborious than one man can perform, in following and directing the common ſailors in their works. If he die in the voyage, his chief mate is to ſucceed him.

As the maſter is to be abaft the maſt, ſo the boatſwain, and all the common ſailors under his command, are to be afore the maſt: he meſſes the company four and four to a meſs, or more if there be want of victuals, and is to ſee they be duly ſerv'd, and good hours kept. At eight of the clock at night the watch is to be ſet, and half the company watches, and the other half ſleeps till twelve of the clock that they are relieved, unleſs foul weather force them all to help together.

As the maſter commands the tacking of the ſhip, the hoiſting or ſtriking the yard, the taking in or putting out the ſails, upon the blowing of the maſter's whiſtle, the boatſwain takes it with his, and ſets the ſailors with courage to do their work, every one of them knowing by the whiſtle what they are to do.

The boatſwain is to ſee the ſhrouds and all other ropes ſet taut, the dipſiline and plummet in readineſs againſt their coming into the ſoundings, and tallowed; this is only in deep water, before they make land. He is to ſee the cables bent to the anchors. In a fight he muſt ſee the yards ſlung to, parmers and waſte cloths, the flag and pendents put forth, and call up every man to his labour and office. The boatſwain ſerves for a provoſt-marſhal, to commit all offenders. And to conclude, his and his mate's work is never at an end; for it is impoſſible to repeat all the duties incumbent on them.

The Office of a Gunner.

A gunner at ſea ought to be skilful, careful, and couragious; for the ſtrength of the ſhip is put into his hands.

A principal thing in a gunner at ſea, is to be a good helmſman, and to call to him at helm to looſ, or bear up, to have his better level, and to obſerve the heaving and ſetting of the ſea, to take his aim at the enemy.

A gunner is to be provided, beſides his ordnance, with powder and ſhot of all kinds, fire-pikes, cartriges, caſe-ſhot, croſs-barſhot, langrel-ſhot, chain-ſhot, arm'd arrows of wild fire, and grenadoes of divers kinds.

He is to furniſh himſelf with a horn, a priming-iron, lint-ſtocks, gunners quadrant, and a dark lanthorn; to make choice of his mates, his quarter gunners, yeoman of the powder-room, and his company in the gun-room, who are privileged from the labour before the maſt, unleſs by his ſufferance.

A gunner muſt know the names of his pieces, their bores or heighth, their weight, the weight of the ſhot, the weight of the powder, the goodneſs of powder, and how far every piece will carry, both at random and point-blank, which is fitteſt for a ſhip, and which for field or battery; but becauſe every gunner does not know theſe ſecrets,

I will ſet down ſo much as is fit for them to know.

A Cannon Royal.

The bore of a cannon royal is eight inches and an half.
The weight eight thouſand pound.
The weight of the ſhot ſixty ſix pound.
The weight of the powder thirty pound.
The breadth of the ladle thirteen inches.
The length of the ladle twenty four inches.
She will ſhoot point-blank eight hundred paces.
She will ſhoot at random one thouſand nine hundred and thirty paces.

A Cannon.

The bore of a cannon eight inches.
The weight ſix thouſand pound.
The weight of the ſhot ſixty pound.
The weight of the powder twenty ſeven pound.
The breadth of the ladle twelve inches.
The length of the ladle twenty four inches.
She will ſhoot point-blank ſeven hundred and ſeventy paces.
She will ſhoot at random two thouſand paces.

A Cannon Serpentine.

The bore ſeven inches.
The weight five thouſand five hundred pound.
The weight of the ſhot fifty three pound and an half.
The weight of the powder twenty five pound.
The breadth of the ladle ten inches.
The length of the ladle twenty three inches.
Shoot point-blank two hundred paces.
Shoot at random two thouſand paces.

A Baſtard Cannon.

The bore ſeven inches.
The weight four thouſand five hundred pound.
The weight of the ſhot forty one pound.
The weight of the powder twenty pound.
The breadth of the ladle ten inches.
The length of the ladle twenty three inches and three quarters.
Shoot point-blank one hundred and eighty paces.
Shoot at random one thouſand eight hundred paces.

A Demi Cannon.

The bore ſix inches and three quarters.
The weight four thouſand pound.
The weight of the ſhot thirty pound, and an half.
The weight of the powder eighteen pound.
The breadth of the ladle nine inches and ar half.
The length of the ladle twenty three inches and an half.
Shoot point-blank one hundred and ſeventy paces.
Shoot at random one thouſand ſeven hundred paces.

A Cannon Petro.

The bore ſix inches.
The weight three thouſand pound.
The weight of the ſhot twenty four pound and an half.
The weight of the powder fourteen pound.
The breadth of the ladle nine inches.
The length of the ladle twenty three inches.
Shoot point-blank one hundred and ſixty paces.
Shoot at random one thouſand ſix hundred paces.

A Culverin.

The bore five inches and an half.
The weight four thouſand five hundred pound.
The weight of the ſhot ſeventeen pound and an half.
The weight of the powder twelve pound.
The breadth of the ladle eight inches and an half.
The length of the ladle twenty two inches.
Shoot point-blank two hundred paces.
Shoot at random two thouſand five hundred paces.

A Baſilisk.

The bore five inches.
The weight four hundred pound.
The weight of the ſhot fifteen pound.
The weight of the powder ten pound.
The breadth of the ladle ſeven inches and an half.
The length of the ladle twenty two inches.
Shoot point-blank two hundred and thirty paces.
Shoot at random three thouſand paces.

A Demi Culverin.

The bore four inches.
The weight three thouſand four hundred pound.
The weight of the ſhot nine pound and an half.
The weight of the powder eight pound.
The breadth of the ladle ſix inches and an half.
The length of the ladle twenty two inches.
Shoot point-blank two hundred paces.
Shoot at random two thouſand five hundred paces.

A Baſtard Culverin.

The bore four inches.
The weight three thouſand pound.
The weight of the ſhot five pound.
The weight of the powder five pound and three quarters.
The breadth of the ladle five inches and an half.
The length of the ladle eighteen inches.
Shoot point-blank one hundred and ſeventy paces.
Shoot at random one thouſand ſeven hundred paces.

A Sacar.

The bore three inches and an half.
The weight one thouſand four hundred pound.
The weight of the ſhot five pound and an half.
The weight of the powder five pound and an half.
The breadth of the ladle five inches and three quarters.
The length of the ladle eighteen inches.
Shoot point-blank one hundred and ſeventy paces.
Shoot at random one thouſand ſeven hundred paces.

A Minion.

The bore three inches and an half.
The weight a thouſand pound.
The weight of the ſhot four pound.
The weight of the powder four pound.
The breadth of the ladle four inches and three quarters.
The length of the ladle fifteen inches.
Shoot point-blank one hundred and fifty paces.
Shoot at random one thouſand five hundred paces.

A Faulcon.

The bore two inches and an half.
The weight ſix hundred and ſixty pound.
The weight of the ſhot two pound.
The weight of the powder three pound and an half.
The breadth of the ladle four inches and an half.
The length of the ladle fifteen inches.
Shoot point-blank one hundred and fifty paces.
Shoot at random one thouſand five hundred paces.

A Falconet.

The bore two inches.
The weight five hundred pound.
The weight of the ſhot one pound and an half.
The weight of the powder three pound.
The breadth of the ladle four inches and an half.
The length of the ladle fifteen inches.
Shoot point-blank one hundred and fifty paces.
Shoot at random one thouſand five hundred paces.

A Serpentine.

The bore one inch and an half.
The weight four hundred pound.
The weight of the ſhot three quarters of a pound.
The weight of the powder a pound and an half.
The breadth of the ladle three inches and an half.
The length of the ladle eleven inches.
Shoot point-blank one hundred and forty paces.
Shoot at random one thouſand four hundred paces.

A Rabanet.

The bore one inch.
The weight three hundred pound.
The weight of the ſhot half a pound.
The weight of the powder a third part of a pound.
The breadth of the ladle an inch and a third part.
The length of the ladle ſix inches.
Shoot point-blank one hundred and twenty paces.
Shoot at random a thouſand paces.

Notwithſtanding theſe proportions of powder given to every piece aforeſaid, yet there muſt be reſpect had to the goodneſs or badneſs of powder, as, namely, ſerpentine powder, which is weak, and will not keep at ſea; the great and groſs powder is for ordnance; fine corn'd powder is in goodneſs according to the ſalt-petre: and for the ſhot, it muſt be a quarter of an inch leſs than the bore of the piece.

No ſhip commonly carries greater pieces than a demi-cannon; and the reſt of her pieces ought not to be above ſeven or eight foot long, unleſs it be in the chaſe or ſtern: they are eaſier in charging, eaſeful to the ſhip, beſides better in traverſing and mounting. The longer the pieces are, the greater is their retention of fire, and the danger of the piece the greater.

It is true, the longer piece will burn the powder better, and carry the ſhot farther, as the ſhorter piece will ſpue her powder; the longer is better for the land, the other for the ſea; for he that ſhooteth far off at a ſhip, had as good not ſhoot at all.

It

It is a folly to try a piece, either great or ſmall, with a double charge; for a piece is proportioned to her mettle, equal with the charge of her powder; and though a piece ſhould endure a double charge, yet ſhe is the weaker by the proof, and made the crazer by it.

Taper-bored, is when a piece is wider in the mouth than towards the breech, which is dangerous, if the bullets go not home, to burſt her.

Honey-combed, is when ſhe is ill caſt, or overmuch worn, ſhe will be ragged within, which is dangerous for a croſs-bar ſhot to catch hold by, or any rag of her wading being afire, and ſticking there, may fire the next charge you put in her.

Fire-works are divers, and of many compoſitions, as arrows trimmed with wild-fire, pikes of wild-fire to ſtick burning into a ſhip's ſide to fire her. There are alſo divers ſorts of grenades, ſome to break and fly in abundance of pieces every way, as will your braſs-balls, and earthen pots, which, when they are covered with quarter bullets ſtuck in pitch, and the pots filled with good powder, in a crowd of people will make an incredible ſlaughter. Some will burn under water, and never extinguiſh till the ſtuff be conſumed; ſome will burn and fume out a moſt ſtinking poiſonous ſmoke; ſome being only of oil anointed on any thing made of dry wood, will take fire by the heat of the ſun, when it ſhines hot.

It is not impertinent to make repetition of a great abuſe, and the greateſt of all others that could befal this happy kingdom, which God has placed in ſuch a place of the world, that all the enemies of mankind cannot annoy it from abroad, if the kingdom be well governed, the people encouraged, and the arms and ſtrength kept from being carried abroad.

But ſuch has been the overſight of ſome magiſtrates in times paſt, that they have connived at the tranſportation of our *Engliſh* ordnance, which exceeds all other in *Europe* for goodneſs: and now no country from the hithermoſt parts to the uttermoſt bounds of the world, but is able to give teſtimony of it in their forts and caſtles, which are furniſhed with them, to the unſpeakable hazard and danger to ourſelves; beſides that, it breeds a double charge and expence to his majeſty, as ſhall appear by this that follows. A *French* ſhip of five hundred tons, carries forty pieces of *Engliſh* ordnance, for which the king has 500 *l.* for licence of tranſportation. To command this ſhip, the king of *England* muſt keep yearly another bigger and ſtronger than ſhe, which will coſt 3000 *l. per Annum* at the leaſt, and the charge to maintain her in harbour will ſtand him in 400 *l.* a year; ſo that for the profit of 500 *l.* this great charge muſt be maintained, which by keeping our ordnance will be avoided.

The ordnance of *England* have been ſold for 12 *l.* a ton; in *Amſterdam* for 40 *l.* in *France* for 60 *l.* and in *Spain* for 80 *l.* all in one year; for it is to be noted, that the *Engliſh* ordnance is of another nature than the ordnance made in *Biſcay*, which breaks and ſhiver into many pieces, to the deſtruction of men on board the ſhip.

The Carpenter's Office.

I will enlarge upon this office of more than on the reſt, becauſe he is the man that gives life to the ſhip; for all the works that iron or timber is uſed in, paſs through his hands and skill.

He looks to the hull of the ſhip, that there be no damage by leaks within board or without, but that all be tight and ſtanch; likewiſe to the ſtrength of the maſts and yards, and repairing of the boats, cabins, or partitions of plank, deal, ſheet-lead, nails for work, *&c.*

What concerns the building of a Ship.

The keel, the ſtern, and ſtern-poſt, is the ground on which a ſhip is built.

The ground and timber is the floor of the ſhip, and are called the ring-heads.

Your keelſon is laid over your floor timbers, which is a long timber like the keel, and lies within as the keel lies without; from it all the upper works are raiſed.

The ribs of a ſhip are like the ribs of a man; the fleepers run fore and aft on each ſide of the ſhip.

The ſparkets are the ſpaces betwixt the timbers along the ſhip's ſides in all parts.

The garboard is the firſt plank next the keel on the out ſide.

The garboard ſtreak is the firſt ſeam next the keel.

The run of a ſhip is that which comes narrower by degrees from the floor-timbers along to the ſtern-poſt, called the ſhip's way aftward; for according to her run, ſhe will ſteer well or ill, according to the ſwiftneſs or ſlowneſs of the water coming to the rudder.

The fore-end of a plank under water is called the buts-end; the planks that are faſten'd to the ſtern, are called the woodings.

The tuck is the gathering of the works upon the ſhip's quarter under water; if it lie low, it makes her have a fat quarter and

and hinders the quick paſſage of the water to the rudder.

The tranſome is a timber that lies athwart the ſtern, and lays out the breadth of the ſhip at the buttock, which is her breadth from her tuck upwards.

The rake of a ſhip is ſo much of her hull as hangs over both the ends of her keel, it gives the ſhip good way, and makes her keep a good wind; the rake forward is near half the length of the keel.

The ſhips bilge is the breadth of the floor when ſhe is aſhore; the billage-water is that which cannot come to the pump.

The main-beam is next the main-maſt, where is the ſhips greateſt breadth.

Riders are builders from the keel to ſtrengthen all, and the orlops do not lie upon them.

The beams of the orlops are to be bound with knees, which are the beſt that grow crooked naturally.

Clinch-bolts are clinched with a rivetting-hammer for drawing out.

A fluſh-deck is that which lies upon a right line from ſtern to ſtern, fore and aft.

The gun-wall is the uppermoſt wall that goes about the uppermoſt ſtreight or ſtem of the uppermoſt deck, about the ſhip's waſte.

The ſhip's quarter is from the mizen-maſt.

Carling-knees are timbers that come athwart the ſhip from the ſides to the hatch-way betwixt the two maſts, and bear up the deck on both ſides, and on their ends lieth the comings of the hatches.

Comings are timbers that bear up the hatches higher than the deck, and keep the water from falling in at the hatches; and they make loop-holes in them for cloſe-fights; and they are an eaſe to men where the decks are low.

The knights belong to the halyards.

The revels are to belay the ſheets, and tacks upon them.

The ſpindle is the main body of the capſtain.

The whelps are ſhort pieces of wood made faſt to it, to keep the cable from coming too high in turning about.

The geer-capſtain is a help to the great capſtain in hoiſting and weighing.

The voyal is faſten'd together at both ends, with an eye or two, and a wall-knot feiz'd together.

A manger is a plank before or abaft the main-maſt. The bits are two pieces of great timber, and the croſs-piece goes through them; they are placed abaft the manger in the ſhip looſ, to belay the cable at the anchor the lower parts are faſten'd to the rider.

The call is a ſhort piece of timber over the hauſe, to which is faſten'd a great hook of iron to triſe up the anchor from the hauſe to the forecaſtle.

The bulkhead is againſt the gun room, the cabin, the bread-room, the quarter-deck, or other ſuch diviſion.

The david is a ſhort piece of timber, by which they hale up the anchor's flook to the ſhip's bow.

The couperidge-head are placed murderers; they make cloſe the forecaſtle and half-deck.

Lockets are the holes the pintle of the murderers goes into.

The lower counter is betwixt the lower part of the galley and the tranſome; the upper part is from the galley upward.

Cat-holes are over the ports in the gun-room, right with the capſtain to heave the ſhip aſtern by a cable or hauſe, called aftern.

A ſhip of four hundred tons, requires a plank of four inches; of three hundred tons three inches; ſmall ſhips two inches, but no leſs.

For clamp, middle-bands, and ſteepers, they are of ſix inches plank for building them; the reſt upwards three inches.

If a ſhip be of four hundred tons, lay the beams of the orlop ten foot deep in hold, and all the beams to be bound with two knees at each end.

The orlop to be laid with ſquare three-inch plank, and all the planks to be travelled by the beams.

'Tis very neceſſary to have a ſquare rudder carried in a ſhip, as is uſed by the ſhips in the *South Sea*.

A Rule to know the Burden of a Ship.

Length of the Keel.	*Breadth in Beam.*	*Depth in Hold.*
120	40	20
	20	
	00	
	80	
	800	
	120	
	000	
	1600	
	800	

The burden 960 Tons.

Length

Length of the Keel.	*Breadth in Beam.*	*Depth in Hold.*
63	21	11
	11	
	21	
	21	
	231	
	63	
	693	
	1386	

The Burthen 145 Tons.

The Maſting of a Ship.

After the proportion you may eſtimate the maſting of ſhips: ſuppoſe a ſhip of three hundred tons be twenty-nine foot by the beam; if her maſt be twenty four inches diameter, the length of it muſt be twenty four yards; for every inch in thickneſs is allowed a yard in length.

And the fore-maſt being twenty two inches in thickneſs, muſt be twenty two yards in length.

The boltſprit, both in length and thickneſs, muſt be equal to the fore-maſt.

The mizen ſeventeen yards in length, and ſeventeen inches diameter: but in a made maſt, which is greater, this rate will not ſerve.

The mizen-maſt is half the length of the main-maſt, which to twenty four will be twelve.

As you take the proportion of the maſts from the beam, ſo you muſt the length of the yards by the keel.

A ſhip that is ſeventy nine foot by the keel, her main-yard muſt be twenty one yards in length, and in thickneſs but ſeventeen inches.

The fore-yard nineteen yards long, and fifteen inches in diameter.

The ſpritſail-yard ſixteen yards long, and nine inches thick.

The mizen-yard as long as the maſt.

The top-yards bear half the proportion to the main and fore-yard, and the top-gallants half to them.

All theſe obſervations are not exactly to be followed, but much after this proportion; for there are many other rules to this point to be obſerved.

The ſeveral Ways of Sheathing Ships in Spain *and* Portugal.

In *Spain* and *Portugal* they ſheath ſhips with lead; not durable, heavy and ſubject to many caſualties.

Another ſheathing, is with double planks within and without, like a furring; weighty, endures but a while, becauſe the worm works through the one and the other.

Some have done it with fine canvas; of ſmall continuance, and not regarded.

To burn the upper plank, till it come to be like a very coal in every place, and after to pitch it, is not amiſs.

In *China* they ſay, they have a *Bitumen*, or varniſh, like an artificial pitch, with which they trim the outſide of the ſhips: it is ſaid to be durable againſt worm, water, or ſun.

Some have uſed a certain pitch mingled with glaſs, and other ingredients beaten to powder; but of no great uſe.

The beſt is with thin boards, half inch thick, the thinner the better, and elm better than oak, for it does not ſplit, it endures better under water, and yields better to the ſhip's ſide. The manner is thus; Before the ſheathing-board be nailed on, upon the inner ſide of it they ſmear it over with tar, half a finger thick, and upon the tar another half finger thick with hair, ſuch as the white limers uſe, and ſo nail it on, the nails not above a ſpan diſtant one from another.

Some impute the killing of the worm to the tar, others to the hair, that involves and choaks it; this is the beſt, and of leaſt coſt.

The worm begins with a hole no bigger than a needle's-head, and by degrees becomes as great as a man's finger; the thicker the plank is, the greater it grows: they are the moſt near freſh waters and rivers.

Creatures bred and nouriſhed in the ſea, coming into freſh waters die; and they die preſently that are bred in freſh rivers, and come into the ſalt.

The pitch of the *Canaries* melts not with the ſun; therefore good for the upper works in ſhips.

Near a town called *Buco*, in *Perſia*, there iſſues out of the ground a great quantity of oil, which oil they fetch from the furtheſt part of all *Perſia*; it ſerves them in their houſes for lamps.

Not far from that place, tar iſſues out of the ground, which will ſerve for ſhips; proof whereof was made by the ſhips the *Engliſhmen* built in the *Caſpian* ſea. At cape *Brea*, not far from the iſle of *Trinidad*, in the *Weſt Indies*, there is a pitch of the nature of that of the *Canaries*.

The Purſer.

In the nature of a cape merchant in a ſhip of merchandize, that keeps an account of all things brought into the ſhip, he ought to be an able clerk; he has the

charge of the victuals ſent aboard by the victualler for the company ſerving in the ſhip, for ſuch time as by his warrant he is requir'd, according to the proportion allowed by his majeſty, and to ſee the ſame delivered daily by the cook and ſteward to all men at their meals; and at the end of the voyage to deliver back ſuch cask and bisket-bags as are not ſpent in the voyage. He is likewiſe to enter the names of all the men in a ſea-book, (as we term it,) which he ſhould originally receive from the clerk of the check of the place where the ſhip was rigg'd and made ready, mentioning the places where they were preſſed, and the day of their entry, with ſuch denominations of offices as properly belong to them: and likewiſe, if during the voyage any of the men happen to die, run away, or for good cauſe be diſcharged by the captain's order, to enter likewiſe the particular day of the month againſt each of their names in a margent of the books: he ſhould alſo diſtinguiſh in the front of the book, at the beginning, when the ſhip entred into ſea victuals; for that in all the king's ſhips the captain and officers do then commence into ſea wages.

He is, upon any lawful diſcharge, to make a paſs to the party, relating the time of his ſervice, the place where he was preſſed, his office, if he have any, and the place where he went from the ſhip, and to vouch the ſame under his own hand; whereunto he is to procure the captain's alſo, and to deliver it to the party, to carry with him to the treaſurer of the navy's office at *Deptford*, to receive his pay accordingly.

The Allowance of Victuals in the King's Ships at Sea.

Every man and boy is allowed a pound of bread a day.

Every man and boy is allowed a gallon of beer a day, (that is to ſay,) a quart in the morning, a quart at dinner, a quart in the afternoon, and a quart at ſupper.

Every man and boy is allowed a day, on fleſh days, one pound of beef, or elſe one pound of pork with peaſe, that is, on *Sunday*, *Monday*, *Tueſday*, and *Thurſday*.

On fiſh days every meſs, which is four men, are allowed a ſide of ſalt fiſh, either haberdine, ling, or cod, ſeven ounces of butter, and fourteen ounces of cheeſe, *Friday* excepted; on which day they have but half allowance.

The purſer is allowed by every man ſix pence a month to provide neceſſaries, as wooden diſhes, cans, candles, lanthorns, and candleſticks, for the hold.

Trumpeter.

For the more reputation of this man's ſervice in a ſhip of the king's, and under an admiral, it is fit he ſhould have a ſilver trumpet, and himſelf and his noiſe to have banners of ſilk of the admiral's colours: his place is to keep the poop, to attend the general's going aſhore and coming aboard, and all other ſtrangers or boats, and to ſound as an entertainment to them; as alſo when they hail a ſhip, or when they charge, board, or enter her: they ſet the watch at eight of the clock at night, and diſcharge it in the morning, and have a can of beer allowed for the ſame. This is not only incident to an admiral, but to all captains that carry a noiſe of trumpets with them.

A Surgeon.

He has his mate: they are both exempted from all duty, but to attend the ſick, and cure the wounded: there muſt be trial of his ſufficiency, by certificate from able men of his profeſſion: his cheſt muſt be well furniſhed both for phyſick and ſurgery, which ſhould be viewed before his going to ſea by men of skill. The ſurgeon is to be placed in the hold, where he ſhould be in no danger of ſhot; for there cannot be a greater diſheartening of the company than in his miſcarrying, whereby they will be deprived of all help for hurt and wounded men.

The Corporal

Is to ſee the ſoldiers and ſailors keep their arms neat and clean, and to teach and exerciſe them every calm day, ſometimes with powder, and ſometimes with falſe fires; in a fight to have an eye over the reſt of the ſhot, that they do their parts, and not to ſtart from the place they are aſſigned.

So long as the fight ſhall laſt, they are to put ſome budge-barrels of powder in the galley, or ſome cloſe cabin, whither people may reſort to have their bandeliers filled, and their bullets and match ſupply'd; with a ſpecial care, that no matches with fire come near the ſaid galley or cabin.

The Cockſwain and his Mate.

The cockſwain is, as it were, captain of the boat: he is to ſteer the skiff, and to be ſent aſhore on all occaſions, or aboard all ſhips at ſea he ſhall meet, and to be directed by the captain: he is to make choice of

of a gang, to be able and handſome men, well cloathed, and all in one livery. It is neceſſary he be a good pilot for the harbours or ſhores he goes into, and to know the courſe of the tides: he ought to be a man of diſcretion and good ſhape, to countenance the imployment he ſhall be ſent on; and if he had language, it were much the better.

The Quarter-Maſters

Are four, and every one has his mate; they have the charge of the hold for ſtowage, romaging and trimming the ſhip in hold: they have their ſquadron in the watch, and ſee that every one do his office both by day and night: they have a care to look to the ſteerage and the traverſe-board.

The Cooper and his Mates

Are to look to the cask, hoops, and twigs, to ſtave and repair the buckets, barrels, cans, ſteep tubs, rundlets, hogſheads, pipes, *&c.* for wine, beverage, cyder, water, and other liquor; and as often as they ſhall fill freſh water, the cooper is to give his attendance for the fitting the cask.

The Swabber and Lyar.

The ſwabber is to keep the cabins, and all the rooms of the ſhip clean within board, and the lyar to do the like without board. The lyar holds his place but for a week; and he that is firſt taken with a lye upon a *Monday* morning, is proclaimed at the main-maſt with a general cry, *A lyar, a lyar, a lyar*; and for that week he is under the ſwabber, and meddles not with making clean the ſhip within board, but without.

The Steward and his Mate.

His office is to be the purſer's deputy, choſen by him, and keeps always in the hold, to deliver the victuals to the cook, who is truſted to retail the victuals in meet proportions, and is only accountable to the purſer, though he has ſome allowance from the victualler, for well husbanding and keeping the proviſions from waſte or putrefaction: he muſt not ſuffer banqueting or diſorder in his room, but keep it clean and ſweet; and, as occaſion ſhall ſerve, cauſe the quarter-maſters to romage, for the better coming to his victuals.

The Cook

Is to dreſs and deliver out the victuals, and is aſſiſted by a mate or two; the meat being ſod, either of fiſh or fleſh, he delivers it out to them appointed to meſs the company, and after to put out the fire, and ſuffer none to be kindled, or people to reſort into the cook-room, but in caſe of neceſſity; as namely, when the cockſwain's gang comes wet aboard, or ſick men have occaſion to uſe the fire for their comfort.

All theſe officers aforeſaid have many people under them in their rooms, not able upon any occaſion to tackle the ſhip, or do any other work, more than that they are bred to: therefore, according to my directions in the firſt book, it is fit and neceſſary that ſuch people be put to the uſe and practice of the musket, or to the labour in hawling, and doing other helps to the gunner about his ordnance in the time of fight, otherwiſe the ſhip will be weaken'd, when there is uſe of men, by ſo many people, who otherwiſe would do good ſervice if they were taught what to do.

Having declared the uſe of every man's office and place in his majeſty's ſhips, and how conveniently all men are provided for that ſervice in them, without confuſion or trouble one to another, I will now ſhew how *England* exceeds *Spain* in this kind, and to that purpoſe will ſet down the managing and marſhalling of the king of *Spain*'s galleons, and ſhew the confuſion and ill order aboard them, in compariſon of the kings of *England*.

The ill Management of the Spaniſh *Ships.*

THE *Spaniards* have more officers in their ſhips than we: they have a captain in their ſhip, a captain for their gunners, and as many captains as there are companies of ſoldiers; and above all, they have a commander in the nature of a colonel above the reſt.

This breeds a great confuſion, and is many times the cauſe of mutinies among them; they brawl and fight commonly aboard their ſhips, as if they were aſhore.

Notwithſtanding the neceſſity they have of ſailors, there is no nation leſs reſpectful of them than the *Spaniards*, which is the principal cauſe of their want of them; and till *Spain* alters this courſe, let them never think to be well ſerved at ſea.

The meaneſt ſoldier will not ſtick to tyrannize over the poor ſailors, like a maſter over his ſpaniel, and ſhall be countenanced in it by his land commander.

Their ſhips are kept foul and beaſtly, like hog-ſties and ſheep-coats, in compari-

ſon

ſon of ours; and no marvel, for there is no courſe taken to correct that abuſe, by appointing men purpoſely for that office, as we do in our ſhips.

Their allowance of diet is ſmall; and yet not ſo ſmall as ill-order'd; every man has his proportion of victuals in the morning to ſerve him the whole day, and every man is his own cook; and he that is not able to dreſs his meat, may faſt. The ſoldiers will as ordinarily play away their allowance of victuals as money; and others, out of covetouſneſs, will ſell their victuals for money to maintain play: this makes them grow weak and lean, like dogs, and unable to perform the ſervice they are commanded upon.

Our diſcipline is far different, and indeed quite contrary, as I have ſhewed before.

We have only one captain of the ſhip, ſailors, ſoldiers, and gunners; and this captain had not ſo much as a lieutenant by the allowance of the queen, till of late; ſo that matters of command, direction, and correction, depend upon his diſcretion.

He ſees that every officer humbles himſelf to his command, and that every ordinary man be as obedient to their inferior officers: he takes account of the expence of victuals, powder, and ſhot: he puniſhes every offence, and eſpecially mutinies and quarrels, with great ſeverity: he ſees no injury ſhall be offered the ſailors by the ſoldiers, but carries himſelf indifferently betwixt both. If he affect one more than the other, it is the ſailor, becauſe of the neceſſity of them: he overlooks the ſhip once or twice a-day, that ſhe be kept ſweet and clean, for avoiding ſickneſs, which comes principally by ſlothfulneſs and diſorders: he will not exceed the proportion of his men by allowance of his victuals, and will ſee every man be provided of his diet at a due and ſeaſonable time; and for the better ordering of victuals, there are divers officers appointed in ſundry rooms, as ſtewards to give it out, meaner perſons to ſerve it, men to look to the ſhifting of it in water, and cooks to the dreſſing of it; ſo that no man but upon courteſy is admitted to have acceſs into the cook's room, except the officers of the room. There are ſome appointed to make clean the ſhip within board, who are called ſwabbers, and without board by the name of liars, as I have ſhewed before. No man is ſuffer'd, either to ſell or play away his victuals, but to take it orderly and in due ſeaſon, which keeps them in health and heart.

The greateſt inconveniency in his majeſty's ſhips is the placing the cook-room in the midſhips, and ſo low in hold, that many inconveniencies and dangers ariſe by it; if it take fire, it is not ſo eaſily quenched as if it were aloft, and in the forecaſtle. Secondly, it will make the ſhip camberkeel. Thirdly, the continual fire that is kept in that part of the ſhip, caſts ſuch a heat amongſt men and victuals, that it begets ſickneſs, and diſperſes ſuch an offenſive ſmoke in the ſhip, that it putrefies victuals, and makes it both unwholſome and untoothſome to be eaten.

The Difference between the King of Spain's *Ships in former Times and theſe Days, and the true Diſtinction of the Strength of Ships.*

I HAVE heard divers ſufficient men, as merchants and others that lived in *Spain*, before the wars with queen *Elizabeth*, very much cry down the king of *Spain*'s ſhips in compariſon of ours; as in particular, that they were huge and mighty in burden, weak and ill-faſhioned in building, lame and ſlow in ſailing, fitter for merchandize than war; and I remember, that old ſeamen, as Sir *John Hawkins*, and others, have maintained, that one of her majeſty's ſhips was able to beat four of them.

I confeſs we may the rather believe it, becauſe the event has ſhewed it; for if we examine the particular loſs on both ſides, her majeſty's ſhips have devoured divers of the king of *Spain*'s; whereas there was but only one of hers taken, and that merely by the indiſcretion of the captain Sir *Richard Greenville*; for which one there have been burnt, ſunk, and taken, twice as many as the queen has in number; inſomuch, that if the queen's loſs had equalled the king of *Spain*'s, ſhe could hardly have maintained the navy in that flouriſhing ſtate it is in.

But if we ſhould attribute theſe misfortunes to ſhips, which are made all of one ſort of wood and iron, and after one manner of building, it were great folly; but give *Cæſar* his due, and allow the ſhips their due; for a ſhip is but an engine of force, uſed for offence or defence; and when you ſpeak of the ſtrength of ſhips, you muſt ſpeak of the ſufficiency of men within her; and therefore, in comparing the *Spaniſh* ſhips with ours, I enter into the compariſon of men; for if it were in my choice, I rather deſire a reaſonable ſhip of the king of *Spain*'s mann'd with *Engliſhmen*, than a very good ſhip of her majeſty's manned with *Spaniards*; ſo much account I make betwixt the one and the other.

But if you will agree of the true ſtrength of ſhips, and the difference betwixt the queen's and the king of *Spain*'s, as heretofore I have ſaid, the king's are of greater burden, which is a great advantage in boarding; ſpacious within, and will contain more

men

men than ours; have more decks, and therefore carry more ordnance.

But you will ſay, all this is nothing without ſwift ſailing, which advantage we have of them. It is true, it is the only advantage on our ſide; which advantage may be compared betwixt a greyhound and a bear, betwixt a galley and a good ſhip in a calm, or betwixt a ſwallow and an eagle; that though they be of little force to hurt bear, ſhip, or eagle, yet are they of agility and nimbleneſs to run and fly from them.

But if we will enter into the true ſtrength of ſhipping, without advantage of men or ſailing, but that you muſt fight according to the old ſaying, *Fight dog, fight bear*, that is, till one be overcome, which cannot be better decided than at anchor in harbour. I ſay, no man can deny but that the king of *Spain*'s ſhips are ſtronger than ours, by the reaſons before alledged, That they are bigger, and contain more men and ordnance, the number more, of greater burden, and therefore of greater ſtrength; as I have already ſhewed in the voyage to *Cadiz*, in 1625. But according to my firſt argument, conſidering the irreſolution and inſufficiency of the men, I would rather chuſe to be one of the ten of the queen's to encounter with twenty of them, than one of the twenty to encounter with ten of her majeſty's.

Notwithſtanding theſe reaſons, I do not diſallow the opinion of ſuch men as defend the difference betwixt the *Engliſh* and *Spaniſh* ſhips; for to ſpeak the truth, till the king of *Spain* had war with us, he never knew what war by ſea meant, unleſs it were in galleys againſt the *Turks* in the *Streights*, or in the iſlands of *Terceras* againſt the *French*; which fleet belonged to him by his new-gotten kingdom of *Portugal*.

The choice of ſhips he had of his own in his expedition of 1588. belonged to *Portugal*; moſt of the reſt conſiſted of ſeveral nations, as *Levantines*, *Biſcainers*, *Flemings*, and merchants of his own country. Whoſoever ſince have ſeen the difference of their building, would ſcarcely know the others to be ſhips, in reſpect of them that are now.

The firſt time the king ſhewed himſelf ſtrong at ſea, was in the year 1591. when the *Revenge* was taken; ſince which time I will make out there have been built at the king's charge ſixty nine ſhips, as ſhall appear in the enſuing and fourth book, and moſt of them of a thouſand tons in burden, and upwards; as to inſtance in the two galleons we brought from *Cadiz*, which ſufficiently ſatisfy us.

God has endued *England* with a ſingular bleſſing above the ſouthern countries, both with ſhipping and mariners; and to ſpeak the truth, *England* lies more convenient for the breeding of ſeamen than *Spain*; for what makes ſkilful and expert mariners but dangerous and painful navigations, where the weather and ſeas are boiſterous and rough, the coaſts perilous, and the tide forceable; all which our country is ſubject to: then on the contrary, what makes idle, loitering, and unſkilful ſeamen, but ſuch navigations, where the ſeas are calm, and the weather fair, the coaſts not perilous, nor the tides ſtrong; all which commodity *Spain* has; for betwixt them and their *Indies*, *Guinea*, and *Braſil*, to which place their chiefeſt trade is, the ſeas are calm, and the winds certain outward and homeward, ſeldom foul weather, or not long, the coaſt leſs dangerous than any other, and a ſmall or no tide at all to annoy them.

Where there is ſo great an eaſe in navigation, it breeds idle and unable mariners. What makes ſo great a difference betwixt the *Biſcainer* and natural *Spaniard* for ſea, but the difference of the voyage? The one I have ſhewed is eaſy and full of pleaſure, the other painful and troubleſome.

The *Biſcainers* greateſt trade is in fiſhing on the coaſt of *America*, where, with great labour and pains, they kill the whale, and take their fiſh: this breeds perfect and skilful mariners, and makes them not only exceed all other *Spaniards*, but get a reputation and imployment in the king's ſhips.

There is no officer, from the degree of a captain to the meaneſt officer, but commonly is a *Biſcainer*; and the *Biſcainers* have divers privileges, not granted to any other ſubject of *Spain*, to encourage them to perſevere in their ſea courſes; and to give them their due, no nation is able to compare with them: few (for many there are not) that in knowledge, hardneſs, and valour, are able to equal them; and were it not for the *Biſcay* ſailors, I know not how the great armada's of *Spain* would be maintained.

The Allowance of Victuals in the King of Spain's *Ships and Galleys.*

EVERY ſoldier in a ſhip or galley has a pound and half of bread allowed him every day.

Of freſh beef three quarters of a pound, of ſalt beef half a pound and an ounce.

A quart of wine a day, and a pottle of water.

The ſlaves every day half an ounce of oil, two ounces of rice, beans, or garnanſes; one of theſe three.

They have ſix meals of fleſh in a year, two at *Chriſtmas*, two at *Shrovetide*, and two at *Eaſter*.

The maſter, boatſwain, corporal, gonner, purſer, oar-maker, and caulker, have double the ſoldiers allowance a day.

The barber, two gunners, and boat-ſwain's mates, have but one allowance and half a day.

Thoſe that have two allowances a day, have twenty ſhillings a month.

Thoſe that have but one and half, have fifteen ſhillings a month.

A ſingle allowance but ten ſhillings.

A pilot has four allowances, and fifty ſhillings a month.

A captain is allowed five ducats a month, and two allowances.

There are allowed in every galley two ſlaves to row in the boat to ſhore, who have one allowance a day betwixt them both.

The king of *Spain* pays yearly ſix thouſand ducats for the maintaining of a galley, and before one be launched, ſhe ſtands him in ſeven thouſand ducats; I mean only her bare hull.

All his galleys are built in *Barcelona* of pine-tree.

There is in a main-ſail of a galley, fifteen hundred yards of cotton; in a fore-ſail, three or four hundred yards.

The Number of Ships, their Names and Burden, that have been built in Spain *at the King's Charge, ſince the Year* 1590. *to this preſent Year of* 1600. *How many of them are loſt, and where; gather'd by me in the Queen's Service.*

IN the year 1591. *Twelve Apoſtles*, ſix built in *Bilboa*; their names as follows; their burdens betwixt thirteen and fourteen hundred tons.

St. Philip, burnt by us at *Cadiz* in 1596.
St. John, burnt at *Havana*; ſhe was the vice-admiral that fought with Sir *Francis Drake*'s fleet in 1595.
St. Tadeus, loſt in 1599. when the *Adelantado* purſued the *Hollanders*.
St. Barnaby, loſt going into *Lisbon*.
St. Matthew, taken by us at *Cadiz* in 1596.
St. Bartholomew, loſt in *Biſcay* in 1597. when the *Adelantado* returned from *Falmouth*.

The other ſix at *St. Ander*.

St. Paul, always admiral, laid up for weakneſs at the *Horcado's*.
St. Stephen, vice-admiral, the like in *Lisbon*.
St. Simon, made a carrack, and ſince broke up.
St. James the Elder, loſt coming to the *Groyn* with the *Adelantado* in 1597.
St. Andrew, taken by us at *Cadiz* in 1596.
St. Thomas, burnt by us at *Cadiz* in 1596.

In the ſame year two ſmall ſhips of two hundred tons.

St. Urſula.
La Caſtidad.

The ſame year two ſhips built in *Portugal*, of eight hundred tons, by command of Don *Alonſo de Baſſan.*

One of them loſt upon cape *Finiſter*, when the *Adelantado* went to the *Groyne* in 1597.

In the year 1592. ſeven ſhips of five hundred tons, built in the *Rantaria:* theſe ſhips uſe to fetch the king's treaſure from the *Indies.* I met with them at the *Tercera's* in the iſland voyage in 1597.

Nueſtra Senora de Aranca.
Nueſtra Senora de Monſerrate, loſt on the coaſt of *Spain.*
Nueſtra Senora de Guardalupe, loſt in the *Indies.*
Nueſtra Senora de Valverde.
Nueſtra Senora de Aliſtes.
Nueſtra Senora del Roſario, loſt on the cape *St. Mary's*, and with her
Nueſtra Senora de la Merced; (plate moſt of it ſaved.)

Built in the *Canary Iſlands* the ſame year four frigates of four hundred tons each: they fetch'd the plate from the *Indies.*

St. Barbara, burnt by us at *Cadiz* in 1596.
St. Mary Magdalen, burnt herſelf at *Puerto Rico*, when Sir *Francis Drake* was there.
St. Helena, was burnt by us at *Cadiz* in 1596.
St. Clare.

In the year 1595. built in the *Rantaria*, ſeven ſhips of thirteen hundred tons each.

St. John Evangeliſt.
St. Matthias, broke up at *Lisbon.*
St. Mark.
St. Lucas, loſt coming out of *Ferrol*, when the *Adelantado* came for *England* in 1597.
St. Auguſtine.
St. Gregory.
Flor de la Mar.

The ſame year, and in the ſame place, three ſmall ſhips of ſixty tons.

La Juſticia, loſt at ſea.
La Eſperança, taken on our coaſt by an *Engliſh* man of war.
La Verdad.

The ſame year built in *Lisbon* three ſhips, by *Lambert* an *Engliſhman*, of four hundred tons.

El Eſpiritu Sancto, loſt in 1597. coming to the *Groyne* with the *Adelantado.*
La Fee.
La Caridad.

In the year 1596. built at *Fuenteravia*, two ſhips of three hundred tons, which were ſent into the *South Sea.*

Nueſtra Senora de Loreto.
Nueſtra Senora de la Pena.

In the year 1597. built in the port of *Portugal*, two ſhips of fifteen hundred tons, that were made carracks.

St. Antonio.
St. Vincent.

In the ſame year 1597. ſix ſhips in the *Rantaria*, of eight hundred tons each ſhip.

St. Jeronimo.

St. Jeronimo, loſt in 1599. purſuing the *Hollanders* with the *Adelantado*.
St. Domingo, loſt the ſame time.
St. Franciſco.
St. Ambroſio.
St. Chriſtopher.
St. Joſeph.

The ſame year, and in the ſame town, two ſhips built of two hundred tons.
Santa Margarita.
Santa Martha.

In the ſame year, 1597. built in *Leſo*, two galleons of three hundred tons.
Santa Margarita, ſold to merchants.
Santa Joanna.

In *St. Ander*, the ſame year, built two ſhips of three hundred tons.
La Paciencia.
La Templança.

In the year 1599. built thirteen ſhips of thirteen hundred tons.
St. Andrew.
St. Philip.
St. John, caſt away at *St. Lucar.*
St. Thomas.
St. Barnaby.
St. Salvador.
St. Nicholas, caſt away at *St. Lucar.*
Six ſhips built in *Bilboa.*
St. Matthew.
St. Simon.
St. James the Greater.
St. James the Leſs.
St. Bartholomew.
St. Lucas.
St. Diego de Guardalupe, of a thouſand tons, built by a merchant in *Biſcay*, but bought by the king.

The number of them all is ſixty nine, whereof burnt, taken, and loſt, ſixteen; but beſides theſe ſixteen, the king has loſt divers more, ſome of his own, ſome hired, and others preſſed to ſerve. It is thought the dominions of *Spain* loſt in time of war, ſix hundred veſſels, one with another.

Now I am upon the *Spaniſh* acts and accidents at ſea, I will add ſuch inſtructions as generals of fleets uſe to deliver to the captains under them; and how their captains of land ſoldiers, and captains of ſhips are to carry themſelves one to another, that every man's command may be known and diſtinguiſhed, and particularly in their expedition for *England* in 1597. where the *Adelantado* was general, intending to have landed at *Falmouth*.

Don Martin de Padilla Adelantado, *Mayor of* Caſtile, *Earl of* Buendia, *Captain-General of the Gallies of* Spain, *and of the Navy Royal of the Ocean Sea, and of the Catholick King's Army*, Anno Domini, 1597.

IMprimis, all ſervitors, as well by ſea as land, of what ſtate or condition ſoever, ſhall be always ready to keep and obſerve theſe orders that are delivered them, to live a chriſtian and virtuous life, under the penalties contain'd in theſe articles.

2. You ſhall be ready, as well land as ſea captains, with your officers and companies, to ſhip yourſelves without any delay, when you ſhall hear the admiral fire, to call your companies aboard; you ſhall muſter your people, and make ready your ſhips to ſet ſail, and ſo to follow the admiral, as well ſea captains as land captains that ſhall be in any ſuch ſhip; and ſhall fail to do the ſame, ſhall be puniſhed with all rigour; and all mariners, officers, or ſoldiers that ſhall tarry behind the fleets, I from this time condemn to loſe all ſuch wages as ſhall be due to them, and to ſerve the king at an oar in the gallies four years; and the officers to be broke and deprived of office for ever.

3. As ſoon as ever you are out of harbour, as well ſea as land captains of every ſhip, ſhall muſter their ſea and land men, and ſhall make a liſt as well of their men as their arms; and they ſhall give order, that they who have no arms may be provided; the harquebuſiers, and musketeers that have no ſhot, you ſhall cauſe them to caſt it preſently; you ſhall provide them match ready; you ſhall carefully ſee your ſoldiers powder dry in the flasks, and thoſe ready, as it were, to preſent fight; this readineſs muſt you be in at all hours: their touch-powder alſo, their muskets, and harquebuſiers muſt be very clean; and that they neither want vice-pins nor ſcourers; that they keep their cocks and pans very clean, and in good order; and if in the muſter you make, you want any of thoſe ſoldiers you had aſhore, then let me have notice thereof, that they be ſought out and puniſhed.

4. The captains of land men ſhall exerciſe their musketeers and harquebuſiers by their companies, at firſt with powder in their pans, and afterwards to ſhoot at a mark ſet up againſt the foremaſt; your ſerjeants and corporals muſt be very careful to ſee them exerciſe, and to keep their weapons very clean.

5. Every land captain ſhall be very careful, and make his ſoldiers know how to ſerve in ſhipping, and ſo to quarter them that they may know their places where they are to ſtand to fight; ſo that at the time of need they may not go thwarting one another in the ſhip, nor trouble one another. The captain of the ſea ſhall likewiſe make his great ordnance ready, and the ammunition muſt be in lockers faſt by the pieces: there muſt be always in readineſs ſpikes, lanthorns, cartrages, armours, corſlets, to have them clean, and every man his own.

6. The

6. The gunners ſhall divide themſelves into companies, and every man ſhall know his charge, what ordnance he is to look to, and to acquaint the captain withal, and he to appoint ſuch help as ſhall be neceſſary; the captain ſhall be very careful to viſit his ordnance, and if there be any fault, he may ſee it remedied; and the gunner that hath not his piece in readineſs, to be puniſhed giving me the general notice thereof.

7. Every pilot and captain of a ſhip, ſhall have a ſpecial care to ſpeak every day with their admiral, and to take the word, and ſo coming in good order, one ſhip to give another room, without moleſting one another, and if they cannot take the word for ſome extraordinary occaſion, then follow this order:

The word of the	Sunday	*St. Mary.*
	Monday	*St. James.*
	Tueſday	*St. Barbara.*
	Wedneſday	*St. Eugenius.*
	Thurſday	*St. Raphael.*
	Friday	*St. Benedict.*
	Saturday,	*St. Martin.*

8. No ſhip by day or night ſhall go ahead the admiral, without he have expreſs order to do it.

9. No ſhip ſhall go to windward, nor ſtop in the wind, without he be forced to it, or have order ſo to do.

10. If any ſhip fall foul of another, whereby any of them be damnified, there ſhall be enquiry made, which of the pilots was in fault, and he ſhall pay any hurt ſo done; beſides that, he ſhall be put in priſon for his fault, during my pleaſure.

11. If we chance to fail with a ſcant wind, and by night, and the admiral deſigns to tack about, ſhe ſhall fire a gun, and ſhew her lanthorn upon her poop, that thereby you may know it; and then ſhall every ſhip put out a light, that the admiral may perceive you know his meaning.

12. If the admiral, by force of wind and weather, or elſe to repair or amend ſomething amiſs, ſhall be driven to ſtrike a hull, then ſhe ſhall fire a gun, and ſet fire upon her beak-head; as ſoon as ever you ſhall ſee this ſign, every man ſhall ſtrike a hull, and put out his light, that the admiral may tell them, and ſo be ſatisfy'd that they know his meaning; and that they are . hull as well as ſhe; and when this is done let the pilot take head that they give the ſhip ſcope enough, and keep good watch, that you do not fall aboard one another, and ſo ſpoil yourſelves.

13. When the admiral ſets ſail by night, ſhe will fire a gun, and ſet a light on the middle of her main ſhrouds, and ſo every man ſhall ſet ſail and follow.

14. If the admiral come to anchor in any bay, or upon any coaſt, ſhe ſhall ſet a light upon the head of her fore-maſt; and wh.. the reſt of the ſhips ſee this ſign, they muſt come and let fall their anchor, as near the admiral as they may ſee they be not foul of her ground tackle.

15. All captains and officers ſhall diligently ſearch what wants they have in their ſhips, and then to be ſutors that they may be provided in time, that when need is, they be not at a loſs. It is no reaſon that he who is provident beforehand, and does not only provide for his wants, but preſerve what he has by his induſtry and diligence, ſhould have any thing taken from him, and given to ſlothful captains, who do not perform their duties as they are bound.

16. All ſhipping that ſhall ſhoot off any ordnance, ſhall within two days, come to me, the ſaid general, with a note under the captain of the ſoldiers hand, drawn by the purſer, and alſo the captain of the ſhip, for what cauſe it was ſhot off, and what piece it was, that if it be found that the cauſe be juſt, he may have allowance; if he exceed the time of two days, his note ſhall not be received, except it be known he was not able to come to the admiral.

17. If any ſhip break a maſt or a yard by night, ſhe ſhall fire a gun, and put a light on the beak-head, and another upon the poop, that I, and the reſt of the ſhips, may know that ſhe is in diſtreſs; and all ſhips ſhall make haſte to ſuccour her.

18. When the admiral comes to anchor in harbour or bay, let the pilots take good heed to give a good ſcope, that one may not hurt another; and he that comes lateſt to an anchor, not to come foul of any ſhip anchor'd; for if he do, the pilot is to pay the loſs and hurt that is done.

19. All the ſhips ſhall be careful to keep a man at the top-maſt head; and he that ſpies a ſail ſhall fire a gun that way the ſail bears, and ſtrike his top-ſail; and ſo many ſails as he ſpies, ſo many times to ſtrike his topſail; and other ſhips to bend themſelves towards him.

20. If you diſcover any veſſel in the night, and are not able to come to the admiral, then to ſhew ſo many lights as you ſpy ſails, and to place them fore and aft; and he that ſpies the firſt light of the enemy, ſhall have a jewel given him by me for his pains.

21. When the admiral putteth her ancient in the main-ſhrowds, then all the fleet is to come to ſpeak with him; but if ſhe fire a gun withal, then the captains and pilots are to come on board.

22. In bearing in with the ſhore, the ſhip that firſt ſpies the land, ſhall fire a gun, and put an ancient in the head of her fore-topmaſt; and if it be in the night, to ſhoot off

off a piece, and to come to ſpeak with the admiral.

23. If in the night there happen a ſtorm, the admiral to put out two lights beſides his ordinary lights, and every ſhip to ſhew one light upon the poop, to avoid any hurt.

24. If ſhips be divided in foul weather from the fleet, and have none of the three flags to follow, they ſhall obey the biggeſt of their company till they meet with the admiral, vice-admiral, or rear-admiral.

25. Before you go from the *Groine*, you ſhall have the order of the croſs, which you ſhall keep whilſt you are at ſea.

26. When the admiral ſhall vail his maintopſail, and pike it a little, then ſhall every ſhip put himſelf into order of battle.

27. When the admiral and his fleet arrive in an harbour, or upon a coaſt, no man or boat muſt go aſhore without my leave.

28. If any captain of a ſhip be out of his ſhip, though it be with licence, yet he ſhall appoint no lieutenant without my order.

29. If we meet the enemy, you are to make yourſelves ready to fight, and to place the ſoldiers in their places; if in the night, to keep their matches from being diſcover'd.

30. If we meet with the enemy, and the admiral and his ſquadron reſolve to board, other ſhips muſt do the like; but if the pilot be of another opinion, yet notwithſtanding they are to do it; and another ſufficient man to be put in the place of the pilot; and if there be a fault in doing thus, the general to anſwer it.

31. If any of our ſhips fetch up an enemy, and fight her, the ſhip that ſhall next come to board her on the other ſide, ſhall ſhare in the pillage, the jewels, and money, not exceeding an hundred ducats; the arms of them taken, and apparel to be theirs, ſo it be not ſtuff uncut: and whoſoever ſhall light upon jewels and ſtuff, to make it known in three days; if not, to loſe his pay, and be puniſhed; and what he has taken to be divided, according to the king's inſtructions.

32. A ſhip that takes a prize, no other ſhip ſhall have to do with her, but follow the reſt, if there be more; but if he chance to go on board her, and take any thing out of her, he ſhall pay the captain four times the value of it.

33. If any ſuch ſhip yield, not to board her, but to ſend on board to fetch away the priſoners; and ſuch pillage as is in her to be divided, according to the laſt article; and he that puts himſelf aboard without leave, ſhall loſe his pay, and be puniſhed; and if he will do it *per* force, it ſhall be lawful for the company to kill him; and in like caſe, if a man ſhall go into a boat without leave, to be killed.

34. The firſt, ſecond, or third man that enters a ſhip, ſhall have a jewel given him, according to the diſcretion of the general.

35. Whoſoever enters an enemy's ſhip without arms, fighting, ſhall loſe all that he gets in her, and his own cloaths beſide.

36. If an admiral give chaſe, and ſuddenly tack about, or lie by the lee, it is a ſign he ſees many ſhips, and every ſhip muſt then draw near his admiral in order of fight.

37. The captains of ſoldiers and ſhips muſt command ſtore of tubs of water to ſtand upon the deck, and blankets and coverlets in them, to be ready to quench any fire that ſhall happen.

38. Before you come to battle to have your yards ſlung.

39. If you loſe company in foul weather, and deſcry one another, the greater number to go to the leſs; if by night, the greater number to ſhew two lights, the one ahead, the other abaft, putting them in and out two or three times, as when they come to anchor in the night.

40. You muſt have a care of your powder and cartrages, and ſet down the number of every cartrage, according to his piece.

41. That every carpenter and caulker be ready with his lead and other things for ſtopping of leaks.

42. That you make no fire till the ſun riſe, and then to dreſs the meat for the company; the ſoldiers to watch in the day time in the quarters, till an hour before ſun-ſet, and then to put out the fire, and light it no more till the next day.

43. The ſoldier that has the watching of the fire, ſhall not ſuffer any to be carried out of the hearth; and he that does it, to be ſeverely puniſhed.

44. To keep an ordinary light in the bittake, and a lanthorn under the ſpare deck, for the ſoldiers to watch; and he that takes away either, to be condemn'd to the galleys for two years, to ſerve for a ſoldier without pay.

45. The captain of the ſoldiers is to lodge with the captain of the ſhip; the pilot, maſter, enſign, and ſerjeant together, in the ſecond cabin; and the reſt of the officers accordingly; and to have an eye over the ſoldiers for brawling.

46. That no ſoldier, mariner, nor officer, paſs from one company to another, or from one ſhip to another without my licence.

47. If we diſcover any veſſels, and the admiral make a ſignal of giving battle, the officers that have the keeping of all kind of ſtores, ſhall have warrant from the captain for the delivery of them.

48. For that many hulks and ſtrangers in them are deceitful; therefore, if you find any ſuch ſuſpicion, you ſhall fire three flaſhes of powder, and the ſhips next you ſeeing it, to repair to you with all ſpeed, to give you ſuccour.

49. And though in my inſtructions I have given you ſufficient order for your navigation, which muſt not be violated, yet the thing of greateſt importance, is, That the captains by ſea and land be prudent, vigilant, and careful, as I underſtand all are in this ſervice.

50. I have ordered that all the ſquadrons ſhall carry their flags ſeverally of one colour, that they may be known, and gotten together the ſooner; and becauſe ſometimes order cannot be given by word of mouth, you are to fix your eyes upon your admiral, and when he ſets upon his poop the colours of any of his ſquadrons, the admiral of that ſquadron is to behold which way the ſign is made by the ſame colours, that ſo he may follow any fleet ſo diſcovered.

51. If any of the ſtrange ſhips ſhall have a leak, let it be ſearched by the two captains by ſea and land; and if they find it to be done on purpoſe, let him be hanged, and his ſhip forfeited.

52. That no captain or pilot do ſet any other courſe than the admiral directs; and if they do, no excuſe ſhall ſerve their turn.

53. That no captain, or other, ſhip any woman, except ſhe be married, and proof thereof brought from the general's prieſt, upon forfeiture of his office, and ſerving the king two years without pay.

54. If any ſervitor ſtand in need, let him go to his captain; and if he cannot help him, then to the admiral, where he ſhall have help.

55. If any ſhip be in diſtreſs, then to ſhoot off a piece, and thoſe next to her to haſten to her; and if they fail, to be ſeverely puniſhed.

56. If we meet with an enemy, great or ſmall, let none of the fleet follow him, but follow the admiral of his ſquadron, and do as he does, or ſhall direct, except pinnaces and ſmall ſhips, which ſhall be at the diſpoſal of the admiral.

N. B. *Some of theſe Inſtructions are frivolous, ſome of them needleſs, but moſt of them tedious, and may be comprehended in fewer words, and to greater purpoſe: but for my part, I will rather deſire to know what they do, than ſeek to follow and imitate their directions in ſea affairs.*

How to fight at Sea one Ship with another; or in Fleets; or Ships againſt Galleys; or Galleys againſt Ships: and the Manner how every Country preſerves Men from Danger in a Fight.

BEfore ſhips and fleets encounter, or enter upon action, theſe things following are neceſſary to be done; To divide the company into three parts; the one appointed to tack the ſhip, the ſecond to ply the ſmall-ſhot, and the third to attend the ordnance; but not ſo preciſely, but that one may be aſſiſting to the other in the three ſeveral places.

The ſhip is to be brought into its ſhort and fighting ſails, (*viz.*) her foreſail, her main and fore-topſail; for the other ſails are troubleſome to handle, and makes the ſhip heel ſo, that her ordnance cannot be uſed, beſide the danger of firing her ſails with arrows and other wild-fire from the enemy.

The maſter is to appoint a valiant and ſufficient man at helm; and to receive his directions from his captain how to order the fight, and where to board; which muſt be done with moſt advantage, and according to the placing the enemies ordnance; and therefore it is requiſite to have a captain of experience.

Every officer is to do his part; the boatſwain to fling their yards, to put forth the flag, ancient, and ſtreamers, to arm the tops and waſte-cloths; to ſpread the netting, to provide tubs, and to command the company to make urine in them, for the gunners to uſe in their ſponges to cool their ordnance in the fight, and all other things that belongs to his charge.

The gunner is to appoint his officers to their quarters, to have care to their files, budge-barrels, and cartrages; to have his ſhot in a locker near every piece, and the yeoman of the powder to keep his room, and to be watchful of it, and to have his eye upon any leak that ſhall happen in hold.

The carpenters are to be vigilant, and to have their oakham, lead, nails, and what elſe belongs to the ſtopping of leaks in readineſs. He muſt have a man always ready to fling overboard, if there chance a leak. Or if there be cauſe to take in the lower tier of ordnance, by the ſudden growing and working of the ſea, he muſt have all things ready to caulk the ports.

The Building of Ships.

There are two manner of built ſhips: the one with a fluſh-deck, fore and aft, ſunk and low by water; the other lofty and high charged, with a half-deck, forecaſtle, and copperidge-heads.

This ſhip with a fluſh-deck I hold good to fight in, if ſhe be a faſt ſhip by the wind, and keep her ſelf from boarding: ſhe is roomſome for her men, and yare to run to and again in; but ſhe is not a ſhip to board, unleſs it be a merchant, or another ſhip that is inferior to her in ſtrength and number of people.

For

For if it happen that ſhe be boarded, and put to her defence, ſhe lieth open to her enemy; for gaining her upper deck you win her, having neither forecaſtle, nor other cloſe-fight to retire unto; and in that caſe the defenſive part of the ſhip is the ſtrength of the forecaſtle.

When her deck ſhall be gained, and her people beaten down into the ſecond deck, the only help is to uſe ſtratagems by fire, in making trains of divers faſhions to blow up the upper deck, and men upon it; and this did the *Biſcainer* I have formerly ſpoken of in my firſt book, in the voyage I firſt went to ſea, and the firſt fight I did ever ſee, in 1585.

This ſhip had a fluſh-deck, fore and aft, which in boarding we won upon her, and her men retiring into her other deck, ſpent the moſt part of her powder in making trains to blow us up; which by fortune we prevented, and our fire-pikes took fire before it could be brought to perfection; and thus after twelve hours fight in the night, we being upon a fluſh-deck, and commanding their ſcuttles aloft, that they could not come up to us, and they commanding the ſcuttles below, that we could not go to them, they grew ſo weary for want of powder, and the death of their people, that they yielded, as I have before deſcribed, after twelve hours ſail on board her.

As I have ſaid, ſuch a ſhip that has neither fore-caſtle, copperidge-head, nor any other manner of defence, but with her men only; that hath no fowlers, which are pieces of greateſt importance, after a ſhip is boarded and entered, or lieth board and board; for the ordnance ſtands her in little ſtead, and are as apt to endanger themſelves, as their enemy; for in giving fire it may take hold of pitch, tar, oakham or powder, and burn them both for company: but a murderer or fowler being ſhot out of their own ſhip, laden with dice-ſhot, will ſcour the deck of the enemy, and not ſuffer the head of a man to appear.

The advantage of a ſhip with a fluſh-deck, that boards another to windward, is this, She may with her lee ordnance ſhoot the other under water, and her ſelf in no hazard; the ſhip that is boarded to leeward of her, is at the other's mercy, and becomes weak in compariſon of the other to windward.

Whoever enters and takes poſſeſſion of the upper deck of ſuch a ſhip, ſhall be able to cut down her maſts, ſhrowds, and all things over head; that though he take her not, yet ſhe ſhall be left a wreck in the ſea, and periſh.

I will make a compariſon of the *James Regis* of his majeſty's, (of whom I will ſay,) that for her mold and condition, ſhe is a paragon of ſhips, and not to be equalled; but in her built with a fluſh-deck, and her cloſe-galley abaft, ſhe is to be excepted againſt in a defenſive part; but how it may be amended, and ſhe be made ſerviceable, as well for defence as offence. I will refer to my own direction, with his majeſty's approbation; though ſomething I will ſay of her cloſe-galley, that is made only for a ſhew, and to accommodate captains, when I ſhall have occaſion to treat of galleys.

The only ſtrength of the *James* at this preſent is in her broad-ſide, where ſhe hath two brave platforms of ordnance to overdare any ſhip to board her; nor no enemy in diſcretion will do it, if he can find a weaker part in the ſhip to attempt: but ſuppoſe ſhe be boarded in her prow, or abaft at the poop, and be entred by more men than the hands of her company can reſiſt, ſhe neither having forecaſtle ahead, nor cloſe-fight abaft, all muſt reſt upon the ſtrength and valour of a few men; which if they be overcome, both ſhip and they muſt fall into the hands of an enemy, in the manner I have ſhewed.

The beſt manner of a fight in a ſhip of a fluſh-deck, or any other, indeed, being to windward of his enemy, is to bring himſelf within piſtol-ſhot of her, and to ply her and her parts with ſmall-ſhot at that diſtance; to lade his ordnance, ſome with musket-bullets, others with croſs-bar, and langrel-ſhot, or billets, to be the deſtruction of men; but to avoid boarding or being boarded: this I hold the beſt manner of fight betwixt ſhip and ſhip; it will make ſhort work, and the quarrel will be ſoon decided; as fighting further off is like a *Smithfield* fray, in times paſt with ſword and buckler, which is nothing but the waſting and conſuming of powder to no purpoſe.

A high-built ſhip is the better for theſe reaſons, majeſty and terror to the enemy, more commodious for the harbouring of men; ſhe will be able to carry more artillery, of greater ſtrength within board, and make the better defence; ſhe will overtop a lower and ſnug ſhip; her men cannot be ſo well diſcerned, for that the waſte-cloths will take away the view and ſight of them.

And laſtly, to ſpeak of a ſhip with three decks, (thus it is,) She is very inconvenient, dangerous, and unſerviceable; the number and weight of the ordnance wrings her ſides, and weakens her: it is ſeldom ſeen that you have a calm ſo many hours together as to keep out her lower tier, and when they are out, and forced to hail them in again, it is with great labour, travail and trouble to the gunners, when they ſhould be fighting; ſhe caſts ſo great a ſmoak within board, that people muſt uſe their

their arms like blind men, not knowing how to go about their work, nor have a ſight of the ſhip with whom they encounter.

How to preſerve Men in Fight.

Several nations have ſeveral ways to preſerve their men in fight at ſea: the *French* uſe to ſtow half their ſoldiers in hold, and to draw them out, cauſing the others to retire as there ſhall be occaſion or neceſſity. This I hold dangerous, troubleſome, and inconvenient, when all men are otherwiſe buſy in their ſeveral places, to paſs to and again with their matches lighted, which may unhappily fall on ſomething to take fire.

The *Spaniards* imitate their former diſcipline at land; as namely, a van-guard, a rear-guard, and a main-battle; the forecaſtle they count their head-front for van-guard, that abaft the maſt the rear-guard, and the waſte their main-battle, wherein they place their principal force.

This in my opinion will breed great diſorders, eſpecially if the ſhip ſhould fight with all her ſails ſtanding; for the labour of the mariners in tacking and handing their ſails will confound them, that they know not what to do; but if they fight with their ſmall ſails, it will prove the better; but howſoever here is no proviſion for ſafeguard of men, who lie open to their enemy.

The *Dunkirkers* uſe in fight to place their ſmall-ſhot flat on their bellies upon their decks, that the ſhot, great or ſmall, coming from an enemy, ſhall have only their head for their aim: this is to be allowed of in ſmall ſhips, that carry not many men nor ordnance; but inconvenient in greater veſſels, where men are ever in action, running and ſtirring up and down in the ſhip.

There is a device made with a plank of elm, becauſe it does not ſhiver like oak; this plank is musket-proof, and removed with trunks from one part of the ſhip to the other, which is a good ſafeguard for ſmall ſhot: but in my opinion I prefer the quoiling of cables on the deck, and keeping part of the men within them, (as the *French* do theirs in hold,) above all the reſt; for the ſoldiers are in and out ſpeedily, upon all ſudden occaſions, to ſuccour any part of the ſhip, or to enter an enemy, without trouble to the ſailors in handing their ſails, or the gunners in plying their ordnance.

The *Hollanders* of late years have got a reputation at ſea; though for their warlike affairs they have little deſerved it, as I have ſhewed in the firſt book; for they never made fight of ſix ſhips to ſix, as is there to be ſeen; but now of late, and ſince the truce ended with *Spain*, and that the *Dunkirkers* are grown ſtrong and powerful by ſea, they have often encounter'd ſhip to ſhip, or two to two, but never with fleet, and more to the commendations of the *Dunkirkers* than themſelves.

Whereas I have ſhewed every country's manner of fight at ſea, and their care to preſerve their men from danger, and to annoy the enemy with advantage, inſtead of cables, planks, and other devices, to preſerve their men, the *Hollanders* wanting natural valour of themſelves, uſe to line their company in the head, by giving them gunpowder to drink, and other kind of liquor to make them ſooneſt drunk; which, beſides that it is a barbarous and unchriſtian-like act, when they are in danger of death to make them ready for the devil, it often proves more perilous than proſperous to them, by firing their own ſhips, or making a confuſedneſs in the fight, their wits being taken from them; whereas if they had been ſober, they might have fought in good order.

The Direction of a Fight in a Naval Battle.

The moſt famous naval battles theſe late years have afforded, were thoſe of *Lepanto* againſt the *Turks* in 1577. of the *Spaniards* againſt the *French* at the *Tercera* iſlands in 1580. and betwixt the armada of *Spain* and the *Engliſh* in 1588.

In theſe encounters, wherein the *Spaniards* had the chiefeſt part, as I have ſaid before, they imitated the diſcipline of war by land, in drawing their ſhips into a form of fight, which, in my opinion, is not ſo convenient; though I confeſs in a ſea battle, that ſhall conſiſt of galleys, in a calm, it is better to obſerve that order than in ſhips; for men may as well follow direction by their hands in rowing, as an army by words of the tongue ſpeaking, or their legs moving.

But ſhips which muſt be carried by wind and ſails, and the ſea affording no firm or ſteadfaſt footing, cannot be commanded to take their ranks like ſoldiers in a battle by land.

The weather at ſea is never certain, the winds variable, ſhips unequal in ſailing; and when they ſtrictly ſeek to keep their order, commonly they fall foul one of another; and in ſuch caſes they are more careful to obſerve their directions, than to offend the enemy, whereby they will be brought into diſorder amongſt themſelves.

Suppoſe a fleet to be placed in the form of a half-moon, or other proportion, to fight, if an enemy charge them home in any of the corners of the half-moon, they will be forced to bear up room into their main battle; and then will enſue dangers and

and diſorders of boarding one another; inſomuch that it will not be poſſible for a general to give new directions, but every ſhip muſt fight at its will, not by command.

For the avoiding of ſuch confuſion, the inſtructions of a general ought not to conſiſt of many words; for the greateſt advantage in a ſea fight is to get the wind of one another; for he that has the wind is out of danger of being boarded, and has the advantage where to board, and how to attempt the enemy: and thus did the marquis of *Santa Cruz* labour to do three days, before he could get the wind of Monſieur *l'Eſtrous* at the *Tercera* iſlands, whom he afterwards overcame, and had a great victory over him.

The wind being thus gotten, a general need give no other directions than to every admiral of a ſquadron to draw together their ſquadrons, and every one to undertake his oppoſite ſquadron, or where he ſhall do it for his greateſt advantage; but to be ſure to take a good diſtance of one another, and to relieve that ſquadron that ſhall be overcharged or diſtreſſed.

Let them give warning to their ſhips not to venture ſo far as to bring themſelves to leeward of the enemy; for ſo ſhall they either diſhonour themſelves, to ſee ſuch a ſhip taken in their view, or in ſeeking to relieve her they ſhall bring themſelves to leeward, and loſe the advantage they had formerly gotten; for it will be in the power of the enemy to board them, and they not to avoid it; which was the only thing coveted by the *Spaniards* in our time of war, by reaſon of the advantage of their ſhips, as I have before expreſſed.

The ſtrict ordering of battles by ſhips was before the invention of the bowling; for then there was no ſailing but before the wind, nor no fighting but by boarding; whereas now a ſhip will ſail within ſix points of thirty two, and by the advantage of wind may rout any fleet that is placed in that form of battle.

A Fight with Galleys to Galleys, and Galleys to ſingle Ships.

There is no precedent of theſe latter times that galleys have been in uſe in our ſeas, till the latter end of the queen's reign, when two ſquadrons of galleys were brought out of *Spain* into *Flanders*, the one in the year 1599. the other in the year 1602. the latter commanded by *Frederick Spinola*, brother to the late marquis *Spinola*, who after was ſlain in the ſame galleys.

All the deſigns of the *Spaniards*, undertaken againſt *England* by ſea in the days of queen *Elizabeth*, proved unlucky and fruitleſs, the reaſon thereof to wiſe men is not to be marvelled at; for their actions have been grounded on ſo little judgment, that it was no great art to divine their evil ſucceſs before they were undertaken.

Let this act of bringing down the galleys aforeſaid be paralleled with their great expedition in 1588. and it will appear they both failed in one kind, (that is to ſay) for want of an able and ſecure port to entertain them upon their arrival in *Flanders*; for though the galleys had the harbours of *Graveling*, *Dunkirk*, and *Sluice*, at that time, yet ſuch is the nature of theſe ports, that no veſſel of their draught can go in or out of them but from half-tide to half-tide; for they are bare harbours, and all the reſt of the tide they are dry; ſo as if a galley obſerve not her juſt time of entrance, ſhe is expoſed to the mercy of the ſea, the danger of the ſhore, or to fall into the hands of an enemy; and therefore whoſoever thinks to make uſe of galleys, and not to be ſecured of a port at all times and tides, will ſhew himſelf weak in ſea affairs, as the *Spaniards* have done in this, and in their expedition of 1588. as I have before declared.

The proper uſe of galleys is againſt galleys in the *Mediterranean* ſea, that is ſubject to calms, and where both turks and chriſtians ſtrive to exceed one another in that kind of veſſels, he accounting himſelf maſter of thoſe ſeas that has the greateſt number, and beſt ordered galleys.

And ſuch was the goodneſs of God towards the chriſtian commonwealth, that in the battle of *Lepanto* in 1577. he gave a moſt happy and victorious overthrow to the cruel and misbelieving turks, who ſince that time have not been able to hold up their hands or heads againſt the chriſtian forces within the *Mediterranean* ſea.

Next to the valour and well marſhalling order of the chriſtians navy of galleys, the next attribute is to be given to the galleaſſes of *Venice*, which, though they were but ſix in number, yet ſuch is the advantage of thoſe veſſels againſt galleys, that they did the chriſtian galleys treble the ſervice of their number.

You muſt know that a Galleaſs is built like the *Vanguard* or *Rainbow* of his majeſty's, low and ſnug by the water, and carries the force of a ſhip in men and ordnance; but the thing that gives her advantage in fight, is her oars; not that there can be expected any ſwiftneſs in rowing, but with her oars ſhe is of that agility, that ſhe is able to wind about as ſhe ſees occaſion to damnify her enemy; whereas a ſhip lies like a log of wood, not able in a calm to help herſelf, or to have the help of a rudder to guide her.

If galleys be forced to fly from other galleys, and not of ſpeed to overgo them, they fall into the mercy of thoſe that chace them; for it is to be conſidered, that the ſtrength of a galley is in her prow, where ſhe carries her ordnance, as I have before declared; for unleſs it be ſome few choice ones of *Malta* and *Florence*, no other chriſtian galley carries artillery to fire aſtern; ſo that of neceſſity thoſe galleys chaſed muſt either yield, be burnt, or ſunk.

In a deſperate caſe, where galleys in battle are in danger to fall into the hands of an enemy, the preſent remedy is to proclaim liberty to all the ſlaves, and to put arms in their hands to fight for their defence, and to deliver them out of chains, and make them freemen: this was the ſafety of Don *John* of *Auſtria*, in the great and famous battle of *Lepanto*.

The chief annoyance that can be done a galley in fight, is to ſeek the deſtruction of the ſlaves and oars; for without them galleys are of no uſe; and therefore whoſoever fights with galleys, muſt ſeek with croſs-bars and langrel-ſhot, to hurt and ſpoil their men and oars.

And in this caſe a ſhip that carries her ordnance low, and her hull high-built, has a great advantage of a galley, for her ordnance will lie level with her oars; and if ſhe have the fortune to take away a row of them on either ſide, ſhe falls into the mercy of the ſhip; or if ſhe be deſperately forced to board the ſame ſhip, ſhe will not be able to enter her, in reſpect of her heighth and high carving.

As I have promiſed before, I will take occaſion to ſpeak ſomething of his majeſty's royal ſhip the *James Regis*, and her diſadvantage to make a defenſive fight, as ſhe is now built.

Ships of much leſs burden than the *James* have four pieces of ordnance placed to ſhoot aſtern, as namely, two in the gun-room, and the other two in the upper gun-room, which is commonly uſed for a ſtore-room, lodgings, and other employments for a general or captain's uſe, and his followers, which is done without prejudice to the two pieces.

Above theſe two gun-rooms aforeſaid, was placed the captain's cabbin, with the open galleries aſtern and on the ſides, that fowlers and leſſer pieces might be thruſt out for defence, and ſmall-ſhot placed to defend that part of a ſhip.

In theſe two gun-rooms aforeſaid, where the four pieces are uſually placed, the *James* carries only two, and that is in the lower gun-room; for the upper gun-room is converted into the captain's cabbin, and a rafter and two ſided galleries are made cloſe, that cannot afford ſo much convenience as for a man to look out of them, but through ſome narrow windows; inſomuch, that if a general or captain have occaſion to give or receive directions, he muſt do it upon the poop or the deck of the ſhip, to the great inconvenience, and loſs of time and opportunity, what ſudden occaſion ſoever ſhould offer.

Moreover, if a ſhip by miſhap ſhall take fire, out of her open galleries water may be ſuddenly drawn, and prove both the ſafety of ſhip and men; whereas being cloſe, as now they are, there will be no remedy to quench them. It may be compared to a round pigeon-houſe, into which people fly from an enemy for refuge; and what defence can ſuch a houſe make, that is compaſſed about with foes? No more than to yield to fire and water.

Now compare the *James*, by the true deſcription I have made of her, but with one or two galleys in a calm, having no ſhip near to aſſiſt her, conſidering ſhe carries but two pieces in her gun-room, with what eaſe and little danger a galley may run up in her ſtern, and with her prow and ſmall-ſhot put her from her two pieces; for every galley carries four pieces ahead, beſides her cannon in the cruzea, which piece lies more to the advantage than the other two, in that they are placed low by the water, and the galleys ſtanding ſtill, they may ſhoot as ſteady out of her as out of a platform.

Indeed this cannon in the cruzea is of greater danger and annoyance than all the reſt; for it lies at an even ſtay, and not to be moved nor traverſed one way or other; and the uſe to be made of it is for the maſter to bring the maſt of the ſhip and the maſt of the galley both in one, and then to call to the gunner to give fire; by which means it is impoſſible to miſs the ſhip, and hazard ſinking of her.

And as the *James* lies open to galleys, as I have ſhewed, ſo does ſhe in like manner to ſuch ſhips as ſhall board her, either afore in her prow, or abaft in her ſtern, where ſhe has no defence, either of her forecaſtle or cloſe-fights. There are many other neceſſary uſes to be made of an open gallery, which at this time I forbear to ſpeak of, and will return once more to treat of the nature of galleys.

If it were in my choice, I would rather have two ſhips of two hundred tons each to encounter ſix galleys, than one ſhip of a thouſand tons to fight two galleys, for theſe reaſons;

My two ſhips of two hundred tons, I will bring athwart the hawſe of one another, that whereſoever the galleys ſhall charge me, I will have a broadſide to play upon them; whereas in one ſhip alone, I have

have only my ſtern for my defence, where two galleys with their ſmall-ſhot will ſoon beat the gunners from their ports, with little danger to themſelves; for no great number of ſmall-ſhot can play upon them out of the narrowneſs of the poop; by which means they will burn, ſink, or deſtroy any ſuch ſhip, with long fire-pikes made on purpoſe.

And for ſecurity of myſelf and men, I will diſplace three or four banks on a ſide in my galleys, and in that ſpace make a bulwark with gowns, beds, ſails, and other things, that no ſhot from the ſhip ſhall do me hurt.

And if in fight I ſhall happen to be ſhot under water, it will be an eaſy thing to ſtop any ſuch leak, by making the ſlaves heel all on one ſide of the galley; ſo that if it were as low as the keel, I will come ſpeedily to it, and ſtop it.

How to imploy ſuch People and their Stocks in Galleys, as are ſent to Houſes of Correction; and the Uſe that may be made of Galleys in England.

WHOEVER have the charge of theſe houſes, ſeek only their own gain, not the uſe for which they were inſtituted. People are puniſhed or pardoned as they are able to gratify their keepers: their labours or liberties are according to their abilities; for as I have ſaid, the rich buys his eaſe, the poor is threaten'd with cruelty, which has cauſed that deſperateneſs in men towards their keepers, that to be revenged they have ſlain them; and yet I ſee no decreaſe of vagabonds by the courſe taken in the houſes of correction.

The Benefit of imploying theſe People and their Stocks in Galleys in England.

THE time of mens impriſonment in galleys is to be limited, ſome for life, ſome for years, more or leſs, according to their offence, but none under ſeven years; by this means there will be a riddance of lewd people for life or years.

At the end of which time they ought to procure ſervices, or be bound to work in their occupations, which they ſhall be taught in their galleys; but if they ſhall refuſe it, and continue ſtill loitering, then to ſend them into *Virginia*, or other colonies planted by us.

If they ſhall eſcape out of their galleys before the expiration of their time, to have a proclamation, That no man, upon certain penalties, ſhould harbour or give them entertainment; and that they may be known from others, they muſt be ſhaved both head and face, and marked in the cheek with an hot iron, for men to take notice of them to be the king's labourers; for ſo they ſhould be term'd, and not ſlaves; and if any ſuch be found, that cannot give a good account of his diſcharge out of the galleys, to be apprehended and ſent back agtin; which would be a means that none of them ever after will offer to eſcape.

This courſe being carefully obſerved, the vagabonds will be ſoon leſſen'd; for the terror of galleys will make men avoid ſloth and pilfering, and apply themſelves to labour and pains; it will keep ſervants and apprentices in awe; it will take away the occaſion of pirates and piracies; it will ſave much blood that is lamentably ſpilt by execution of thieves and offenders, and more of this kingdom than any other; it will take away the occaſion of women-vagabonds, when ſuch rogues and thieves ſhall be reſtrained; for ſuch men are enticers and drawers of women to lewdneſs. If all theſe miſchiefs may be prevented, and the kingdom ſtrengthen'd, without further expence than now it is, no man but muſt commend this project, and give his furtherance to it.

Proviſions to maintain the King's Labourers, and the Labour they ſhall be put to, Winter and Summer.

THEIR diet ſhall be certain, not according to the miſerable rate they are allowed in houſes of correction, where it is proportioned according to their earning by their labour; for in the galleys each man ſhall be allowed two ſhillings and ſix pence a week for his diet, to be husbanded by men appointed by the labourers themſelves for their beſt advantage.

Every galley ſhall be allowed a ſurgeon, a phyſician, and an apothecary-general for them all: their apparel to be two ſuits a year, the one for ſummer, the other for winter, with a gown of frize: their labour to be at the oar in ſummer; and when they are not ſo imploy'd, they may lawfully uſe any means for their maintenance, as in knitting, ſowing, or any other ſuch kind of work; for no ſummer labour, more than rowing, ſhall be required at their hands; and by the way I will tell you for a jeſt, That when I was priſoner in the galleys of *Spain* in 1591, all our *Engliſhmen* that were thither committed, amongſt other occupations, framed themſelves to the trade only of making dice, as an occaſion to ſet the *Spaniards* together by the ears.

In winter they muſt be had aſhore, and kept ſafe in ſome ſtrong caſtle, where lodgings and beds, with neceſſary ſtocks and tools muſt be provided to ſet them to work, as namely, forges for ſmiths, leather for ſhoe-

ſhoemakers,' hemp to make ropes, mills to grind corn, or any other thing that can be thought of for their benefit: and for ſuch as have been bred to husbandry, they may be hired to farmers for their winter's work, binding the farmers to return them at the ſeaſon of the year to the galleys; which they may ſecurely do, for it will not be in their powers to eſcape, by the courſe which is formerly taken.

The Uſe of Galleys in time of War.

I have formerly in the ſecond book ſaid ſomething concerning the uſe of galleys, which you will find there; and in this book the manner of fight with galleys. But having occaſion to treat more largely of that ſubject, I will reiterate ſomething that I ſaid before concerning galleys.

1. Galleys are of no uſe to encounter a fleet at ſea, in reſpect of their ſtrength, but againſt ſingle ſhips in calms, that cannot come to reſcue one another.

2. The uſe of galleys is to tow a fleet out of harbour which is kept in by wind and tide, which is a thing of conſequence either in peace or war.

3. The uſe of galleys is the conveniency to land an army, both ſuddenly and ſafely; and to take advantage in landing, both when or where they liſt: by example of the marquis of *Santa Cruz*, who arriving at the *Tercera* iſlands, attempted landing at *Angra*, the chief town of that iſland, and whether the inhabitants drew their forces to withſtand him; but when he ſaw and imagin'd the other part of the iſland lay open for his entrance, he altered his purpoſe, and ſuddenly winded his galleys about, and landed at *Leplaia*, five leagues from thence, without reſiſtance.

4. The uſe of galleys is to annoy an enemy in his landing, by cutting off his boats and men, as they ſhall offer to land: and the like would have happened to us at *Cadiz*, if we had landed where we attempted it the day before, and where our projectors of that voyage had deſigned us, if we had not been prevented by foul weather; for there we found four galleys placed, to lie betwixt the ſhore and us, to cut off our boats, and thereby to have overthrown our action.

5. The uſe of galleys is againſt a fleet at anchor, who may tow fireſhips amongſt them, and either burn, or put them from their anchorage; and it may happen in a place near ſhoals or ſands, or upon a lee ſhore, and ſo deſtroy a whole navy.

6. The uſe of galleys is to prevent the like ſtratagem; for if ſuch ſhips be ſet on fire, with galleys they may be rowed unto, and caſt hooks on board them, and ſo tow them clear of their fleet, where they may burn without endangering the ſhips they attempt.

7. The uſe of galleys is in ſuccouring an iſland that is invaded by an enemy; as for example, The *Iſle of Wight*, with galleys, may be ſuddenly ſupply'd both with men and ammunition from the main land, in ſpight of what ſhips or force ſhall lie to hinder or intercept them.

8. They ought to be kept for reputation; for as his majeſty is king of all kingdoms for goodneſs and greatneſs of his navy, ſo it ſhould be ſaid there is no kind of veſſels that other princes can ſhew, but what his majeſty has the like in uſe; and it will be the more ſtrange, in that no country nor harbour in *Europe*, to the northward of *Lisbon*, can ſhew the like.

If at any time a war happen betwixt his majeſty and the king of *Spain*, or betwixt him and the *Hollanders*, having the port of *Fluſhing* and *Sluice* for the receipt of our galleys, we may much annoy the harbours of *Flanders*, and their trade; or having the por of *Oſtend* and *Dunkirk* to enter, we may as much, or rather more, impeach *Holland*, but eſpecially the province of *Zealand*, and the iſland of *Wakerland*; for beſides the hurt we ſhall do them at ſea, we may watch and take the heighth of a ſpring-tide in a calm, and be able to cut their banks to give the ſea entrance into their country, and hazard their deſtruction.

But ſpeaking of galleys and *Lisbon* in the eighth article, I will ſay ſomething that had been more proper to have been inſerted in the firſt book, where the taking of the Carrack is treated of; becauſe one of my ſcopes, in that book, is to ſhew the errors committed in the warlike ſea-actions betwixt *England* and *Spain*.

In the deſcribing the manner of that fight, you ſhall find, that the eleven galleys were placed under the neck of a rock, as we ſhould enter into the road; and that at my coming to an anchor, I routed and forced them to fly under the caſtle of *Zezimbra*, where they drew themſelves into a body, as they had done before; but yet they found my ordnance of the ſame nature as when they were under the rock, for when I hit one of them, my ſhot paſſed through moſt part of the reſt, with ſo great hurt to them, that, in concluſion, diſgracefully they quitted the road, and eſcaped to ſea, two excepted, which we took and burnt.

But if theſe galleys had, when they quitted the neck of the rock, as I have ſaid, retired, whither they did, under the protection both of the caſtle and carrack, and inſtead of linking themſelves, as it were, together, had divided themſelves one hundred paces from one another, and play'd

play'd upon us with their prows, each of which carried five guns, they had been a narrow mark for us to hit; and what hurt we could then do them, was only to her we lite upon; whereas in the courſe they took, hitting upon one, we paſs'd through them all.

And moreover, where they retired, they brought themſelves into ſhoal-water; ſo that our ſhips could not come at them; and if they had not quitted the road, they would have cut off all treaty betwixt our boats and the carrack, and given relief to the carrack from the ſhore, that it had been impoſſible for us to have taken her. The *Spaniards* may allow of this overſight, as one of the greateſt they committed during the war.

Other Uſes Galleys might be put to.

Galleys may attend his majeſty's navy at all times when they go to ſea, from *Chatham* till they bring them clear of the ſands; and if it happen any of the ſhips ſhould unluckily come aground, by the force of galleys ſhe may be inſtantly haul'd off again, without hurt to the ſhip; and in this caſe a galley might have been the preſervation of his majeſty's ſhip the *Prince Royal*, at the time the queen of *Bohemia* went over, who ſtruck upon a ſand at the *Neſs*, and put her into great peril, if it had not been for preſent help of boats of other ſhips of the kings that rid there.

Galleys may paſs the ſeas in a calm, when ſhips and barks cannot, and boats dare not for fear of enemies; and ſo prevent the ſurprize of packets or intelligencies, as lately we found, to the prejudice of merchants affairs, and diſhonour to the king.

The galleys may at all times, both winter and ſummer, carry proviſions for his majeſty's ſhips from *London* to *Chatham*, and eaſe the charge of tranſportation; as alſo in ſummer they may do the like to his majeſty's ſhips at *Portſmouth*; for barks often go in danger, and more eſpecially if we have wars with *France*, *Holland*, or *Dunkirk*.

The fitteſt Place in England *for Galleys.*

Becauſe I have formerly named the *Iſle of Wight* by way of compariſon, I will ſay of that iſland, that it is not only the beſt and fitteſt place in *England*, but in *Europe*, to entertain galleys, conſidering the two harbours within it, the one *Newport*, and the other *New-Town*; beſides three others in the main land oppoſite to it, *viz. Portſmouth*, *Hamble*, and *Hampton*, where galleys may ride and float without coming aground, which no other harbour can do betwixt the river of *Thames* and *Portſmouth*.

For ſuppoſe the galleys coming betwixt the *Thames* and the *Iſle of Wight*, are taken with a ſtorm at ſouth, or being chaſed by an enemy, and forced to ſeek an harbour for ſuccour; if they bring not the tide with them they periſh, either upon a lee ſhore, or upon the purſuit of an enemy: and as I have ſhew'd, there is no place to compare to thoſe aforeſaid for the receipt of galleys, ſo there is no place ſo commodious for the labourers to reſide in the winter time as thoſe; adding to them the caſtle of *Porcheſter*, two or three miles from *Portſmouth* by water, being a place ſecure for the labourers to abide in; room ſufficient to entertain five or ſix hundred of them, with their manufactures, inſtruments, and tools, that may be ſet up to get their livings withal.

A Proportion of Soldiers and Sailors for five Galleys, and the Charge to maintain them.

You cannot allow leſs than fifteen ſoldiers and an hundred labourers for each galley, every labourer to have allow'd him 2 *s.* 6 *d. per* week, for his diet, two ſuits of cloaths, and a gown; one phyſician-general, and every galley its ſurgeon, with ten ſailors to hand the ſails; the ſoldiers not to have any allowance of pay but in victuals; for they ſhould be ſuch ſoldiers as have entertainment for hurt and lame ſoldiers in the ſhires.

How this Money may be raiſed.

A certificate from all the ſhires in *England*, what the contribution of the houſes of correction do amount unto by the year, and to have it thus employ'd in galleys; and what ſhall want thereof to maintain them, to be ſaved out of vain and ſuperfluous gormandizing, which is too much uſed in many ſet feaſts, and more to the ſhame than commendation of our nation, eſpecially in the halls and companies of *London*; the half of which may very well be ſpared and employ'd to this neceſſary uſe; for people may meet in a friendly converſation to maintain their cuſtoms, and to determine their affairs, with half the expence they are now at.

Thus will no man be put to any charge, nor any feel the loſs of it; for there is no body invited to theſe feaſts, of ſo mean a rank and condition, as to value the gift of five or ſix meals, more or leſs, in a year.

Another means to raiſe money towards this good work, is, out of hoſpitals, now become a marvellous abuſe; and that eſpecially erected by *Sutton* in the *Charter-Houſe*; for no man is now admitted into it, but ſuch as can buy it for money; and having money, there is no exception to his quality, whether young or old.

Neither is this hoſpital alone, but all others in the kingdom, which I refer to the

examination and reformation of thoſe that ſhall be appointed to overlook them.

I verily believe, if the founders gifts of thoſe hoſpitals were now to be beſtowed, and galleys, upon the reaſons aforeſaid, to be erected, they would, or ſuch hereafter will, convert the charitable benevolencies to the uſe of galleys, rather than to hoſpitals, ſince they live to ſee the abuſes of ſuch houſes.

For what they ſhall give to maintain galleys, it would prove a ſtrength to the kingdom, a means to ſave the lives of many men that otherwiſe ſhould die by the gallows; a remedy againſt enormities, thefts, and idleneſs of people; a cauſe to make ſafe and peaceable travelling by land and ſea, and a courſe to relieve more poor people, five to one, than the hoſpitals do.

There are many other ways, too tedious to ſet down, how to uphold this work, that ſhall no way prejudice either king or commonwealth; which I refer to after-times to conſider of, when it is on foot by certain commiſſioners that muſt be appointed for that purpoſe.

The Ceremony of wearing the Flag, and the Uſe that is, and may be made of it.

I Have formerly ſhewed, when I treated of the office of the vice-admiral, how every admiral, and admiral of a ſquadron, was to carry their flags, and each ſhip under them in their ſquadron: now it remains for me to ſpeak more particularly of the flag, and the uſe and cuſtom of it at ſea; for it is the ſtandard, under which all the fleet marches, as ſoldiers do under their enſign by land.

England, as I have declared, truly challenges the prerogative of wearing the flag, as the ſole commander of our ſeas, and ſo has held it, without contradiction, time out of mind.

The privileges are theſe, That if a fleet of any country ſhall paſs upon his majeſty's ſeas, and meet the admiral's ſhip ſerving on thoſe ſeas, they are to acknowledge a ſovereignty to his majeſty by coming under the lee of the admiral, by ſtriking their topſails, and taking in their flag; and this hath never been queſtion'd, out of ſtubbornneſs, reſiſting the king's authority; but rather out of want of knowledge and ignorance, as appeared in the caſe of king *Philip* II. when he met the lord admiral of *England*, when he came to marry queen *Mary*.

But though this privilege be granted to his majeſty, and his deputy upon the ſeas, yet every ſhip of the king's, that ſerves under an admiral, cannot require it, if he be out of ſight of the admiral; but the other ſtranger, be he admiral or no, is to ſtrike his topſail and hoiſt it again, to any one ſhip of the king's that ſhall meet him.

Or if any ſuch ſhip or fleet belonging to any other prince, ſhall arrive in any port of his majeſty's, or paſs by any fort or caſtle of his, in their entrance, and before they come to an anchor, they muſt take in their flag three times, and advance it again, unleſs the admiral's ſhip be in the ſame harbour, and then they are not to diſplay it, but to keep in ſo long as they ſhall remain in the preſence of the admiral. But if any other ſhip of his majeſty's be there but the admiral, they are not bound to keep in their flag, but only to ſtrike it thrice, as aforeſaid.

This caſe bred a great queſtion in 1613, when the earl of *Gundamar* came ambaſſador into *England*, being accompanied by two galleons of the queen of *Spain*'s, who arrived at *Portſmouth*, and as he paſſed by *Stokes-Bay*, there rid a ſhip of the king's, that was neither admiral of the narrow ſeas, nor had employment under his commiſſion.

This ſhip required the two *Spaniards* to take in their flag, as a duty due to his majeſty's prerogative on the ſeas, which they refuſed to do, only they ſtruck their topſails, till they were compelled to it.

This act was complained of to my lord admiral by the ambaſſador, who found himſelf and his maſter injured by it. It pleaſed my lord admiral to confer with me about it; and out of his long and ancient experience concluded, That they were not bound to ſtrike their topſail, as they were required, unleſs the king's ſhip had been admiral of the narrow ſeas: and this I ſet down from the long experienced admiral the earl of *Nottingham*.

But I am not laviſh in ſpeaking of it, whenſoever I hear an argument upon this ſubject of the narrow ſeas diſputed; becauſe in theſe latter times, both the *French* and *Hollanders* ſeek to uſurp on his majeſty's right; I will therefore wiſh, that his majeſty's ſhips would take more authority upon them than is due, becauſe I would have their inſolence curbed.

If any merchant's ſhip ſhall neglect to do their duty, as aforeſaid, either to ſhip or pinnace of his majeſty's, that ſhip or pinnace is to fire at her, and to bring her to acknowledgment of her error by force; which being done, the ſhip thus offending is to pay double the value of powder and ſhot ſpent againſt her by the king's ſhip.

If any ſhip of the king's ſhall paſs by any fort or caſtle on the ſhore, out of ancient and fooliſh cuſtom, they have uſed the ſame reverence that merchants and ſtrangers uſe to do, ſave only ſtriking their flag, which

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is a thing improper, and indeed moſt ridiculous for one of the king's ſhips to ſtrike to his caſtle, both of them being his own; and it is as much as for a man to put off his hat to himſelf.

And beſides, it may happen at ſuch a time, tide, and place, as the ſtriking a top-ſail may endanger a ſhip upon a rock, ſhelve, or ſand; and therefore neceſſary to take away this ceremony, that has neither ground nor reaſon in it.

All admirals in the king's ſervice, were wont to carry antiently the *St. George*'s flag in the head of the topmaſt; but ſince king *James*'s coming to poſſeſs this crown, he has added to it the croſs of *St. Andrew*, as due to *Scotland*, which though it be more honour to both the kingdoms to be thus linked and united together, yet in the view of the ſpectators, it makes not ſo fair a ſhew as the croſs of *St. George* only, if it would pleaſe his majeſty to conſider it.

Beſides thoſe croſſes of *England* and *Scotland*, carry'd as aforeſaid, the croſs of the arms of *England* is peculiar to the lord high admiral of *England*, who is, and no other, bound to bear it when he goes to ſea, which flag, in truth, carries a princely ſhew when it is diſplay'd.

As the lord admiral of *England* has the only privilege to wear the ſtandard of *England* in the main-top, ſo has he likewiſe power to permit and ſuffer another man to wear the bare *Engliſh* flag in the main-top in his preſence; which caſe I am able to inſtance; and, beſides this that followeth, there are few precedents, as I conceive.

In the year 1596. and the *Eaſter* before the taking of *Cadiz* in *Spain*, *Calais* in *Picardy* was beleaguered and taken by the archduke *Albert*, and his *Spaniſh* forces, which made the queen weigh how much it concerned her, not to permit the neighbourhood of the *Spaniard*, her then enemies, ſo near her: hereupon with all celerity ſhe raiſed land forces, to give ſuccour to *Calais*, and appointed the earl of *Eſſex* commander of them. No nobleman or gentleman of ſpirit, but voluntarily put himſelf into the action, as, namely, the earl of *Southampton*, the lord *Borowe*, the lord *Monjoy*, the lord *Ricke*, the lord *Compton*, the lord *Burke* of *Ireland*, Don *Chriſtopher*, ſon to the pretended king of *Portugal*, with divers others, who were on board me in the *Rainbow*, at ſupper, and our fore-ſail cut to ſtand over, even as news was brought of the taking of *Calais*.

The lord admiral, who was never backward to do his prince and country ſervice, haſten'd down to *Dover* to ſecure the ſeas, and imbarked himſelf in the *Vanguard*, as my lord of *Eſſex* had done in the *Rainbow* with me. Whereupon I took in my flag, and acknowledged my duty to my lord admiral, notwithſtanding the greatneſs of the perſons on board me; which my lord admiral perceiving, commanded me, though my lord of *Eſſex* ſhould oppoſe it, to wear the flag with him equal in the top, as long as we were in company together, which I did, though at firſt it was reſiſted by my lord of *Eſſex*.

And though the journey to *Cadiz* ſucceeded immediately after this, and my lord of *Eſſex* had the privilege to wear the *Engliſh* flag in the main-top, in company of my lord admiral, who went likewiſe in that expedition, yet the time and caſe muſt be conſidered; for they had both equal authority by land and ſea, under the great ſeal of *England*, which made their command alike.

In the year 1588. when the *Spaniards* appeared on the *Engliſh* coaſt with their fleet, a galleon of theirs being diſtreſſed, arrived in the port of *Havre de Grace* in *Normandy*, which being known in *England*, three ſhips of the queen's, and one pinnace were ſent to ſurprize her in harbour, as I have ſhewed before, myſelf being in that fleet.

Mr. *Knevet*, a gentleman of the queen's privy-chamber, was ſent to ſea at that time, with certain merchants ſhips, to ſtrengthen my lord admiral's fleet, fearing the *Spaniards* would return again from the northward, whither they were gone. This fleet of merchants, and Mr. *Knevet*, was to join with four ſhips of the queen's, of which he was appointed admiral, though it was a merchant ſhip in which he ſerved.

And that power may the king of *England* grant to any ſubject of his, notwithſtanding his former patent to my lord admiral of *England*; and yet I am of opinion, that within the compaſs of the narrow ſeas, if any ſuch admiral ſhall be appointed by the king, and meet the admiral's ſhips ſerving on the narrow ſeas, who is deputy to the great lord admiral, that ſuch ſhip there ſerving, the other is to take in his flag in his preſence, who doth wear it as ſubſtitute to the lord admiral, within the juriſdiction of the narrow ſeas, he having a former grant, and ſupreme authority before the other's imployment.

How far the narrow ſeas extend, is much controverted betwixt the *French* and us, they challenging, rather by words than right or precedent, half the ſeas betwixt *England* and *France*, as ſome of *Flanders* do by the ſame reaſon; but I could never hear that ever they conteſted with us about it. *England*'s claim to the narrow ſeas needs no other repetition than I have formerly re-

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lated, (*viz.*) a conſent of all nations, an everlaſting poſſeſſion, and an invincible power to maintain it.

Though to ſpeak truly, in my opinion, if from headland to headland be meaſured in *France* with a line, what ſeas, or rather bays, ſhall fall within that line, or within them capes, do properly belong to *France*, and may be termed the *King's Chamber*, if ſo be we had no title to *France* ourſelves; but if you will ſee what ſhare of the ſea may belong to them by this meaſure, it would not be worth conteſting for, as may appear by the following:

Beginning at *Calais* cliffs, with a direct line from ſea-head to ſea-head to the *Hogue*, and from the *Hogue* to *Uſhant*; but this laſt we will not acknowledge, though there were right in the other; for in that bound lie the iſlands of *Jerſey*, an antient patrimony of *England*, and poſſeſſed by us near four hundred years; and what title ſoever *France* can invent to themſelves for that circuit of the ſea, the ſame we may plead by *Jerſey*, that fronts upon the continents of *France* and it.

A general that ſhall be invited to banquet on board another ſhip, or otherwiſe come on board any other ſhip, how ſmall ſoever ſhe be, that ſhip ſhall carry the flag of the admiral, and be ſo reputed, ſo long as he ſhall remain on board her; and the flag born in his own ſhip to be taken in till his return; for it is the man, and not the ſhip that has the authority of an admiral from a prince.

The ſhewing or taking in the flag in the admiral's ſhip, being well conſidered and reſolved of beforehand, is able to direct a fleet in many caſes, as fully as though he had given his inſtructions by writing.

The flag carried under the poop of a ſhip ſhews a diſgrace, and never uſed but when it is won or taken from an enemy.

Many times ſhips wearing contrary flags, and eſpecially the colour of an enemy, it hath wrought many effects to the advantage of him that carries it, or may do again, as occaſion offers.

When an admiral is in harbour or road with the reſt of his fleet, at the taking in of the flag in the evening, and ſhooting off a piece of ordnance, he ſets his watch, which his fleet muſt take notice of, and accordingly ſet their watch. The like is to be done at the diſcharge of the watch in the morning; as alſo when he ſhall weigh anchor, and ſet ſail.

The flag in the top half furl'd up, and ſo worn, ſome are of opinion, is as great an acknowledgment, as though it was abſolutely taken in; but neither that ceremony, or the taking in the flag, and advancing it thrice, gave me ſatisfaction when I ſerved on the narrow ſeas; but I compelled the *Hollanders* to take in their flag abſolutely; which was the beginning of their malice towards me.

Many times an admiral will take in his own flag, and ſuffer a ſmaller ſhip to wear it as admiral, to deceive his enemy, till he hath brought him into his clutches.

In ſome caſes an admiral will ſuffer many ſhips to wear their flag as admirals, and ſeeming to be of divers nations by their colours, becauſe they ſhall not be ſuſpected to be a fleet of war, till he has an opportunity to charge them, and then to take upon him his right ſhape.

Laws enacted for the Puniſhment of Offenders at Sea, in the Days of King Richard I. *in his Expedition to the Holy Land.*

IT ſhall now appear, that the war by ſea is no new practiſed thing by this nation, as I have ſhewed in the days of *Edward* III. when there were armed out of *England* a thouſand warlike veſſels, a number far exceeding us in this age; and yet not equal to us, if we conſider what art, experience, and skill hath taught us in ſea-affairs ſince then, that the invention of artillery, ſhot, and powder has been in uſe; for by all likelihood and reaſon, the condition of ſhips then and now, is much differing; and beſides, ſince the days of *Edward* III. new worlds have been diſcovered, able to equal more than the reſt known before, which diſcoveries have cauſed greater traffick, and by conſequence the increaſe of more ſhips than in thoſe antient times: and for the furtherance and eaſe of navigation, to perform their voyages with greater celerity, the ſecret of the bowling hath been found out. I am therefore of opinion, if the goodneſs of their ſhips had equalled their numbers, ſome future ſign or other would have appeared for our ſatisfaction.

Which makes me believe, that moſt of their ſhips were made of oſiers, or other kind of light ſubſtance, and covered with hides for defence and ſafeguard of the ſea: but we may ſay, That a ſhip ſo built, now in this age, cannot be made to brook the waves of the ſea, the winds and weather being ſo outragious; therefore in all likelihood the difference of times has made the difference of weather; for the weather is like the world, and people dwelling in it, that as they grow old, they have the leſs vigour and ſtrength, and conſequently will be worſe and weaker by the continuance of it, and will by little and little decline, as no doubt it has done ſince the days of *Edward* III. For there is no old man now living, but will confeſs, the temper and calmneſs of the weather in the time of his youth did far

far exceed this of our elder years; and the like will his ſon do after him, when he come to the ſtate of an old man; and ſtill follow one another as long as the world continues.

Mariners have an obſervation, That the three years before, and three years after the prime, which happens every nineteenth year, the weather proves more boiſterous and ſtormy than the reſt of the time, and every nineteen years worſe than the other: then what would a ſhip do, if ſhe were built after the manner of veſſels four hundred years ago, and ſent out into the main ſea?

But leaving this argument to men of better capacity and learning than myſelf, I will prove the antiquity of ſea actions, undertaken by our nation, and the kings thereof, long before the enterprize of *Edward* III. formerly ſpoken of: and I will begin with *Julius Agricola* under the *Romans* government, that firſt ſailed about *England* and *Scotland*, and the firſt that diſcovered the iſlands of *Orkney*, which he ſubdued.

The ſecond was the great action of king *Edgar* the *Saxon*, and king of this land, who with eight hundred ſail of ſhips, ſailed round *England* and *Scotland*, not once, but often.

And the third I am to take notice of, is *Richard* I. and his glorious expedition to the holy land, againſt the heathen *Saracens*, in which expedition he eſtabliſhed the following laws, which in ſome points have continued to this day, but not with that rigour and ſeverity, as in times paſt.

Laws eſtabliſhed by King Richard I.

I. Whoſoever ſhall kill any man a ſhipboard, ſhall be bound to the back of the party killed, and thrown into the ſea with him.

II. If one ſhould be killed on land, the party ſhould be bound in like manner, and bury'd alive with him killed.

III. Whoſoever ſhall draw any knife or weapon, with an intent to draw blood, or by other means ſhall draw blood, ſhall loſe his hand.

IV. Whoſoever ſhall ſtrike one, without drawing blood, with his hand or otherwiſe, ſhall be ducked three times at the yard-arm.

V. Whoſoever reviles or curſes another, for ſo often as he has reviled, ſhall pay ſo many ounces of ſilver.

VI. Whoſoever ſteals ſhall have his head ſhorn, and boiled pitch poured on it, and feathers ſtrew'd upon the ſame, whereby he may be known; and at the firſt landing-place where he ſhall come, there to be tow'd aſhore.

Admirals at ſea have the ſame authority as generals have by land, and of as great antiquity: ſome are of opinion, that admirals were inſtituted in *Greece* by *Conſtantine the Great*; though modern times ſay, they were erected firſt in *France*, others in *Spain*, and in the year 1246. in the reign of Don *Ferdinand* III. But let other countries pretend what they liſt for themſelves, our records and commiſſions do prove a more ancient right than thoſe of latter times.

Upon what Occaſion Ships ſhould ſalute Caſtles, or one another at Sea with their Ordnance; and how the Abuſe thereof may be taken away.

I AM ſorry I have the occaſion to complain of the laviſh and waſteful expence of powder, in ſaluting ſhips under a friendly pretence of meeting at ſea, more practiſed of late by our nation, than by any other, though no people or country have more cauſe to prohibit it than we, when we remember our opportunity loſt againſt the invincible *Armada* of *Spain*, as they termed themſelves, in 1588 and only through the want of powder, as is well known. And yet I muſt ſay in the praiſe of thoſe of the queen's time, that the want of powder proceeded not out of a waſteful and idle conſuming of it, before there were cauſe to uſe it; for neither then, nor in all the reign of queen *Elizabeth*, there was ſpent in a laviſh kind the tenth part of that which is now adays: I may impute it to many cauſes, as namely, our wars then that made our commanders more provident; but principally I muſt commend the moderate drinking of that time, which I could wiſh a reformation of now amongſt us; and that we may return to our old faſhion, how odious ſoever it be to this new-faſhioned time.

What I ſhall ſay, is not to make a compariſon of times, or to tax our late abuſes in that kind: I only adviſe, and ground my opinion upon reaſon, how things of this nature may be carried, which I refer to conſideration; and deſire, that if it be approved, every captain may be tied to obſerve it as a law eſtabliſhed, and a penalty to the breakers of it: and the firſt thing I will handle, ſhall be the ſalutations of caſtles to ſhips, and the compliments of ſhips to caſtles.

A caſtle and the governor of it, is in the nature of a gentleman that will entertain his friend at his houſe, and give him a hearty welcome; and becauſe a caſtl cannot perform it in words, he makes his ordnance ſpeak it for him, with ſuch a number of pieces as he thinks fit; after which propor-

tion, an admiral is to anſwer by way of thanks, but to exceed the number of the caſtle's ſalutation, becauſe an admiral's ſhip commonly carries three times more pieces than a caſtle has. This is to be referred to the will of the commander on either ſide.

If an admiral be accompanied by his vice-admiral, rear-admiral, and the reſt of his fleet, there needs no other ſalutation from the caſtle; for the lord admiral's welcome includes all the reſt of his friends and fleet; but notwithſtanding, a vice-admiral muſt ſalute a caſtle with two pieces leſs than the admiral, and the rear-admiral with two leſs than he; and this is as much to honour the admiral as the caſtle; but it muſt be conſider'd, that theſe three only that carry the flags of command, and rule over the ſquadrons, and no other ſhip, is to ſhoot, unleſs it is by directions of the admiral; for their ſhooting will be taken as too great a familiarity with him.

When an admiral ſhall depart from under the command of a caſtle, in ſign of his loving acceptance for his entertainment, both he and his two other flags are to give the ſame ſalutation that the caſtle gave him at his entrance, and with the ſame number of ordnance and form, as aforeſaid.

If a fleet paſs within ſight of a caſtle, and not within command of his ordnance to reach him, the caſtle is not bound to ſalute, only to afford a welcome, and a viſit by a gentleman of quality.

If a governor fail to perform any compliment that is meet, he muſt amend it upon the admiral's landing, making his ordnance roar aloud his welcome; but the ſhip is not to anſwer, becauſe it is done to the perſon of the admiral, who is bound to requite the ſame upon the governor's viſiting him on board his ſhip, and at his departure from thence.

The ſaluting of ſhips by one another at ſea, is both ancient and decent, though in this latter time much abuſed; for whereas three, five, or ſeven pieces have been the ordinary uſe for a ſhip to ſalute an admiral, and never to exceed that proportion, and an admiral not to anſwer with above one or three, now they ſtrive to exceed that number, thinking that many pieces add honour to the ſalutation: but the owners of merchant ſhips would be gladder it might be done with leſs coſt, and more courteſy in another kind. But though the admiral cannot reſtrain this compliment in the ſhip that ſalutes, yet he may command his gunner not to return above one or three pieces, according to the old manner.

And for ſuch ſhips as are of his own fleet, he may prohibit the ſaluting of one another, but upon the occaſions following, *(viz.)* in bringing good and fortunate news againſt an enemy after an eſcape of a deſperate danger, and then not to exceed three or five, and to be anſwered at the diſcretion of the admiral.

The exceſſive banqueting on board is a great conſuming of powder; for as men's brains are heated with wine, ſo they heat their ordnance with oſtentation, and profeſſed kindneſs at that inſtant, and many times not without danger: and therefore, to take away the cauſe, a captain ſhould have directions from under the hand of a general to forbid ſhooting, which would be a good excuſe, and give his gueſts ſatisfaction, unleſs it be done in the manner following, as I have deviſed.

The vain drinking of healths is another means to waſte powder, which a general muſt likewiſe forbid, except it be the health of a free prince, or men of that rank and condition; and then not to exceed one piece when the health ſhall be begun: the king's the queen's, or their iſſues, is exempted from this ſtrictneſs.

Upon ſome occaſion an admiral may command his whole fleet to fire their guns, as namely, when a foreign prince, governors of countries, ambaſſadors of great potentates, and men of great blood and quality, ſhall be either tranſported, or make a viſit on board the admiral to behold the ſtatelineſs of his fleet, it were neceſſary they were as well reſolved of their force, as the report they would make of their welcome; and in that caſe every ſhip of the fleet is to ſhoot their whole number of pieces diſtinctly and orderly, (as thus:) An admiral and his ſquadron firſt to begin, the vice-admiral to follow his example, and ſo the rear-admiral to do the like; but with this caution, That no ſmall ſhip or pinnace do mingle themſelves with great ſhips, but to ſecond one another according to their ranks and greatneſs.

To come now to my propoſition how things ſhould be carried, it is thus; That upon drinking of healths, or leaves taken on board ſhips, inſtead of the exceſſive charge of burning powder out of great ordnance, it may be done with muskets; for a man's welcome conſiſts not ſo much in the difference betwixt a cannon and a leſſer piece, but in the loving heart of him that invites: both the one and the other are conſumed in the twinkling of an eye; and the report of a falconet, when there is no greater piece, is all one to the hearer, as if it were a cannon or falcon.

Therefore to accommodate this difference, and to bring it to a certain cuſtom in the king's ſhips hereafter, I wiſh, that inſtead of the chargeable waſting of powder that is now in uſe, by ſhooting of great ordnance, to have a number of musketiers placed

placed, and decently armed and apparell'd, ſoldier-like, upon the upper deck, that when there ſhall be occaſion to drink healths, or to take their leaves at departure, they fire their muskets at a mark, made like the ſhape of a man put into a barrel off at ſea, within point-blank, where the ſoldiers ſhall take their aim duly: this will be an act of more pleaſure and delight to the beholders than the other, where nothing is expected but the falling of a bullet, having no object to ſhoot at; the eye, the ear, and ſenſe, are all in action, and employed together, and many other benefits ariſe by it; for the ſoldier will by this practice be made a perfect ſhotſman againſt he ſhall encounter his enemy; and with ſo ſmall a coſt and charge, that a cartrage of a cannon will entertain perſons of good rank, and give them as great ſatisfaction with them few muskets, as the number of cannons will do; for the ear is only pleaſed with the report a cannon makes, which laſts no longer than a flaſh of powder: no gunner is made more perfect in his art, for he ſhoots at random in the air, without level.

The corrupt Abuſes uſed in his Majeſty's Service by Sea, and the means how to reform them.

THE difference of times has made ſo great a difference in our ſea actions, betwixt the days of queen *Elizabeth* and thoſe of this time, that I, who have been an actor in both, have cauſe not only to marvel, but to lament, to ſee abuſes thus corruptly crept in: the particulars of ſome I will handle, and withal give inſtructions how to amend the errors committed in our ſervices at ſea, which will now much concern us, becauſe our bordering neighbours, the *French* and *Hollanders*, daily increaſe in ſhipping, as we daily ſee by proof.

I will begin with the prime officer, who is the light and guide of the reſt, *viz.* the lord high admiral of *England*, who is the main tree, and all other inferior officers are but branches that ſpread out of him; and where inferior offices are executed by many commiſſioners, and thoſe not of greateſt experience, and every one has his vote, ſometimes they are carried by perſuaſion of friends, or wrought upon by ſervants, but commonly corruption has the upper hand, by money to prefer men without merit; for I am informed, that no place is freely diſpoſed of without the groſs feeing of ſome, not otherwiſe approving their ſufficiencies.

The moſt inferior officer of the ordinary in harbour is the cook, whoſe experience, whoſe long continuance in his majeſty's ſervice, or teſtimony of his ſufficiency under the hands of the ableſt officers, cannot advance him to the place of a cook, if prayers of angels do not prevail above the prayers of men.

And though the meanneſs of this place is not to be rated with the reſt of better degree, yet it will ſerve for an inſtance, to ſhew how things are carry'd with bribery and corruption, to the prejudice of the king's ſervice; for it is an old ſaying, *He that buys dear, muſt ſell dear, or ſave himſelf by deceit.*

But this is not all, nor yet the worſt, that may enſue upon this bought place; for I find no man excepted from purchaſing, but every one muſt ſtretch up for the price demanded for it, which makes the poor buyer confeſs, it is the deareſt bargain a man can lay his money out on.

Here is a brave opportunity offered for an enemy, or any other ill-diſpoſed perſon, to buy this place, who may be the deſtruction of the ſhip, and all other ſhips that ride near her, by ſetting the cook-room on fire, and excuſing it as an unlucky accident or miſchance; for to the cook is only committed the fire in the cook-room.

And becauſe I make this cook's office the leading card to the reſt, I heartily wiſh and pray, for the good of his majeſty's ſervice, that the cook-ſeller and the cook-buyer, yet though he were a cook by name, may be all hanged together, for example, fear, and terror of others.

The next abuſe to this, is, the officers of his majeſty's navy, who of late years have been gentlemen unexperienced; and the clerks, formerly belonging to the officers, that are well practiſed how to pretend profit for the king, and themſelves to reap the benefit of it. Theſe clerks guide the unexperienced gentlemen, who are often ignorant of their frauds, as will appear, if his majeſty pleaſe to grant his commiſſion to examine abuſes, and to ſettle a form of government in ſea-affairs.

The firſt abuſe and corruption that enter'd into this office, was in the time of the late earl of *Nottingham*, lord high admiral of *England*, by placing a follower of his own, who, by the power he had with the good old lord, became the ſole manager and director of things by ſea, and made his own will my lord's peremptory command, and ſo the officers of that time have confeſſed to me; and ſince that party's quitting his office, it were good to know how other officers are come into their places, and the value they gave for them; for I know there has been paid, and it is commonly rated at 1500 *l.* for ſuch an office; when, if you deal fairly, it ſcarce affords the intereſt of 1500 *l.*

Leaving

Leaving theſe abuſes, which will prove without end, if examined by the commiſſioners aforeſaid, I will now apply my ſelf to redreſs theſe encroaching dangers and corrupt dealings, and bring it to the ſtate of *Hawkins*'s and *Burroughs*'s times, who were perfect and honeſt men in their places, the one treaſurer, the other comptroller.

This was writ before my lord Northumberland *was lord admiral.*

The way to ſettle things, is to appoint an admiral, young, heroical, and of a great blood: his experience in ſea affairs is not ſo much to be required at firſt, as his ſincerity, honour, and wiſdom; for his daily practice in his office, with conference of able and experienced men, will quickly inſtruct him.

The next reformation will conſiſt in the election of the four officers of his majeſty's navy formerly treated of. Whoſoever ſhall execute thoſe places, and not have paſt the degrees of inferior officers, as boatſwain, gunner, carpenter, *&c.* but are led moſt by the precedent or direction of the covetous and deceitful clerks aforeſaid, his majeſty ſhall never be well ſerved, but his name uſed for a colour to their deceits, as appears by an inſtance I was an eye-witneſs to.

At my lord of *Lindſey*'s return from the weſt country to the *Downs*, there to revictual for two months, it was no ſooner known to the officers of the navy, but twelve of their ſervants poſted thither to take a muſter of our men, when a muſter-maſter is allowed for that ſervice.

I deſire to know what the king gained by that needleſs employment, and what every one of thoſe clerks was allowed for his pleaſure in riding and waſtefully banqueting in that journey? This ſtrictneſs is without cauſe; for it is impoſſible for a captain deceitfully to carry a dead pay, unleſs a purſer connive at it, which is unlikely he would hazard his eſtate and reputation for twenty ſhillings; and therefore let the officers of the navy pretend what they liſt, I know they do his majeſty a diſſervice in it; for by this occaſion, and the badneſs of victuals, it makes ſeamen backward to ſerve the king.

It is ſuppoſed the officers have ſome deceit in it for their own benefit, in taking a time of advantage by men's abſence, that they know had fed upon ſtinking victuals at ſea, and would be glad of ſome refreſhing aſhore. Theſe, and other like ill uſages of officers, makes ſeamen diſobey his majeſty's proclamation, and fly to the ſervice of other princes and ſtates, or become pirates, with hearts of revenge for the injuries done them.

And to end this voyage, I will ſay ſomething to parallel this muſter. At my return from *Portſmouth*, in the company of captain *Maſon*, who had been treaſurer of the late great warlike action of his majeſty's, it was our hap to meet with thirteen clerks and officers of the navy, ſome of them ſtuffed in hired coaches with four horſes, the reſt well mounted on horſe-back, all of them to pay but two ſhips of the king's, the *James* and the *Reformation*, which, I think, will not amount to much more than one thouſand pounds. I deſire there may be a quere of their charge to his majeſty by this journey of theirs, and it ſhall appear what devices they have to enrich themſelves and followers; when captain *Maſon* at that time told me, That in paying his majeſty's great armies, though part of them were as far as *Cornwal*, yet he never charged his majeſty in all thoſe ſervices with more than himſelf, his clerk, and one other ordinary ſervant.

As this was the end of that voyage, ſo I will not let paſs what happened in the beginning of it, in the *James* I ſerved in. At the taking in of victuals at *Tilbury-Hope*, there appeared a certain proportion of beef and pork, able, with its ſcent, to have poiſoned the whole company; but by the carefulneſs of the quarter-maſters it was found unſerviceable; yet after it was refuſed by the ſaid officers of the ſhip; and lay upon the hatches unſtowed, ſome of the officers of the navy repaired aboard, and by their authority and great anger, forced it to be taken in for good victuals; which proved as I have ſaid before.

My obſervation to this point, is, That though the officers of the navy have nothing to do with the victualling part, yet it is likely there is a combination betwixt the one and the other, like to a mayor of a corporation, a baker, who for that year will favour the brewer, that ſhall the next year do the like to his trade when he becomes mayor.

Here will I ceaſe to make any further diſcovery of the abuſes, but refer it all to examination, and myſelf will turn phyſician, and ſtudy how to cure the malignant diſeaſes of corruption that have crept in and infected his majeſty's whole navy, and his imployments at ſea, as well in the officers that aſſume abſolute authority above the reſt, and who, I think, will be found moſt faulty, as in the victualler, and purſer, that has relation to the victualler. My third obſervation, is the ſtate of the king's ſhips, their built, and what is to be amended in them. My fourth is, the foremaſt men, gunners, and all the company in general, without whom ſhips cannot ſail. And my laſt ſhall conſiſt of the maſters and captains, which I will make the voyage of 1635. the ground of my exceptions to them.

As

As I have ſpoken of my lord admiral, by his authority to be the chief former aforeſaid, ſo in the ſecond degree of reformation, I wiſh that ſuch officers of the navy were choſen as are perfect in their occupation and breeding, and have paſſed all offices and degrees in ſhips, and namely, out of the fraternity of the *Trinity-Houſe*; for they are men that know well the practice of the ſea, being brought up in it from their infancies: they ſerved their apprenticeſhips in ſhips, which no gentleman or clerk has done; by their painful labour they have attain'd to good eſtates; they are of that ſufficient ability, as they have the election of the maſters that ſerve in the king's ſhips; their ambition will not extend higher than to his majeſty's countenance, and to be honoured with the title of his ſervants; in their imployments they will not ſtrive to exceed in oſtentation, or in numbers of needleſs ſervants and followers; their diet will be anſwerable to their accuſtom'd breedings; they will not covet ſtate in their lodgings, nor ſolemn places in their conſultations; they will commend no man to office whoſe ſufficiency they will not undertake for; no proviſion or ſtore can be brought in, but they will be able to judge of the goodneſs of it; no boatſwain, gunner, or other officer, can exceed in their demands, but they can controul them; or in their return from their voyages bring in waſteful expence, but they will be able to check them, though it be to a yard of cable, rope, or a pound of powder. This is the way, and no other way, to prevent ſtealth, cozenage, and all deceits, which the clerks cannot deviſe to do. Thus would the name of corruption and abuſes be converted into merit and deſert. If theſe men ſhall offend in the execution of their offices, they are not people that can carry their deceits out by friends, as not being bred that way; or if they ſhall be found culpable or faulty, their eſtates are not ſo mean, but will be able to make reſtitution for the damages they do.

But to take away all occaſion of deceit in the inferior officers of the ſhips, when they are at ſea, theſe officers of the navy may appoint in every ſhip an able man, who, beſides his labour, may have authority to overlook the expence of the gunner, carpenter, boatſwain, and the reſt, and to approve it under his hand with theirs, and with the teſtimony of the captain and maſter.

And becauſe theſe men may have the better reſpect above the common ſort, and profit withal to make them the more careful to perform the truſt that is committed to them, they may be entered for drum and fife, which will add ſix ſhillings a month to their ordinary entertainment; for the two places are to be well ſpared, as unneceſſary in ſea ſervice.

The next officer or office I will handle ſhall be the victualler, whoſe negligence or covetouſneſs; for one of the two it muſt be imputed unto, has brought the king's ſervice to a great contempt, as all men know, with grief and pity. This officer ought to have a bitter and ſevere cenſure if he fail of the goodneſs and quantity of victuals of his majeſty's allowance, and I wiſh no leſs than death to be inflicted on him; for no ſubject's eſtate is able to countervail the damage his majeſty may ſuſtain in ſuch defects, in his weighty expeditions. The combinations, the abuſes, and the practice of this office, I refer to future examination. *This was writ before the victual. for came in to his place.*

The victuals at ſea conſiſts of beer, bread, fleſh, fiſh, butter, cheeſe, *&c.* and to be bought of ſeveral perſons, according to their profeſſions and trades. I will therefore put them all in one number, and ſet down a courſe how to reform them all together, *viz.* to bind every one in a particular bond, returnable into the exchequer, that the victuals they furniſh ſhall be ſufficient, well-conditioned, able to abide good the length of the voyage, conſiſting of ſo many months; and if there be found defect or fault of performance thereof, the bond to be immediately forfeited, unleſs by a day appointed they put on board his majeſty's ſhips the quantity of ſuch victuals as ſhall be defective; by this means the king ſhall be well ſerved, and the people well ſatisfy'd.

Moreover the victualler muſt be enjoined to put on board every ſhip the whole proportion of victuals to the quantity of men ſerving in her; for in this there has been great deceit: for whereas his majeſty allows a large and ſufficient rate for every man's diet, the victualler and the purſer had wont to contract betwixt themſelves, that the purſer ſhall have the victualling of a certain proportion of men, and to allow the victualler three half-pence or two-pence *per diem*, out of that the king allows, and juſtly pays.

The gain of the purſer at ſea far exceeds all other officers, as will appear when their buying their places ſhall be examined. Both the buyer and ſeller of this office knows that the gain of it muſt ariſe by deceiving the king and company: which, beſides that it breeds a great inconveniency, for the purſer's unreaſonable griping the ſailors of their victuals, and plucking it, as it were, out of their bellies, it makes them become weak, ſick, and feeble, and then follows an infection, and inability to do their labour, or elſe uproars, mutinies, and diſorders enſue among the company, that a captain muſt interpoſe himſelf, his reputation,

and credit, to appeaſe them; and all for the corruption of the buyer and ſeller of that office; beſides it gives a great diſcontent to people, and diſcourages them to do ſervice in the whole voyage.

For reformation hereof, this place is not corruptly to be bought with money, but free election to be made of an honeſt and careful man, that will have no end but his majeſty's profit, and his own credit; he muſt neither contract with the victualler, nor take advantage of poor mens being aſhore, for him to ſave their allowance of diet to enrich himſelf, but ſuch ſurplus of victuals as remains at the end of the voyage, to ſee it forth-coming, or to be accountable for it to the king's officers.

And if it be found, after the voyage, that this purſer has performed the truſt committed to his charge, then to reward him according to his ſervice as the lord admiral and the officers of the navy ſhall think fit. This conſidered, will prove more beneficial and more ſafe to the purſer, than to buy his office at a dear rate, which he muſt execute with danger; for his gain muſt riſe by cozenage, which being diſcovered, a heavy puniſhment will be inflicted on him.

This falſe benefit thus gotten by the officers conniving with one another, by this reformation will turn to the king's profit: but I deſire it may be carried with more moderation and pity to poor men; for the company have always been the ſufferers, the purſers making their advantage of the mens being aſhore, by taking to themſelves their allowance of victuals in their abſence.

The ſecond abuſe that is offered the company is in another kind, (as namely, in their pay,) wherein his majeſty is no leſs abuſed than the poor men; for if at any time they fall ſick, and be put aſhore, ſuch is the charity of people where they land, that they ſooner periſh than find pity, unleſs they bring money with them.

And ſeeing that his majeſty does and muſt pay all thoſe that ſerve him, it will be better for them, and more profit to the king, to diſcharge them at their firſt arrival, than to continue them longer unpaid; for whilſt they lie ſick aſhore, and not diſcharged, their victuals and pay amounts to thirty and odd ſhillings a month, which may be ſaved, if they are at firſt diſcharged.

In the voyage of 1635. ſome of my men fell ſick in the *James*, whom I cauſed to be put aſhore, to avoid further infection, and commanded the purſer to make proviſion for their lodgings, and other neceſſaries, to be abated in their pay. If theſe men had been diſcharged when they were landed, the king had ſaved ſo much as I have expreſſed before, and the poor men had been furniſhed with money to have defray'd their expence, which they took upon truſt.

I confeſs this abuſe is ancient, which I complained of to queen *Elizabeth*, who redreſſed it, by ſending an under-treaſurer and moneys with me to ſea in the laſt voyage ſhe lived, and wherein I went admiral; but her preſent death following, cauſed it to be neglected; but fit again to be revived, for the good both of king and ſubject. When the purſer of the *James* demanded his money thus diſburſed, the officers of the navy with great anger asked him, who made him the queen's treaſurer? Which is a direct proof they have a further end in it than the king's good; for I am told they have two ſhillings in the pound for the payment of ſuch moneys as the poor ſailors go upon the ſcore.

I will proceed, and ſpeak ſomewhat of the king's ſhips, their manner of built, and their defects, which, in my opinion, ought to be amended. I will make the *James* my precedent, which is a beautiful ſhip to the eye, and of mighty force to offend; I found nothing amiſs in her hull, but in her maſts, yards, and bolt-ſprit, which were too ſhort, which made her ſails too narrow, and her ſail the worſe. But theſe are faults that may be eaſily amended.

But in ſome caſes of building ſhips, or rather, I may ſay, of making experiment, they have left no help or hope of amendment; though I am informed there was a warning given of the inſufficiency of the workman before he undertook her.

In my ſpeaking of the difference in the built of ſhips, betwixt a fluſh-deck and high-carved, I have ſaid ſufficiently before; only I adviſe, that in ſhips with fluſh-decks, a ſlight forecaſtle may be built, and the uppermoſt part of the ſhip be armed with junks of cables, for the ſafeguard of men againſt ſmall-ſhot; as alſo to make barricadoes, and other material defences, to place ſeveral fowlers afore and abaft, to be the death of ſo many men as ſhall enter. There are many other deviſed things to be practiſed, which I refer to my fifth book, wherein I treat of ſtratagems.

Now I will ſpeak of foremaſt-men, and the abuſe uſed in preſſing them, by example of this laſt voyage in 1635. The greateſt part of theſe men conſiſt of watermen, never before at ſea, and others of the ſame ſort altogether unſerviceable; and herein are the officers of the navy to blame, who to pleaſure friends, or for other ends of their own, appoint taylors, porters, and others of that rank, unworthy of the hatches to lie on; and yet every one of theſe men ſtands his majeſty in 1*l.* 11*s.* a month, when they will think much to pay an able ſeaman that ſhall be abſent at a muſter: ſo great

great a power has partiality with theſe men, that they preſer the unworthy before the well-deſerving, and are willing to pay 1 *l.* 11 *s.* a month to taylors, rather than 14 *s.* to a ſailor.

The ſea towns in *England* are not far behind theſe abuſes in election of ſuch men as I have found in this voyage; for that in the northern preſs, betwixt *Yarmouth* and *Newcaſtle*, never a man appeared in the *James* that ever had been at ſea; inſomuch that if I had not procured a warrant for one of my maſter's mates to look out for good men, never ſhip had been worſe provided.

For reformation whereof, I would adviſe at the next general preſs, that the charge be committed to the maſters, or their mates, that go in the voyage. They are to repair to the towns and corporations on the coaſts, authorizing them, with the officers of the ſaid towns, to call all ſeafaring men there dwelling before them, and the maſters to examine their ſufficiencies, and according to their abilities to preſs them, and enjoin them to appear before the clerk of the check at *Chatham*.

There is another great miſmanagement is his majeſty's ſhips, which is fit to be amended, in order hereafter to redreſs it: by allowance of the king, the worſt of thoſe loiterers I have ſpoken of, have as good entertainment as the ableſt ſailor, that is no officer, and neither captain nor other commander can reform it, becauſe cuſtom has ſo ſettled it; for a reformation whereof, I do adviſe, that by conſent of captain, maſter, and gunner, every ſuch man's pay be proportion'd according to their ſufficiencies, *viz.* to take it from one, and add it to another; but no way to charge the king more than with his ordinary proportion.

If this courſe were really taken, ſeamen would be as willing to ſerve the king, as they are now refractory to his ſervice; it would be a great cauſe to make them to obey and love their commanders, and encourage them to exceed one another in their labours, in hope to have their pay mended. Theſe people are to be governed by a captain, maſter, and other inferior officers, which I have formerly treated of; and I will now deſcribe the fitneſs of a captain to be choſen to ſerve in the king's ſhips.

The little employment in ſea affairs makes many pretenders to the place of captain, when there is talk of expedition; and very often there are factions and quarrels among ſuch pretenders. But to take away all competition that may ariſe amongſt them, and that his majeſty may diſtinguiſh of their works, it were good, when ſuch captains ſhall be nominated and elected, to require them to preſent authentick teſtimonies of their ſervice and fights they have been in at ſea, which will approve their ſufficiencies; for a captain is choſen for his warlike part, as the maſter is for the conduction of his ſhip.

A captain of the king's ſhip muſt be of reputation and government, bountiful, and not prodigal in his expence: he muſt moderate his expence according to his pay, and the time it is likely to continue, that he may be the better able to maintain his port after the ſervice is ended, both for the honour of the king whom he ſerves, and for his own reputation; for his after-preferment muſt lie upon his former behaviour and demeanour. He muſt abandon the beaſtlineſs of drinking, and conniving at drunkards, which are the general diſorders at ſea, though in reaſon no man ſhould more deteſt it; for they may know that drinking is not the way to preferment; for no man was ever raiſed for his vice, but it is made an objection to hinder his fortune.

As a captain ought to be frugal in his own expence, ſo ought he to be no leſs for the king's profit; as, firſt, in victuals: there muſt be no conniving betwixt him and his purſer, nor betwixt the purſer and any other officer; and what victuals ſoever ſhall come into the ſhip that it be not imbezelled, or ſecretly convey'd out of her; he muſt ſee an equal carriage betwixt purſer and company, without advantage to either; for by this reformation the king is only to receive benefit. He muſt alſo have an eye over the gunner, as well to ſee the taking in of his ſtore, as the re-delivery of it. He may have a ſervant to keep a private account of the expence of every ſhot at ſea, to diſprove any unlawful account the gunner ſhall unjuſtly charge himſelf withal.

I will end this diſcourſe with the maſters, who are the conductors of his majeſty's ſhips, from their going out till their return home. There ought to be a general election of theſe men principally of ſuch as have been practiſed, and ſerved in the king's ſhips; for an experienced commander is more to be required in that caſe, than a skilful mariner.

The maſters that were employ'd in this laſt voyage of 1635. are all able men in the art of navigation, which they profeſs, and of ſufficiency to take upon them the conduction of a merchant ſhip to any place or port whereſoever they ſhall trade; but for the ſervice in the narrow ſeas, where they have not been accuſtomed, or for managing the king's ſhips, in which they have not been uſed, for want of experience, they are much to ſeek, as will appear by what follows.

I confeſs, that ſince I ſerved in the narrow ſeas, I find ſo great a difference betwixt the maſters of that time and this, that I may compare it to an ancient art, that in long

long continuance of time has been forgotten, and loſt for want of practice and uſe.

The maſters in thoſe days were either ignorantly adventurous, or in this time providently cautious, which I may rather term over-timorous; for we then little valued thoſe adventures, which now we properly call dangers; though I am aſſured the perils be alike, and not to be accounted hazard.

But I impute the true cauſe of ſecurity in the maſters, to that they have no other ambition, but to carry out and bring home the ſhip under their charge, and to receive their ſalary for it. I confeſs they are the more excuſable, becauſe their breeding has not been to ſail amongſt ſands, or in ſeas ſo narrow, that which way ſoever they turn themſelves, they behold land on all ſides of them, which are ſubject to the change and ſhift of ſeveral winds in every port; for that wind which is ſecure upon one ſhore, is death upon another; and tides that ſometimes are advantageous to them, at other times may prove dangerous.

This reformation cannot be in the maſters themſelves to amend, for it requires long experience and labour to make them perfect in our ſeas, where the ſervice depends; and where they are ſtrangers in the navigation, this defect muſt be ſupply'd with expert and skilful pilots, that make the narrow ſeas their daily trade and practice.

The king's ſhips being thus provided, they have little cauſe to fear danger of wind or ſtorms, but only fogs, that take away the ſight of the land from them, which come not often, nor continue long upon our coaſt; and in that caſe of dark and miſty weather, never ſhips of the kings of *England* were better fitted with ground-tackle, or whole ſhots of cables, that they may ride in the midſt of the channel: but whenſoever the fog ſhall vaniſh, and the land appear, though it were in any part of the ſeas, betwixt the north-foreland in *Kent* and the *Dudman* in *Cornwal*, they will be able in few hours to harbour themſelves, howſoever the wind proves that may endanger them; and therefore, in my opinion, that which is called care in ſome, may be rather term'd fear in them.

Theſe maſters that I term raw in the king's ſhips, not being uſed to the government of them, it is fit they be put into the right way by the boatſwain, who is beſt able to inſtruct them; though in theſe latter times, that ignorance has prevail'd againſt knowledge, the boatſwains, by a ſtrict decree of the officers of the navy, are prohibited from taking charge of the king's ſhips, as maſters; but the inconveniency of this law of theirs, I deſire to argue with our late reformers.

Another overſight and error in theſe maſters I find, That they cannot diſtinguiſh betwixt the diſcipline of the king's ſervice, and their accuſtomed ſailing and working in merchant ſhips; for though in their inſtructions in this voyage they were commanded to keep a good diſtance off one another, at their coming to an anchor, ſuch have been the maſter's careleſneſs to obſerve this order, that they have preſſed to be at an anchor as ſoon, or as near the admiral as they could, neither giving place or room to the vice admiral, or other ſhips of greater charge or burthen than themſelves: let this be a caution to ſucceeding times upon the like occaſion, That whereſoever a fleet ſhall anchor, either at ſea, harbour, or road, they ſuffer the three flags firſt to anchor, who muſt be careful to take a good birth from one another, (which done,) every ſhip, as they are divided in ſquadrons, is to anchor a convenient diſtance from the admiral of its ſquadron, and to take place according to the draught of the ſhips and the depth of the water they anchor in.

A maſter muſt moreover obſerve, after his coming to an anchor, to examine the defects of his ſhips, and to take order for the preſent amendment of them.

Thirdly, he muſt have his boats ready to fetch water, wood, and ballaſt, that the want of them be no cauſe of his ſtay in harbour, if he be ſuddenly commanded to ſea; or if his abode be longer than he looked for, then to ſend his men by turns, to walk in the fields on ſhore, ſome one day and ſome another, to take the air, and exerciſe themſelves for their healths; this will give great ſatisfaction, and be a refreſhing to them and the ſhips, when people ſhall be abſent, and the ſhip made clean and ſweet.

Fourthly, a maſter is, at his firſt arrival in a port or rode, to let fall a ſingle cable and anchor, unleſs the weather force him to moor with two, which if he do; yet as he ſhall ſee an appearance of fair weather, then to weigh one of his two, that he may be ready to ſet ſail, if he be commanded; for a man of war is like a poſt, that has horſe continually ſaddled for the king's ſervice.

Many of theſe abuſes I confeſs began to creep in, like ruſt into iron, at the latter end of queen *Elizabeth*'s reign, by the unableneſs of ſome officers of the navy, that then had the charge of them who did, as ſome now-a-days do, preſume to order, and diſpoſe of all things of the ſea, though they were never twenty leagues from the coaſt; as great preſumption as for a bred ſeaman to take upon him the office of a judge in temporal or ſpiritual affairs.

Of

Of the Harbours of England, Scotland, Ireland, *and* Wales; *the Nature of them; their Depths; and how they bear from one another.*

THE iſland of *Scilly* is from the *Land's-End* of *Cornwall* eight leagues, E. N. E. This harbour of *Scilly* has twenty fathom, and there are three goings-out of it.

The next good harbour is *Hellford*, little frequented: it has ſix or ſeven fathom water.

From the *Lizard* to *Falmouth*, N. and by E. four leagues: *Falmouth* is in an excellent harbour, and hath twelve, thirteen, or fourteen fathom.

From *Falmouth* to *Dudman-Point*, E. and by N. four leagues.

From *Dudman* to *Foy*, N. E. four leagues.

From *Foy* to *Rambead* ſix leagues, E. N. E. *Plimouth* lies from hence, N. N. E. four leagues, and has four or five fathom.

From the *Rambead* to the *Start* eight leagues, E. S. E. From the *Start* to *Dartmouth* three leagues, N. E. and has ten or twelve fathom.

From *Dartmouth* to *Torbay* four leagues, N. E. a good road, at eight fathom, for a ſouth-weſt wind.

From *Torbay* to *Portland* thirteen leagues, E. and by N. and within that bay lies *Exmouth* and *Lime*. *Portland* is a good road for a ſouth and a ſouth-weſt wind, at ſeven or eight fathom.

Within *Exmouth* lieth *Weymouth*, a barred haven; and going from thence to the *Needles* in the *Iſle of Wight* lies the harbour of *Pool*, where you ſhall have five fathom at half flood.

From *Portland* to the *Needles* eleven leagues, E. and by N. From thence to *St. Helen's* ſeven leagues.

Within the harbour lies the haven of *Limington* and *Southampton*, and within that *Water-Hamble*; and to the E. *Portſmouth*, an excellent harbour; and in the *Iſle of Wight*, *Newport* and *New-Town*.

From *St. Helen's* to *Bechie* ſixteen leagues, E. N. E. Betwixt them lies *Chicheſter*, *Arundel*, *Shoreham*, and *New-Haven*, all bad harbours.

From *Bechie* to the *Shingle*, E. N. E. eight leagues. Betwixt them lies *Rye*, a dry harbour.

From the *Shingle* to *Dover* nine leagues, N. E.

From *Dover* to the *Downs*, and ſo to the *North-Foreland*, ſeven leagues; there lies betwixt them *Sandwich*, a barred haven.

From the *North-Foreland* to *Orford-Neſs*, leaving the iſland of *Sheppey*, and the courſe to *London* on the larboard-ſide.

Harwich is the beſt harbour upon all that coaſt; and, indeed, the beſt betwixt it and the *Frith* in *Scotland*.

From *Orford-Neſs* the Coaſt lies, N. W. twenty nine leagues from *Flamborough-Head*. There lies betwixt them *Sole*, *Laſtock*, *Yarmouth*, *Cromer*, *Blackney*, *Burnam*; from thence to *Boſton*, ſouth-eaſt, and to *Lynn* weſt, you paſs many dangerous ſands in going into theſe two places.

From *Boſton* to *Hull* and *Burlington*, you muſt go N. and N. and by E.

From *Flamborough-Head* to *Scarborough* ſix leagues N. W. from hence to *Whitby* five leagues.

From thence to *Hartley-Pool* ſeven leagues, W. N. W. from *Hartley-Pool* to *Tinmouth*, N. N. E. nine leagues, and ſo up to *Newcaſtle*.

From *Tinmouth* to *Cockit Iſland*, N. N. W. ſeven leagues. And thus much for the northern coaſt.

Now I will return into the other Parts of England *and* Wales.

From the iſland of *Ramſey*, or the north-part of *Wales*, lie the *Biſhop* and the *Clerks*, rocks of great danger; two leagues from thence lies the iſland of *Graſhome*.

From thence to *Milford-Haven* three leagues, and the going in is, N. E. one of the beſt harbours in the world; it hath a rock in the middle of it at the entrance.

From *Milford* to *St. Gore's-Point* two leagues, and from thence to the *Neſs*, E. ſeventeen leagues; there lies betwixt them the iſland of *Coarday*, *Tinbey*, and the point called *Wormſhead*.

From the *Neſs* to *Steepforme*, E. S. E. ſeven leagues; from thence to *Briſtol* N. and by E. twelve leagues. There is betwixt the *Neſs* and *Briſtol* the iſlands of *Barrey* and *Scilly*, *Cardiff*, *Newport*, and *Chepſtow*; all barred havens.

Now to the Engliſh *Shore.*

From the *Holmes* to *Lundy*, W. S. W. twenty leagues: there is betwixt them *Helford-Comb*, a narrow going in, but three or four fathom within.

From thence to *Biddeford*, S. S. W. ſeven leagues: it has two diviſions; the one goes into *Barnſtaple*, the other into *Biddeford*; barred havens.

From thence to *Lundy*, N. N. W. five leagues. Here you may anchor on both the ſides of the iſland, at fourteen or fifteen fathom.

From *Lundy* to the cape of *Cornwall* twenty eight leagues S. W. and from thence to the *Land's-End*, five leagues S. there lies betwixt *Lundy* and the *Land's-End*, *Padſtow*, *St. Ives*, and ſome other creeks, all barred havens.

The Coaſt of Scotland, *and of the Iſlands.*

The iſland of *Shetland* is the place where the *Hollanders* begin their great fiſhing, in the harbour called *Braſſound*, which is an excellent harbour, where all their buſſes meet, and begin their fiſhing the 23d of *June*. At the north point of the iſland, there is a good harbour, called *Blanſound*, which you may ſail through, from one ſide of the harbour to the other.

There is another good harbour, called the *Magnus Haven*, and an iſland where ſhips may go, and ride about it; and behind it a harbour called *Hamborough-Haven*.

Weſt from *Scotland*, and north from *Ireland*, there lie many iſlands, antiently called the *Hybrides*; in moſt of theſe iſlands there are excellent harbours.

The *Lewes* is the beſt of the iſlands; which the *Engliſh* have now planted, for conveniency of fiſhing: it is in length twenty nine leagues S. S. W. and N. N. E.

The iſlands of *Orkney* are thirty one in number.

The iſland of *Wayes* lies N. N. E. from *Catneſs* in *Scotland*, and but five leagues from it; you may ſail through theſe iſlands in many places by *Catneſs*, and S. from *Sanda*, and come out again.

From *Catneſs* upon the main land, and the promontory of *Scotland* to *Buckerneſs*, twenty one leagues S. E. betwixt them, are many good harbours, *Dermecke*, *Roſs*, and *Lewerneſs*.

From *Buckerneſs* to *Aberdeen*, thirteen leagues S. S. W. from thence to *Mont-Roſſe*, S. W. and by S. four leagues; to *Dundee* S. and after S. S. W.

From *Dundee* to the iſle of *May*, S. W. ſix leagues. From *May* to the *Baſs*, and up to *Leath*, nine leagues.

From the *Baſs* to the *Tape-Head*, W. ſix leagues; from the *Tape-Head* to *Berwick*, S. S. E. five leagues.

The Harbours in Ireland.

The *Black Rock*, and Cape *Durſdey*, S. and by W. [illegible] three leagues; and between them the haven of *Gallaway*.

From *Gallaway* to the iſland of *Arran*, ſix leagues; from thence to *Limerick*, S. nine leagues.

From *Gallaway* to *Blaſques*, S. S. W. ſixteen leagues; from *Blaſques* to *Dunſeys*, S. E. twenty one leagues.

From *Cape Cleer* to the *Old Head* of *Kingſale*, E. and by N. twelve leagues.

From the *Old Head* to *Cork*, N. E. and by E. a great league.

From *Cork* to the eaſt point of *Waterford*, E. N. E. twenty leagues; the whole ſouthern coaſt lies E. N. E. and W. S. W. and betwixt *Cork* and *Waterford* lies *Tochill*, E. N. E. from *Cork*, ſix leagues.

Five leagues from *Tochill*, E. lies *Dongarvan*, lying in N. N. W.

From *Tochill* to *Waterford*, E. N. E. twelve leagues; the haven of *Waterford* lies in N. and by W.

From *Waterford* to *Waſhford*, the iſland of *Saltres* lying in the way, you may go betwixt it and the main land eaſt from *Waterford*; from *Saltres* to *Waſhford* five leagues.

From *Waſhford* to *Wexford*, N. and by W. five leagues.

From *Wexford* to *Dublin*, N. and W. five leagues.

Five leagues from *Dublin* lies the harbour of *Drogheda*.

From *Drogheda* to *Dundalk* ſeven leagues.

An Obſervation I gather of the State of the Harbours aforeſaid, and the Advantage an Enemy may take of them to annoy us.

Of ſo many harbours that *England* affords, and towns ſeated upon them, as aforeſaid, there are but theſe following of any importance to entertain ſhips of burden, (*viz.*) on the ſouth coaſt, *Plimouth*, *Falmouth*, *Hamboſe*; lying within the iſland of *St. Nicholas*, *Dartmouth*, *Portſmouth*, and thoſe within the *Iſle of Wight*; to the northward, *Harwich*, *Lynn*, and *Humber*: the two laſt are frequented moſt by ſhips of their own, full of danger and ſands, little known to any others but to themſelves; I will therefore ſay little of them.

Over-againſt the harbours on the ſouth coaſt of *England*, *France* is ſeated, and, namely, *Normandy* and *Picardy*, which, we may thank God, does not afford ſo good a harbour upon all that coaſt, as the worſt of thoſe I have named; otherwiſe our forefathers had taſted the danger of them many ages before ours; and we in this time ſhould find it a dangerous thing to have neighbourhood with good harbours, now *France* labours to be great in ſhipping.

The harbours of greateſt conſequence, and for us moſt to fear, are *Breſt* and *Bluet*, forty and odd leagues aſunder, and both of

of them to the eaſtward of *Uſhant*, the head land of *Britany*, which muſt be doubled before they can come into our *Channel*; and that eaſterly wind which brings them about *Uſhant*, will be againſt the recovery of any harbour in *England*; or if they think by their fleet to intercept our trades, or to have any other deſigns upon us, they will be brought betwixt *Scilly* and *Caribdis*; for betwixt their coaſt and ours, it is not above twenty three or twenty ſix leagues in moſt places; ſo that if they be taken with a ſtorm at north-weſt, they are caſt upon their own ſhore, where they ſhall find neither harbour nor road to receive them, but that the mercileſs ſea will devour them: and the like effect they will find with a ſoutherly wind upon our coaſt, unleſs they were relieved with our open roads, which their own coaſts yield not. In my fifth book of projects and ſtratagems, I have ſpoken more largely to this point: and to conclude, though *France* ſhould be able to keep fleets in our *Channel* in the ſummer ſeaſon, when they ſhall find the weather fair, and the night ſhort; on the contrary, in winter with a ſoutherly wind, ſtorms, and long nights, they will find themſelves deſtitute of harbours on both ſides to relieve their ſhips, when they are in the *Channel*.

And as for *Milford-Haven* in *Wales*, whoſe harbour for goodneſs exceeds all other harbours in *Europe*, if an enemy ſhould enjoy it, it would little avail him; for all conquerors will covet to draw into the heart of the country they enter, and where the greateſt cities are ſeated, and moſt people reſorts to them. Let us compare it with *London*, two hundred miles from it, and let us enter into the condition of *Wales*, and the poverty of it; where the huge mountains will hinder the paſſage, and the tranſportation of their carriages; conſider likewiſe the time *England* will gain, to gather all its forces together to withſtand them, and the diſtance an enemy ſhall march from their ſhips if they be forced to retire, and ſhall be deſtitute of all other ſupplies or helps: this will be advantage ſufficient for us. Neither can an enemy ſteal ſo ſuddenly upon us, but that our fleet will be ready ſpeedily to bid them welcome. Theſe reaſons conſidered, *Milford-Haven* will be made as ſecure as any port of *England*.

The State of Ireland.

There are many choice and good harbours in *Ireland*, as commonly there are in moſt countries where ther: is leaſt trade. The more and the better they are, the greater the danger to *England*; becauſe an Invaſion in *Ireland* does as much concern us, as if it were attempted in *England*. Where there are ſo many ports as in *Ireland*, they cannot ſo eaſily be fortified and made ſtrong, as if they were fewer; whereby the defence of that kingdom muſt depend upon the faithful hearts of ſubjects, who heretofore have been apt in all ages to ſhew the contrary, as appears by their many rebellions.

The ſouthern coaſt of *Ireland* is in the nature of *England*, a ſoutherly wind being dangerous to both; and the greater to *Ireland*, becauſe the coaſt is more ſubject to miſts and fogs, ſo that no art or skill can preſerve a ſhip, if ſhe be forced to bear in upon a lee ſhore ſhe has not made.

I have declared in my fifth book the danger of an invaſion in *Ireland*, and the beſt remedy to avoid it by a fleet at ſea; to which I refer you: but the ſafeſt and ſecureſt courſe I can think on to defend that kingdom, is to draw the people by juſtice and good uſage to love and obedience; for then ſhall their hearts and hands be joined, and made to concur together, for defence of their king and country. Both they and we ſee, that of late years by peace they are taught how to grow rich, which before they were not: they find by his majeſty's conniving with them in religion, it has mollify'd their hearts, that they are not ſo hardened as formerly they have been, as appears by their voluntary diſburſements when his majeſty requires it of them.

I am of a contrary opinion to an ancient poſition held in former times by our ſtateſmen of *England*, That the ſafeſt way to govern the people of *Ireland*, was by keeping them under, poor, needy, and ignorant, like men barbarouſly bred: whereas on the contrary, we ſee by proof of late times, that by our good and friendly uſage they are made more tractable to reaſon, and underſtand the difference betwixt civil converſation and their former education. They are grown to that familiarity with us, and our diſpoſitions, that if religion did not hinder it, they would make no more difference to marry with us, than amongſt themſelves, and hold it for an honour to derive themſelves from *Engliſh* blood.

We muſt confeſs it for a truth, that they made our king and both our countries more famous of late years than in former times, by the eſteem they have gained in our renowned actions of war, where they have ſerved; for thoſe people that were wont to be called by the name of *Kernes*, have obtained the prime places of honourable imployment: which I impute to three cauſes; the firſt, is, To their late civil breeding and converſation, in compariſon of times paſt; ſecondly, That they are not prohibited

ſerving

ſerving any prince or ſtate, whereby all ancient jealouſies are taken away; thirdly, They have that liberty and freedom, that they apply themſelves to all gentleman-like exerciſes, both of learning and languages, by which they inſinuate into the acquaintance of other nations and people, from whom they learn their cuſtoms of civil and mannerly behaviour, acknowledging that preferment comes by virtue, and not by vice. By this alteration, his majeſty ſhall regain ſober ſubjects, that have been ſeduced by evil magiſtrates.

Of Scotland.

Scotland in divers parts thereof, but eſpecially in the iſlands of *Orkney* and *Hybrides*, has many large and good harbours, and more ſhips of their own to uphold trade than *Ireland* has, much to the ſhame of *Ireland*, which has a more fruitful country, and lies by many degrees more convenient for trade, than *Scotland* does, to the rich countries of *France*, *Spain*, the *States*, and all ſouthern parts, which afford the greateſt plenty of wealth; for from *Ireland* they may be ſooner in thoſe places aforeſaid, than from ſome part of *Scotland* to *Ireland*, where they are to begin their voyage.

We and other nations find that *Ireland* many times proves a ſafety to ſhips, men, and goods, as it is ſeated and placed; for ſhips that are to paſs into our channel from the ſouthward to *England*, *France*, *Flanders*, *Holland*, or any part of the eaſt country, if ſuch veſſels be taken with an eaſterly wind before they recover *Scilly* or *Falmouth*, or fail of victuals, or otherwiſe diſtreſſed, *Ireland* lies open to entertain them, which no other ſhore can do with that wind, and much leſs *Scotland*, which is ſo far to the northward, and out of all manner of trade.

It is pity *Scotland* is not placed where *Ireland* is, conſidering the difference of the induſtry of their people; for though the country of *Scotland* yields no commodities worthy of tranſportation, whereby to make them rich, or can take off any merchandize that is brought them, by reaſon of the barrenneſs of their ſoil, and the coldneſs of their climate, that produces nothing of value to exchange for it, yet they live not idly and lazily, as the *Iriſh* do, but maintain a number of ſhips to carry out and bring back ſuch commodities as the country affords, or the people ſtand in need of.

Another happineſs to us, is, that *Scotland* can make no uſe of their harbours to benefit an enemy to our annoyance; for *Scotland* has two impregnable defences, which are no leſs beneficial to *England*, *viz.* hunger and cold, that it can no way aid an enemy to invade *England* from thence, either with victuals, or other proviſions.

I have often marvelled with myſelf, that in our forefathers days, who lived in the time of hoſtility betwixt us and *Scotland*, they had not ſo much foreſeeing providence, as being maſters of the ſea, to endeavour to cut off all the ſhips, barks, and boats, that belonged to their kingdom, which had been eaſily effected, or without reſiſtance; for then they had left *Scotland* to itſelf, without help from abroad, and forced them to make uſe of their own commodities amongſt themſelves; by which means they ſhould never have taſted the deliciouſneſs of wines, or other delightful things of ſeveral kinds which other countries produce: Thus would *England* have had a greater power over them than by force of arms, and would ſooner have brought them to uniformity and obedience to us, than by any courſe of cruelty: the ſeamen would have ſoon forgotten their imployment, and betaken themſelves to their trades for food. And one thing I muſt ſay in their commendation, that their people are naturally apt to the ſea; they would ſoon attain to the excellency of pilots, which grows by their dangerous and difficult navigations; which makes them more vigilant than otherwiſe they would be; and in the places where they generally traffick, they are held worthy of the charge they take upon them; they are no leſs eſteemed than truſted, for their honeſt contracts they make with their merchants; and it is a means they are ſooner freighted than others that carry greater reputation and wealth.

A Propoſition to the Parliament on all the foregoing Contents of this Book.

I Need not make a particular repetition of what is contained in this third book, becauſe it is open to your eyes to behold, view, and read; it tends to the ſtate of his majeſty's navy, and the abuſe that is crept in by unexperienced careleſſneſs, if not corrupt officers, and ſuch as regard their own profit more than the king's ſervice: withal, I ſet down a means of reformation, which I preſented to his majeſty, part whereof was written at the requeſt of Sir *Robert Cecil*, not long before the queen died; the reſt I refer to my fifth book.

I will apply myſelf to you, the lords and gentlemen of parliament, for theſe reaſons; The firſt, Becauſe it concerns you more than others, who are the mouths and men chiefly truſted by the multitude of the commonwealth, that makes election of you, above others, to ſpeak their cauſe. Secondly, In

In matter of ſecurity to the ſtate; for you have the ſame intereſt with them, as being embarked all in one ſhip; ſo that, if one drowns, the reſt muſt be ſhipwrecked. And, laſtly, becauſe you are the people elected and choſen from the reſt, for your grave and judicious underſtandings, that can diſtinguiſh and determine according to reaſon, what ſhall be propoſed for the good of the commonwealth; which makes me ſay the leſs, but refer all to your wiſe conſiderations.

The great, and indeed the greateſt matter of importance to the ſtate, is his majeſty's navy, properly called the walls and bulwarks of *England*; for our ſhips flouriſhing bring ſafety to the kingdom, and terror to others; yourſelves may challenge an intereſt in this royal navy, as jewels annexed to the crown, that cannot be ſeparated from it; for though the king have the diſpoſing of them, and the only imploying them, yet they are like his houſes and lands that are entailed upon the crown, and the king can uſe them but for life.

The kingdom of *Portugal* falling to *Philip* II. king of *Spain*, who came in rather by the ſword, than conſent of the ſubjects, yet they drew him to large conditions for their freedom: and amongſt the reſt, becauſe that kingdom ſtood upon reputation of ſhipping, they enjoined him to annex twelve galleons by way of entail on the crown of *Portugal* for ſo many brave ſhips he there found, as appeared by the goodly veſſel called the *St. Matthew*, which I knew, and ſaw broke up with age, after ſhe had been admiral of the fleet with the marquis of *Santa Cruz*, who overthrew Monſieur *La Strauze* at the iſlands of *Tercera* in 1580. and after ſhe had been admiral for *England* in 1588. with the duke of *Medina Sidonia*; and, laſtly, in that ſervice and fleet, that took Sir *Richard Greenville* and the *Revenge* in 1591.

And ſeeing we have precedents of other times, and of other countries, to parallel with us; for the preſerving the honour of *England* by our navy, but eſpecially becauſe it concerns us more than the firm land, we being an iſland that can neither defend ourſelves, nor offend others, without the help of ſhipping, I do humbly crave your favourable ears to incline to my propoſitions following.

That beſides the ordinary and yearly expence his majeſty contributes to the ſhips in harbour, you will pleaſe to add a certain annual proportion, and to confirm it by act of parliament, to be imployed as the parliament ſhall direct, or as the enſuing project ſhall ſeem acceptable.

I know that whatſoever I ſhall propoſe by way of impoſition, the word is obnoxious, and you will anſwer me with a general negative, by example of the grants of cuſtoms, that in continuance of time are grown hereditary; but let the importance of this weighty buſineſs concerning the king's navy move you according to reaſon, and to deviſe the eaſieſt way, and with the leaſt charge, how his majeſty's ſhips may be immediately ſent to ſea upon an unexpected occaſion.

The ſum that ſhall come from you by a voluntary gift, not to exceed 20000 *l. per Annum*, the moneys to be rated and raiſed at the diſcretion of juſtices, knights, and gentlemen of the ſhire, a treaſurer and other officers to be nominated by the parliament; and if any innovation ſhall be attempted to alter this form of government, the payment to ceaſe.

That certain commiſſioners be appointed for two years ſpace to view and provide, that all materials and proviſions be kept ſafe in magazines, and no other than themſelves to diſpoſe of them; and every ſecond *Michaelmas* term to meet and ſettle all things in good order, that at the next ſitting of the parliament it may be preſented to the two houſes.

This will prove more eaſeful to the country, and leſs burthenſome to the people, by ten degrees, than has been of late years taken, *(viz.)* To call upon them for great ſums, and to be ſuddenly rated and raiſed by the aſſeſſment of one private man, that ſhall for that preſent year be choſe ſheriff; and ſuch a one, if complaints be true, as carries a hand of too great partiality.

By the good husbanding and management of this 20000 *l. per Annum*, there will always be ready in caſh ſo much money as will, with little help from the king, be able to put his ſhips to ſea, without otherwiſe being beholding to his ſubjects; for it is to be ſuppoſed that kings will not have yearly occaſion to employ their ſhips, by means whereof the ſtock of 20000 *l.* will increaſe.

Out of this 20000 *l.* there may be proviſion made to allow thirty able and expert captains, each of them forty marks, or forty pound *per Annum*, the time they are out of imployment, enjoining them to give their attendance, when they ſhall be called upon. Every man ſhall know the ſhip he is to command, and no man will be ſo impudent, as to ſeek to put him from it when imployment is ſpoken of.

They ſhall hold their places, their penſions, and imployments, according to their civil carriage and behaviour; for by their example, others that expect future preferment muſt imitate them in their rule of life.

Of all diſorders, they muſt abandon drinking, quarrelling, and the occaſion that riſeth out of ſuch vices; for if they conſider it, drunkenneſs is but a ſhort madneſs; and therefore unfit a madman ſhould govern others, that cannot govern himſelf. This will be the way to gain a brave reputation in their youth, and an encouragement for gentlemen to imploy their ſons upon ſuch ſervices, on hope of preferment; and it may be a means for the king to take the example of the king of *Portugal*, who inſtituted, That gentlemen, according to their degrees and births, ſhould have imployment at ſea, and penſions of the king for life, which they call *Fuero*. Every gentleman takes his place according to his penſion and quality; and it is not amiſs, ſeeing I am upon this ſubject, to ſet down, That the occaſion of the diſcontent of *Ferdinand Magellaens*, or *Magellan*, the diſcoverer of that ſtreight, which took name of him, was upon this cauſe; for which he left his king's ſervice, and became a creature to *Ferdinand* king of *Spain*, who imploy'd him.

Magellan was a gentleman well deſerving, and on account of the inſtitution aforeſaid, he ſued to the king of *Portugal* for a penſion of three ducats *per* month for himſelf, and half as much for his ſon, who was a towardly young gentleman. The king willingly granted him two and an half, but abſolutely refuſed his ſon; which he took for ſo great an indignity, that he left the king's ſervice, and fled into *Spain*, where he was employ'd by the king and cardinal *Ximenes*, in that noble voyage about the world, which was performed by his ſhip, though he was ſlain himſelf. This enterprize of his was prejudicial to the kingdom of *Portugal*, and he got the name of a fugitive and traytor by it.

To make out this degree of gentlemen, and their imployment, I have ſpoken of, I was acquainted with it when Sir *Richard Lewſon*, and I took the carrack in *Zezimbra Road*; for when I went aboard her, to treat about her yielding, I found four hundred gentlemen of this fraternity with arms to defend her, all apparelled like courtiers for their reputation they held by their imployment and place.

The Beginning of our Reſort to the Eaſt-Indies.

THOUGH the queen was ſo wholly taken up with her warlike actions by ſea with *Spain*, which continued the ſpace of eighteen years, that neither ſhe nor her merchants had leiſure nor opportunity to ſettle new trades in far and remote countries, as the *Eaſt Indies*, and other places, which king *James* of famous memory did, when he enjoy'd both crown and peace, as ſhall appear when I treat of his and king *Charles*'s actions by ſea; yet becauſe thoſe ages and king's reigns ſhall be honoured as they truly deſerve, I will ſpeak of the famous enterprizes undertaken in the queen's time to the *Eaſt Indies*; the firſt by Sir *Francis Drake* in 1578. the ſecond by Mr. *Cavendiſh* in 1586. the third by Captain *Raymond*, in 1591. and the fourth by our merchants of *London* in 1603. to whom the queen granted her letters patents for the ſpace of fifteen years, which was after continued and enlarged by king *James* in the year 1609. to remain for ever. Whereupon the *Eaſt India* merchants built in the ſame year the goodlieſt and the greateſt ſhip that ever was fram'd in this kingdom, though ſhe proved not ſo fortunate to them as ſhips of leſs burthen that I have ſpoke of in my ſecond book.

The increaſe of great ſhips in *England* may be derived from this beginning; and to make it the more wonderful, it is ſtrange, if we conſider the few ſhips, and the ſmall burthen of them in the memory of man, to what they are now; for till of late, which perhaps few will believe, the greateſt part of our ſhips of burthen was either bought or built out of the eaſt country, who likewiſe enjoy'd the greateſt trade of our merchants in their own veſſels.

And to bid adieu to that trade and thoſe ſhips, the *Jeſus* of *Lubeck*, a veſſel of great burthen and ſtrength in thoſe days, was the laſt ſhip bought by the queen, which in the year 1564. was caſt away in the port of *St. John de Ulra* in *New Spain*, under the command of Sir *John Hawkins*; and from that time to this, if we conſider the increaſe of ſhips which *England* trades withal, but eſpecially of later times in the reign of king *James* and king *Charles*, we have great cauſe to give God humble thanks for his bleſſing poured upon us, for our ſtrength of ſhips, and wealth of ſubjects, both much increaſed by our navigation.

I cannot ſay our firſt voyages to the *Eaſt Indies* were by the way of traffick, as our latter years have produced: Captain *Raymond* was accompanied with the *Penelope*, a ſhip of his own, with the *Merchant Royal*, and *Edward Bonadventure*, three prime ſhips at that time both in greatneſs and goodneſs: their imployment was to obſtruct the trade of the *Portugueſe*, and to ſeize their goods by way of letters of repriſal.

Theſe

Theſe three unfortunate ſhips arrived at the cape of *Good Hope*, where they reſolved to ſend home the *Merchant Royal* with the ſick men, and to proceed on their pretended voyage deſigned in *England*; but captain *Raymond* himſelf was unhappily ſwallow'd up in the ſea fifty leagues from the cape: the *Edward Bonadventure* performed her voyage, but failed, as the reſt did, in the hope of profit; for neither the men nor the adventurers were a penny the better for that voyage; and unluckily at her return, after ſhe had paſſed many miſeries and dangers, at laſt ſhe arrived in the *Weſt Indies*, whither ſhe went for relief, being mightily diſtreſſed. And arriving at the iſland of *Mona*, her company reſolved to cut her cables to drive aſhore, chooſing rather to do ſuch an unworthy act, than to venture into *England* with her, their caſe was ſo deſperate.

Moſt part of her men were ſaved by a *French* pirate that hovered about that iſland, one of whom, *Henry May* by name, was imbarked in the ſaid *French* ſhip, and in her return homeward was wrecked on the iſland of *Bermuda*, who gave us the firſt publick knowledge of that iſland; for before it was ſuppoſed to be inchanted, and poſſeſſed by ſpirits, though I knew the contrary; for above twenty years before this happen'd, I was acquainted with a *French* captain, called *Ruſſel*, who was alſo ſhipwreck'd upon the ſame iſland, and eſcaped by means of a boat, he and his company made out of the materials of the ſaid ſhip, in which with great hazard they arrived upon the coaſt of *Newfoundland*, where they were relieved by fiſhermen of their own country.

The Competition betwixt France *and* Spain *by Sea, and Concluſion of the Third Book.*

A *Frenchman* meeting a *Spaniard* or *Portugueſe* beyond the line, or in either of the two *Indies*, they hold it a thing juſtifiable by law to ſeize upon either, eſpecially if they make the firſt ſhot at the *Frenchman*, pretending that he gave the firſt offence; and that thereupon they offered him violence, and that themſelves are but defendants.

The *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe* anſwer to this, That the *French* being no diſcoverers of countries beyond the line, or in the *Indies*, they can challenge no more right to the countries and ſeas, than pirates of other nations can do; neither have they any colour to haunt thoſe ſhores and ſeas, but with a purpoſe to rob and ſpoil, ſeeing they and all nations beſides, know the king of *Spain* prohibits any traffick in thoſe parts, but to his own *Spaniſh* ſubjects.

They further ſay, There is no ſhip but will in her own defence, being chaſed by another, and ready to be aſſailed and boarded, ſhoot firſt; for it is an old rule in a quarrel, *That he has the advantage who gives the firſt blow*: And therefore this lawful reſiſtance of a poor merchant ſhip, that goes not out of his way to ſeek others, but avoid meeting of all, cannot be reckoned a breach of peace, and conſequently a forfeit of ſhip and goods; this is againſt the law of nature, for a worm, if ſhe be trod on, will turn.

And beſides, whereas merchant ſhips go commonly armed to defend themſelves againſt enemies, by this law, and contrary to all ſenſe and reaſon, their ſafety muſt conſiſt in going unarmed, that they may be unable to make defence, leſt they be quarrelled with, and thereby made a prey to all ſhips they ſhall meet at ſea.

The aſſailant, whom you may properly call a pirate, has ſometimes other pretences, as namely, the want of victuals, or their ſhip being leaky, or ready to founder, to exchange ſhips with them.

The *Spaniard* deſires, that theſe deceitful excuſes, and falſe pretences may with uprightneſs be conſidered: to the firſt, they ſay, That a merchant ſhip that carries ten men, cannot afford two days victuals to a man of war that carries an hundred men; for ten days victuals after that proportion is but half a days victuals to a ſhip of war.

To the ſecond, it is to be conſidered that if one ſhip be exchanged for another at ſea, it muſt be the ſtronger that compels the weaker to it; and as a thief that robs by land makes the offence much more horrible by committing murder, ſo does the ſhip in this caſe; for if an hundred men be not able to keep the ſhip above water with their pump or baling, what ſhall ten men do in that ſhip, but ſink or periſh with patience? Here is both theft and murder committed upon poor innocent people, that offer no man moleſtation, nor go out of their courſe to ſeek acquaintance: but if this ſtands for a law, a pirate will make no conſcience to bore a leak in his own ſhip to ſerve for an excuſe.

Therefore I conclude, it is not the firſt ſhot that can be adjudged a breach of peace betwixt two ſhips that accidentally meet at ſea, or that it ſhall make the aſſailant's cauſe the better; for in truth, the offence is given by the ſhip that chaſes, and has no cauſe to do it, but only to give an occaſion

of

of quarrel, that thereby he may rob and ſpoil him: he it is, I ſay, that deſerves puniſhment as a pirate, and not the poor defendant, that does no more than nature and reaſon oblige him to.

I would ask a *Frenchman*, whether, if a *Spaniard* ſhould meet him upon the coaſt of *Canada*, where the *French* have a plantation, and there chaſe him, and that the *Frenchman* for his ſafety ſhould fire at him he would think it reaſon that the *Spaniard* ſhould take and enjoy him as lawful prize? No, I am rather of opinion, that the *Frenchman* will believe as I do, that the *Spaniard* is worthy to be hanged for a pirate.

And yet the compariſon is not alike, for the *French* cannot account *Canada* their own, as the *Spaniards* may do the *Indies*; becauſe *Canada* was firſt diſcovered by the *Engliſh* in the days of *Henry* VII. as all the world acknowledges, and none but the firſt diſcoverers can pretend title to any land newly diſcovered.

This is the title by which the king of *Spain* holds his *Indies*, both *Eaſt* and *Weſt*; and this is the title by which the king of *England* holds that part of *America* from fifty eight to thirty eight degrees, and has held it ſince the diſcovery of it by *Sebaſtian Cabot*, and not above two years after *Columbus* found the *Weſt Indies*; and by this right likewiſe the king holds the iſlands of *Greenland* ever ſince the year 1607. when diſcovered by his ſubjects: And moreover I ſay, that ſuch kings as are diſcoverers of new or unknown lands, are bound in equity and reaſon to defend one another's titles in this point, and not to connive or give aſſiſtance to any other prince or country to break this law and cuſtom, for other nations to encroach upon them; for they had as good diſclaim their own rights, and ſuffer all other dominions to uſurp over them: it is the caſe of our fiſhing, which *Holland* impugns.

When king *James* granted his patents for the planting *America*, he would always admoniſh the patentees to be ſure to keep to the northward, leſt they ſhould plant in ſuch places, as the *Spaniards* might challenge to be within the compaſs of their diſcoveries; for he ever intimated, that he would defend them no farther than the articles of peace did warrant him; and if they did otherwiſe, they were to ſtand upon their own legs. This I have been often told by the ſecretary of ſtate, who is acquainted therewith.

This limitation princes put upon their own ſubjects in giving them patents, which ſubjects duly obſerve. Queen *Iſabel* of *Caſtile* would not ſuffer her husband's ſubjects of *Arragon* to go to the *Weſt Indies* many years after the diſcovery of them, becauſe ſhe and her *Caſtilians* had the honour and fortune to find them.

The *Portugueſe* to this day enjoy their antient and accuſtomed trade to the *Eaſt Indies*, *Guinea*, and *Brazil*; and the *Spaniards* are not ſuffered to go there, becauſe the *Portugueſe* were the firſt diſcoverers of them.

Our king out of ſome conſiderations prohibits the trades of the *Eaſt Indies*, *Ruſſia*, *Greenland*, and *Turky*, but only to ſome particular ſubjects, to whom he grants his patent.

The *Hollanders*, who are refractory to all good laws and inſtitutions eſtabliſhed by kings, however obſerve this rule among themſelves, That they will not ſuffer any of their people to trade to the *Eaſt Indies*, but thoſe whom they incorporate, and call *The Eaſt India Company*. And though *William Cornelius Scowden* has diſcovered another paſſage into the *South Sea*, than through the *Streights* of *Magellan*, a voyage of fame to the undertakers and nation, yet at his arrival in the *Eaſt Indies*, where he thought to have found ſuccour and relief from his countrymen, moſt ungratefully and cruelly they ſeiz'd him, his ſhip, and all he had, and uſed him as rigorouſly and unnaturally, as if he had been a profeſſed enemy or pirate.

The *French* above all other nations have always impugned the right of the firſt diſcoverers, but not without the great puniſhment and juſt judgment of God upon them, as appears by many of their actions, as namely, in *Canada*, which was taken and ſpoiled by us in 1628. as alſo in *Florida* and *Brazil*, that was deſtroy'd and ruined by the *Spaniards*; and it is worthy of note, that they never lived in any of theſe colonies, but civil diſſentions, famine, and murders, fell upon them; a juſt reward for the injuſtice they did.

The king of *Spain* is ſo cautious not to give offence in this caſe, that when *Greenland* was diſcovered by the *Engliſh*, ſome of his *Biſcay* ſubjects repaired thither to kill the whale for oil, being more expert therein than any other nation: but the king of *Spain* conſidering what wrong was done to the king of *England* by it, and that it might concern him in the like caſe to have his *Indies* incroached upon, he prohibited his ſubjects going to *Greenland* to moleſt or hinder the *Engliſh* in their fiſhing, and afterwards gave aſſiſtance to the *Engliſh*, and inſtructed them in the manner of their whale-killing.

Subjects that deſire to plant in countries they have not diſcovered, and therefore can claim no title to them, run many deſperate and unavoidable perils; Firſt, becauſe the articles

articles of peace do not warrant them, for by that law of peace we are only to enjoy our ancient and accuſtomed trades; Secondly, they go upon their own adventure, for the king will not break league with *Spain* for their particular cauſe; Thirdly, they live in perpetual danger from their neighbours near adjoining, whom they may term enemies; but principally I would have them conſider, what an exceſſive charge they undergo before they can bring their country to perfection, which affords nothing but wood, water, and graſs: to inſtance in an iſland of ten or twelwe miles in length, and half ſo much in breadth, which ſome *Engliſhmen* have with a wonderful charge of late years planted, and I fear with little hope of profit to return to them: but I make account no man can be ſo ignorant as not to know, that ſuch undertakers do it for other ends, or have other hopes of gain, than to reap it out of the earth of ten or twelve miles.

But it is rather ſuſpected, they do it to nouriſh and uphold piracies, that by the ſpoils thereof they may be the better able to maintain that iſland, or to give a diſtaſte to *Spain*, with whom they deſire his majeſty ſhould have war, not conſidering what the end of war is, and how difficult it is to make a peace after ſuch a war is once begun by two great princes.

But now to return to my former propoſition or argument, of the competition betwixt *France* and *Spain*, of the *French* ſurpriſing the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe* beyond the line, I will conclude of nothing, only deliver my opinion, what *France* had to ſay in its own defence.

Sir *Francis Drake* returning from his famous and fortunate voyage round the world in 1580. the queen found, that by the paſſage through the ſtreights of *Magellan*, which *Drake* had gone, there might be conveniency, if ever there happened hoſtility betwixt her and the king of *Spain*, to annoy him in the ſouth ſea, from whence all his treaſure and wealth was brought, and after diſperſed through the world. In the year 1582. ſhe employ'd two good ſhips as any in the kingdom, except her own and committee, the conduction thereof to captain *Fenton* and *Ward*, to proſecute the ſame voyage that *Drake* had happily perform'd and taught them.

But as nothing is more uncertain than the chances and ſucceſſes at ſea, being governed by unconſtant winds and waves, ſo did this voyage of Mr. *Fenton*'s prove moſt unlucky, for they failed in all their deſigns, as you may find in Mr. *Hacklet*'s book; to which I refer you.

The king of *Spain* having intelligence of the deſign of queen *Elizabeth*, and the preparations of the ſhips aforeſaid to perform her intentions in the ſouth ſea, and knowing it could not be brought to paſs but through the ſtreight of *Magellan*, he directed his letters to *Lima* in *Peru*, commanding one *Pedro Sarmiento*, a choice and perfect navigator, to paſs from *Lima* to the ſtreights of *Magellan*, that way by the ſouth ſea, which was never before purpoſely attempted, for by reaſon of the forcible weſterly winds that blow upon that coaſt, which makes it a continual lee ſhore, it is not to be enterpriſed without great peril to the undertakers.

Pedro Sarmiento with two ſmall ſhips proceeded upon that voyage as he was directed by the king, one of them returned again to *Lima*, the other, in which *Sarmiento* was, recovered the ſtreights, and ſo paſſed into *Spain*, giving the king an account of the narrowneſs of the ſtreight, in order to fortify it, and to endeavour to ſtop any ſhips that ſhould attempt to paſs that way; but all was falſe, and the king egregiouſly abuſed by his report; for there was no place within that ſtreight leſs than three miles in breadth. He likewiſe gave a favourable report of the pleaſantneſs and richneſs of the ſoil, to encourage men there to inhabit; but in the end it proved the moſt unhappy and unfortunate expedition that ever the *Spaniards* undertook.

The king being pleaſed with this intelligence, hoping thereby he might intercept all ſhips paſſing that way, and ſecure his coaſt of *Peru*, *Chile*, and other places, which afforded him all his treaſure, he ſent twenty three great galleons and three thouſand five hundred old ſoldiers under the command of Don *Diego Flores de Valdes*, a principal commander by ſea; he alſo ſent the ſaid *Pedro Sarmiento*, with commiſſion to erect fortifications within the *Streights*, and to take upon him the title of governor. But as I have ſpoken ſomewhat of the miſhap of our *Engliſh* ſhips, ſo I muſt ſay the *Spaniſh* fleet ſucceeded ten times worſe; for of the twenty three galleons and the three thouſand five hundred ſoldiers aforeſaid, few ſhips or men returned, which was a great loſs to *Spain* at that time; for in two or three years after enſued the wars betwixt them and us.

Thoſe ſoldiers deſigned for the *Streights* being croſſed with contrary winds, and other vexations, at laſt arrived there with their governour *Sarmiento*, and there ſeated and fortify'd themſelves in two places; but cunningly and ſecretly *Sarmiento* ſeemed to go from one place to viſit another, and foreſeeing the calamity his men and he were like to fall into, (for neither the land, nor ſoil, or the narrowneſs of the ſtreight, was anſwerable to his relation,) and being altogether hopeleſs of relief or ſuccour from *Spain*, he

quitted the place, and treacherouſly ran away in his bark, pretending, after his arrival in *Spain*, that he was per force put from his cable and anchor he rid by, and could not return again for wind and weather.

In this baſe manner he left his poor countrymen in 1584. and in two years after, in 1586. Mr. *Cavendiſh* paſſing the *Streights* in his voyage round the world, found but three of thoſe poor creatures living, and the place ſo infected with the carkaſſes of thoſe dead, that it was not to be endured. He found only ſix pieces of ordnance, which he brought away with him.

But as God is juſt, and a rewarder of all men, both in their good an evil actions, he accordingly chaſtiſed *Pedro Sarmiento* for his ill uſage of his countrymen; for from *Braſil*, where he firſt landed in his way into *Spain*, he was met and taken by an *Engliſh* man of war, (for at that time there was hoſtility betwixt the two nations of *England* and *Spain*,) and brought priſoner into *England*, where I became acquainted with him.

But now to return to *Diego Flores de Valdes*, who ranging the coaſt of *Braſil* as his courſe led him, had intelligence of a colony of *French*, planted on a river called *Paria*, joining upon the ſea with *Braſil*; whereupon he ſteered for that port, where he met and ſeized five *French* ſhips, three whereof he burnt, and two he carried with him: the men fled and diſperſed themſelves amongſt the *Indians*, where to this day are found many ſavages that reſemble *Frenchmen* in feature of face, and may be eaſily diſtinguiſhed from others of their countrymen.

I know not whether others may be of my opinion, or no; but in all likelihood the barbarous uſage of the *French* colony might be the occaſion of the difference betwixt the *French* and *Spaniards* for the war beyond the line; and as the cauſe began by blood, ſo it is like never to end but by blood; for nothing is like to compoſe this difference, ſo long as thoſe two monarchies continue in this greatneſs.

The End of the Third Book.

TO

TO THE

READER.

IN my firſt dedication, I recommend the reading thereof to my deareſt and moſt intimate friends; in the ſecond, to the captains and commanders ſerving in the late wars againſt *Spain*; in the third, to all ſorts of ſeamen, from the higheſt to the loweſt; and in this I prohibit none but the perverſe puritans, whoſe ſtomachs are ſo faint and feeble, that any praiſe that can be attributed to a *Spaniard* or *Papiſt*, will make them ſea-ſick, and caſt their gorge.

I will therefore make a *Turk* judge in this caſe betwixt the *Spaniards* and them, becauſe every chriſtian will incline to favour one ſect more than another. Could God ever give a greater bleſſing to man, than to enable him to win and gain the ſouls of them that had been led away in infidelity and blindneſs? Could he ever ſhew a greater worldly happineſs to a kingdom, than to ſend them, as it were, out of a cloud a new world, that affords all bleſſings and riches? Could he ever give more honour and reputation, than conqueſt over theſe people and their land? Could he ever ſhew more love to his ſervants, than to diſcover thoſe countries [illegible] the *Moors* and *Turks* infected and infeſted the countries of *Spain* and *Hungary*? Could he in any thing more ſhew his wonders, than by ſuch miracles as are read and recorded, for the means of the converſion of theſe people. This ſhall ſuffice for the will of God and force of his power; but as God choſe the *Spaniſh* nation, for ſome ſecret judgment of his own, above all other people, to ſpread forth his holy name, ſo do I obſerve three things in them worthy of reprehenſion; the one is, their ingratitude; the ſecond, their cruelty; and the third, the baſe condition of the people that were the authors of their proſperity.

Their ingratitude appeared towards *Columbus*, a man of more deſert to the chriſtian world than any other ever God created; for all the good before mentioned was wrought by God's permiſſion, and his pains and patience.

This man, after his deſperate and fortunate attempt, was maliciouſly and innocently brought priſoner in irons, to anſwer the calumniation of his ſoldiers, which was not all, nor the worſt; for this was an offence only to his body, the other to his honour and reputation.

For the *Spaniards* to eclipſe his glory and merit, for diſcovery of the new world, on no other account but his being a ſtranger, born in *Italy*, invented and deviſed many fictions and idle imaginations, to leſſen his praiſe. One while they ſay he was led to the diſcovery by a *Spaniard* that lay in his houſe upon his return from the *Indies*, and taught him the way thither.

But they could never agree upon the *Spaniard*'s name, what province he was of, where he arrived, or what befel of him; ſo it is evident all were falſe aſperſions, invented to leſſen his honour, and advance the ſuppoſed *Spaniard*'s praiſe; and God juſtly ſent the diviſions afterwards in *Peru* amongſt themſelves, as a puniſhment for their ingratitude to *Columbus*; for an unthankful man incited God to puniſh, and man to abhor him.

The ſecond was their cruelty to their poor conquered *Indians*, occaſion'd principally by avarice, whilſt the revolt in *Peru* had almoſt hazarded their whole enterprize.

But their tyranny being made known in *Spain*, the emperor, like a merciful and pious prince, prohibited all rigorous courſes againſt the ſilly ſavages, which ſo inraged the conquering *Spaniards*, that doubtleſs, had they border'd upon any civil country that could have given them aſſiſtance, they would as well have ſpoken any other language as *Spaniſh*.

My third obſervation was, the quality and condition of the commanders in the conqueſt of *Peru*, the principal whereof was ſuch as no man would own as his ſon, nor they challenge for father; their education like their birth, neither being taught to write or read; and yet daily practice brought *Franciſco Piſarro* to a civil familiar behaviour, and *Diego de Almagro* to a vain-glorious and high carriage.

What theſe two wanted in birth and breeding, was ſupplied in valour and induſtry; for to ſpeak truly, conſidering what they attained to by their exceſſive travel and labour, the condition of the people they were to govern, and the multitude of enemies they ſubdued, no hiſtory, ancient or modern, can yield more honour to conquerors than they deſerved

ſerved; and I am of opinion, the cruel uſage of the *Indians* proceeded from the debauchery and lewdneſs of their ſoldiers and followers; for their enterprize in thoſe days was not undertaken but by deſperate perſons of eſtate and life, that thought nothing well gained that was not unlawfully gotten.

I may the rather confirm my opinion, becauſe *Ferdinand Cortes*, who was a gentleman by birth, and ſo famous for valour, government, and wiſdom, that he was paralleled with *Marius* and *Scipio* in the *Roman* ſtate, carried his affairs with that honour, diſcretion, and mercy, that he left, and there ſtill remains the title of a marquis to his houſe, when neither of the other two had ever lawful child to deſcend from them to uphold their names or memory.

The exploits of the *Portugueſe* were no leſs memorable and victorious than the *Spaniards*; but ſeeing they are now both one nation, and live but under one king; and that the enſuing diſcourſes will ſpeak their praiſes, I will ſay little more than in pity to them, and attributing their many croſſes to the juſt cauſe.

The *Portugueſe* nation had been famous ever ſince the victorious battle of *Ourique*, obtained by *Don Alphonſo*, the firſt king of that country, in the year 1139. Since then they have held competition with *Spain*, eſpecially of late, that God made them famous in their eaſtern conqueſt, and ſo increaſed their wealth, that the cruel and miſerable *Jews*, who ſet their whole felicity in worldly riches, crept in among them, and mingled with, and infected their blood with that cowardlineſs and covetouſneſs, that it may be juſtly judged, they truly deſerved God's ire and wrath caſt upon them, *viz.* betwixt 1578. and 1580. God ſent them for their puniſhment and ſcourge four kings, and five governors, that might be accounted kings, that ſpent and ſpoiled the wealth of their country, *Don Sebaſtian* by his raſhneſs, *Henry* by his want of reſolution, *Anthony* by tyranny, *Philip* by arms, and the governors for their private advantage.

Since thoſe years the calamity that has befallen them is lamentable, by ſpoils and rapines committed on them by ſea in the late wars with *England*; and ſince by the loſs of their trade in the *Indies*, which was the firſt cauſe of their renown, and the firſt inriching of their ſtate.

They muſt impute their misfortunes to God's permiſſion, for their joining and conniving with God's profeſſed enemies the *Jews*, for their own particular ends and gain.

It is written of *Peru*, That the conſtellation under which it is placed, cauſed ſo many diviſions and ſlaughters as were there committed, not only in the time of the *Spaniards*, but many years before.

The like may be ſaid of the *Molucco* iſlands, which, upon their firſt diſcovery, bred ſuch a diviſion betwixt the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe*, that though the two kingdoms were in peace at home, yet there happen'd continual encounters betwixt their ſubjects in thoſe parts when they met there; but the *Portugueſe* had always the beſt.

Not many years ſince, the like befel the *Engliſh* and the *Hollanders* upon the like cauſe, and about the ſame unfortunate iſlands, where they had many bickerings, notwithſtanding the two ſtates continued friends.

To conclude, I will concur with *Charles* V. the emperor, who was wont to ſay, *It had been well thoſe Countries had never been diſcovered, or at leaſt not ſo much frequented*: for we have inriched the infidels with the wealth of *Europe* and *America*, and decreaſed the trades of all the civil and known world, as we of *England* have proof, by our unprofitable traffick thither.

And now to the diſcovery of the ſeveral countries.

BOOK

BOOK IV.

Diſcoveries and Enterprizes of the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe*, and ſeveral other remarkable Paſſages and Obſervations.

The Diſcovery of ſeveral Countries and Iſlands.

BEFORE I treat of the diſcovery of either of the two *Indies*, I will take the *Canary* and *Tercera* iſlands in my way, becauſe they were known many years before the others; and in the next place, for that there is a neceſſity for ſhips to ſee thoſe iſlands in their navigations, the one in going, the other in returning from the *Indies*.

The *Canary* iſlands, which are ſeven in number, were conquered by the *Spaniards* in the year 1393. in the time of king *Henry* III. of *Spain*.

The *Tercera* iſlands, being as many in number, were ſaid to be diſcovered by the *Netherlanders*, but by whom by name, or by whom they were employ'd, or the year of our lord, is not ſet down.

Guinea was diſcover'd in the year 1471. in the days of Don *Alonſo*, the fifth king of *Portugal*.

The cape of *Good-Hope*, and an hundred and fifty leagues to the eaſtward of it, as far as the haven of *Infanta*, was diſcovered by *Bartholomew Dias*, in the days of king *John* II. of *Portugal*, in 1459.

Calicut, and the other places in the *Eaſt Indies*, were diſcovered by *Vaſco de Gama*, in 1497. and in the reign of Don *Emanuel*, king of *Portugal*.

The country of *Braſil* was diſcovered in 1500. by *Pedro Alvares Cabral*, upon the ſecond voyage that was gone to the *Eaſt Indies*, in the time of Don *Emanuel* aforeſaid.

The river of *Plate* was diſcovered by *Americus Veſpatius*, in 1500. as he was going to find out a paſſage to the *Molucca's*, and employ'd by the ſame king *Emanuel*; but it is rather thought that *Dies de Solis*, and not *Americus*, was the firſt diſcoverer of it.

The *Weſt Indies*, and eſpecially the iſlands of *Lucayo's*, were diſcovered by *Chriſtopher Columbus* in 1592.

The country of *Bacallao's*, alias *Newfoundland*, was diſcovered by *Sebaſtian Cabot*, a *Venetian*, by the directions of *Henry* VII. king of *England*, two years after the diſcovery of the *Weſt Indies*.

The country of *Florida* was diſcovered on *Eaſter-Day*, 1513. by *Ponce de Leon*, who went to find the iſland of *Bainco*, being told by the *Indians* there was a well there, that by drinking of the water it would make old men young.

The country of *Panuco* was diſcovered by *Francis de Garay* in 1513.

The country of *Jucatan* was diſcovered by *Franciſco Hernandes de Cordoua* in 1517.

Nombre de Dios, the iſlands of *Jamaica*, the *Hondura's*, and many other places, were diſcovered by *Columbus*.

Darien was diſcover'd by *Hojeda* and *Nicueſa*, where they endured many calamities, hunger, and mutinies, and hurts.

The river of *Amazons*, and the river of *Orellana*, and all that coaſt, was diſcover'd by the *Pinſones* in 1500.

The *South Sea*, which was the happieſt diſcovery of all others to the *Spaniards*, for that it led them to *Peru*, which yields them all their treaſure, was found by *Vaſco Nunnez de Balboa* in 1513. a man in diſgrace at that time with *Charles* the emperor.

The country of *Chile* was diſcovered by *Diego de Almagro*; and whether *Lima* was in the circuit of *Chile* or *Peru*, was the difference betwixt *Pizarro* and *Almagro*, which coſt both their lives, and bred their ruins.

The country of *Maldivia* near *Chile* and *Peru*, was diſcover'd and conquered by *Peter Maldivia*.

The cape of *California* was diſcover'd by *Pedro Alvarez* in his voyage from port *Navidad* to the *Molucca's*.

Gonſalves was ſent to diſcover a paſſage out of the *South Sea* into our ocean, at the time when the queſtion was betwixt the kings of *Spain* and *Portugal* about the trade of the *Molucca's*.

The country of *Cinaloa* and *Quivira* was diſcovered by *Franciſco Vaſques Coronado*; as alſo the country of *Granada*.

The *Philippine* iſlands were diſcover'd by *Michael Lopez* in 1564. he was imploy'd by *D. Lewes de Vellaſco* viceroy of *New-Spain*.

The iſlands of *Solomon* in the *South Sea* were diſcover'd from *Lima* in *Peru* by *Alvar de Mendolia* in 1568. and *Pedro de Sarmiento*, his lieutenant, whom I knew.

The *Streights of Magellan* were diſcovered by *Ferdinand Magellaens*, a *Portugueſe*, in 1520. imployed by *Charles* V. then king of *Spain*.

The iſland of *Madera*, ſhort of the *Canaries*, was diſcovered by *Machan* an *Engliſhman* in 1344.

Ruſſia, or *Muſcovy*, was diſcovered in the year 1553. in the reign of *Edward* VI. king of *England*. Sir *Hugh Willoughby* was ſent upon the diſcovery; but he and his company periſhed in the harbour of *Uriſons* in *Lapland*. *Richard Chaundler* being captain of another ſhip proceeded upon that diſcovery. *Chery* iſland in *Greenland* was diſcovered by *Marmaduke* of *Hull*.

Julius Agricola was the firſt that ſailed about *England* and *Scotland*, and was the firſt that diſcovered the iſlands of *Orkney*, which he ſubdued.

The Portugueſe *Diſcoveries on the Coaſt of* Guinea, Caſtle de la Mina, *and in the* Eaſt Indies.

GUINEA was diſcovered, as you have heard, in the year 1471. and in the reign of Don *Alonſo* I. who pretended title to *Spain* by his wife *Joan*, called the *Excellent*. King *John* II. of *Portugal*, and the thirteenth in deſcent, imagined that the ſpices that came into *Europe* might be brought by ſea, and hearing there were chriſtians in thoſe parts of the world, both theſe things incouraged him to undertake the diſcovery.

Bartholomew Dias, an officer in the ſtore-houſe in *Lisbon*, was ſent from *Caſtle de la Mina* to diſcover the length of the land of *Africk*, and found out the cape of *Good Hope*; from thence he ſailed to the eaſtward one hundred and fifty leagues, to a port which he named *La Infanta*, and gave names to all places where he paſſed.

The king would not only rely upon his relation, but ſent a *Franciſcan* frier to find out the *Indies* by land; but the frier, for want of language, returned from *Jeruſalem*: after that he ſent two of his ſervants that were skilful in the *Arabick* language, the one called *Peter de Covillao*, the other *Alphonſo de Paiva*: they departed from *Cintra* the 7th of *May*, 1487. and coming to the *Red Sea*, they parted company; *Paiva* went to *Preſter John*'s country, where he died: *Covillao* travelled to *Calicut*, and other places of the *Indies*, where he informed himſelf fully and ſubſtantially of the whole country. In his return home he met with two jews that were ſent from the king of *Portugal* to meet him, and to wiſh him to inform himſelf of the ſtate of *Preſter John*.

One of the two jews he ſent back with a relation of the ſtate of the *Indies*, the other he carried with him to *Ormus*, from whence he likewiſe ſent him to the king, to give an account of his voyage, and himſelf went to *Preſter John*, where the king, whoſe name was *Alexander*, us'd him courteouſly; but he dying, the other that ſucceeded him detain'd him priſoner, ſo that he never lived to return to *Portugal*, or to ſend more information to the king his maſter.

The king having information ſufficient by letters the jew brought him, he immediately cut down timber, and built two new ſhips for that diſcovery in 1495. and the 25th of *October*.

King *John*, in the mean time, died, and Don *Emanuel* ſucceeded, who added great fame to the kingdom of *Portugal*: he furniſhed the two ſhips aforeſaid, the one of an hundred and twenty tons, and called her the *Angel Gabriel*, the other of one hundred tons, and nam'd her the *Raphael*, with one carvel he bought, and one other to carry victuals.

He appointed for general a ſervant of his call'd *Vaſco de Gama*, well experienced in ſea affairs: *Paul de Gama*, his brother, went captain of one ſhip, and *Nicholas Coello* of another, both of them being the king's ſervants. *Bartholomew Dias* was to accompany them to *Mina* in *Guinea*.

The 8th of *July*, 1497. he embark'd at *Belem* with an hundred and forty eight men: the pilot was *Pedro de Alanquer*, who had been pilot with *Bartholomew Dias* in his former voyage; and if they loſt company, the place of meeting was in the iſland of *Cabo Verde*. They paſſed by the *Canaries*, and off the river of *Oro* they loſt company for eight days in a ſtorm; but met again at the iſland of *St. Auguſtin*, where they refreſhed themſelves for ſeven days.

The

The 3d of *Auguſt Vaſco de Gama* went from thence, and left *Bartholomew Dias* behind; the 4th of *November* he ſpy'd land, and called it *St. Hellena*, ſuppoſing it had been thirty leagues from the cape of *Good Hope:* the people in this place would have betray'd him.

The 20th, being *Wedneſday*, he doubled the cape: on *Sunday* he came to *St. Blaſe*, being a watering-place, ſixty leagues from the cape. Here he ſtay'd ten days, and departed the eighth of *December*; and in going to the river of *Infanta*, he endured a great ſtorm. Here he found gentle and civil *Negroes*; one of his company could ſpeak the language of the *Negroes*; he named it *Terra da boa gente*, and the river *Cobro*.

The 15th of *January* he ſailed along the coaſt, and met with *Negroes* of great civility in their boats, who gave him light of the *Eaſt Indies*, and he called this river *Bons Sinais:* here he ſtaid thirty two days, to trim his ſhips, and erected a mark, which he called *St. Raphael:* the place was infectious, and his men began to be ſick.

The firſt of *March* he came in ſight of *Moſambique*, where they were taken to be *Moors*, and at firſt well uſed, but finding them to be chriſtians, they would have betray'd them. Here they had news that *Calicut* was nine hundred leagues from thence, and took in a pilot that had been there; which comforted them much.

The firſt of *April* they came to certain iſlands which they called *Acoutada's*, becauſe finding the pilot in a lye, here they whipped him, and he confeſſed he brought them thither to have caſt them away, as alſo that he would have enticed them to *Quiloa*, making them believe that chriſtians dwelled there. In this courſe the *St. Raphael* ſtruck upon a ſhoal, and was miraculouſly preſerved, and this ſhelve they call'd *St. Raphael*.

The 7th of *May* they came to *Mombaſca*, where the people knowing them to be chriſtians, and what had paſſed with them in *Moſambique*, they practiſed to betray them.

They came to *Melinde*, eighteen miles from *Mombaſca*, a city built like the houſes of *Portugal*, the king a *Moor*, but courteous, and glad of the *Portugueſe* coming thither; he furniſhed them with pilots to *Calicut*; and here he met with four ſhips of chriſtians of the *Indies*, who were wonderful glad to ſee them: thoſe chriſtians gave them warning not to truſt the *Moors* of *Melinde*. The king entred into friendſhip with the king of *Portugal*.

The 22d they departed from *Melinde*, and croſſed over the gulph, being ſeven hundred leagues, which they ſailed in thirty two days, and never ſaw land.

The 24th of *May* they diſcovered land near *Calicut*, and there they found a *Moor* of *Tunis* in *Barbary*, who knew the *Portugueſe* nation, and asked them in the devil's name, how they came thither? the *Moors* of *Calicut* contrived all treaſonable practices they could againſt the *Portugueſe*, and ſo prevailed with the king, that wars enſued betwixt them, and ſo continued a long time after.

They returned from *Calicut*, where they eſcaped great danger of treaſon, and in their way fell with divers iſlands, where the people were willing they ſhould erect a croſs with the arms of *Portugal:* this place he called *Porto de Santa Maria*. He came to the iſland of *Anchediva*, where he trimmed the ſhip, and watered: here was a ſpy ſent to diſcover his forces; which ſpy counterfeited to be a chriſtian, and born in *Italy*; but he was ſuſpected to be as he was, and they racked him three times, and then he confeſſed his villany. The general carried this ſpy into *Portugal*, where he became a good chriſtian, and gave great light of the affairs of the *Eaſt Indies*; which ſtood the *Portugueſe* in great ſtead.

Before they arrived at *Melinde* they endured great miſery; and if God had not inſtantly miraculouſly ſuccoured them, the general's brother and *Nicholas Coello* were reſolved to have returned to *Calicut*, and put themſelves to the mercy of the king; but at laſt they ſpied land, which proved the city of *Magadoxa*, fairly built, and inhabited with *Moors*, one hundred and ſeventeen leagues from *Melinde*.

The firſt of *February* they came to *Melinde*; where they were well entertained, and the king accepted of a pillar, to be ſet up in ſign of friendſhip with the king of *Portugal*, and ſent an ambaſſador thither.

The 17th of *February* they departed, and the 20th following they burnt the *St. Raphael* for want of men, and took the general's brother out of her.

The 20th they came to the iſland of *Zanguebar*, where the king uſed them courteouſly, and from thence to *Moſambique*.

The 3d of *March* to the iſlands of *St. Blaſe*; the 20th they doubled the cape of *Good Hope*, and then ſailed to the iſlands of *Cabo Verde*, where the general's brother fell ſick, and hired a caravel to carry him to *Portugal*, becauſe his own ſhip was weak and leaky.

Before his arrival at *Cabo Verde*, *Nicholas Coello* willingly loſt his company, that he might carry the firſt news of the king of his diſcovery of the *Indies*, and came to *Caſcais* on the 10th of *July*, 1499.

The

The general came to the *Tercera's*, where his brother died; and in *September* to *Belline*, where the king did him great honour, and made him earl of *Vidigueira*: he gave him the royal arms of *Portugal* for his eſcutcheon, at the foot whereof were two doves, alluding to his name *Gama*.

In his ſecond voyage he went general of thirteen ſhips and two caravels: he was moſt fortunate in that voyage, and diſcovered many lands and people, that afterwards proved both wealthy and profitable to the *Portugueſe* by their trade.

Betwixt his firſt voyage and this ſecond there were two others; the general of the one was *Pedro Alvares Cabral*, who departed from *Lisbon* the 7th of *March*, 1500. In his way to the *Indies* he diſcovered the country of *Brazil* in ten degrees, and ſailing to the ſouthward in ſeventeen degrees and a half, he came to an harbour which he called *Porto Siguro*.

Cabral, upon this diſcovery, ſent a pinnace to the king to inform him of it, which at this day is more profitable to *Portugal* than the trade of the *Eaſt Indies*.

Cabral, the 29th of *May*, ſetting out from the coaſt of *Brazil*, was taken with the moſt violent ſtorm that ever was read of; the day ſeem'd to be as black as night, the ſea to burn like fire: four of his ſhips were ſwallowed up in the ſea, and *Bartholomew Dias*, the diſcoverer of the *Cape of good Hope*, in one of them.

The unlucky entertainment in *Brazil* made after amends to the *Portugueſe*; for at this day their ſugars, and the wood of *Brazil*, yields them more profit than the precious ſtones, ſpices, or other merchandizes of the *Eaſt Indies*.

The firſt inhabiting of *Brazil* was with ſmall charge and adventure, the people that went were deſperate, and of the worſt kind, rather to be baniſhed for offenders, than any hope of profit that ſhould accrue unto them but the country proved ſo plentiful and rich, that although they have received great detriments by the *Hollanders* in *Baya* and *Fernanbuco*, yet it will quickly be redeem'd again by peace.

Some other Particulars concerning the Eaſt Indies.

1. BEFORE I treat of any particulars of the *Eaſt Indies*, give me leave to put you in mind of ſome obſervations of mine, which will not be unworthy your peruſal, ſeeing they are to be attributed only to God, who is the ſearcher of all hearts, and the diſcoverer of hidden ſecrets.

2. It is ſtrange and ſurprizing, That out of ſo many flouriſhing nations as God hath created and civiliz'd, he ſhould elect and chuſe the kingdom of *Portugal* to perform this great work of his, a country in thoſe days of leſs eſteem and reputation, of leſs renown and fame, and of leſs ability and valour, than any other chriſtian monarchy we can call to mind, and to aſſign them ſuch a time to effect it, when they enjoy'd a happy peace with their neighbours, and had no enemy to oppoſe or hinder their deſigns.

3. The firſt diſcovery, as you have heard, was to *Guinea* in 1471. where nothing appeared to the *Portugueſe* but barbarous blacks, a ſtrange and unſeen ſight to them, and not to be believ'd at their return, if proceſs of time had not made it familiar to them by after-traffick to confirm their report.

4. This diſcovery gave the light and way to all others that enſued upon it, as ſhall appear, like an art begun, that others take from one to another; but we muſt confeſs, the *Portugueſe*, to their honour, were the firſt breakers of the ice, to give paſſage to all other ſtrange countries; and as *Guinea* yielded a complexion to their people that differed from us, as much as black from white; ſo did *America*, which was not long after made known to us, produce a ſort of people differing from the *Europeans* in whiteneſs, and the *Africans* in blackneſs, but a mean betwixt both, and a colour like an olive; which to as many as have ſeen it, ſeems ſtrange, conſidering that *Guinea* and *America* lie caſt and weſt, all in one parallel, ſo that in reaſon there ſhould be no ſuch difference.

5. This change in complexion, and the plentiful increaſe of gold in thoſe climates, is attributed both to one cauſe, which is the heat and operation of the ſun; and, in my opinion, not unproperly, as may be gathered out of the enſuing reaſons.

6. The ſun riſing to the eaſtward, betwixt the two tropicks, runs its courſe weſtward over *Aſia* and *Africa* till it come to the *Ocean Sea*, in which circuit its extream heat ingenders the rich metal of gold, and changes the complexions of creatures to a black hue, which the heat reflects from the earth.

7. Coming to the ocean aforeſaid, it paſſes the diſtance of 8 or 900 leagues over the air of the ſea, and is cooled by it, as it was formerly heated by the land, that by the time it draws near the continent of *America*, it has loſt great part of its vigour and force, and not able to produce that effect, as in *Africa*; and therefore is not able, as it were, to mellow the earth, and make

make it become gold, as after it does, when it has run its courſe the breadth of *America*, where its heat again ripens that matter and ſubſtance of gold: for we ſee, by experience, that the greateſt quantity of gold is ſent out of *Peru* into *Spain*, it being the weſtermoſt part of *America*; when to the eaſtwardmoſt part thereof, as *Guiana*, and other places neareſt us, never afford gold; and this for the reaſons aforeſaid, as I conceive.

8. But to return to the diſcovery of the *Eaſt Indies:* I will recite ſome particular bleſſings and benefits that God hath pour'd upon the world in general, upon *Europe* in particular, and upon the *Portugal* nation eſpecially: for as they were the firſt diſcoverers, to their immortal honour, ſo all attempts by other nations, in other countries, muſt be attributed to them as a people that trod out the firſt path for others to walk in, as I will ſhew by reaſon hereafter in this book, when I come to treat of it.

9. This eaſtern diſcovery has reſolved one doubt that no eccleſiaſtical or modern hiſtory could do before, which was the life and martyrdom of that holy apoſtle *St. Thomas*, as the monuments there make it manifeſt, and as a remnant of ſome chriſtians in thoſe deſolate places, gave an infallible teſtimony.

10. And whereas in continuance of time many errors were crept in amongſt thoſe ſilly chriſtians inclining to the *Greek* church, yet by the pains, travel, and danger of life, the *Portugueſe* have brought them to the light of the truth, and have ſince increaſed the flock ſo abundantly, that the name and true worſhip of Chriſt is propagated in the uttermoſt parts of the world, yea, as far as *China* and *Japan*.

11. By the eaſtern diſcovery the length of *Africk* is butted out as far to the ſouthward as the *Cape of Good Hope*, and from thence to the eaſtward as far as the *Cape of Guarda Fu*; in which courſe we have found the *Red Sea* to fall into the eaſtern ocean, which before was not known to us in *Europe*.

12. By the eaſtern diſcovery, and our acceſs to *China*, we have found out that guns, powder, and printing, were in uſe with them many hundreds of years before they were known to us weſtern people: we may likewiſe add many other curious works, which to this day we cannot equal or imitate them in.

13. By this diſcovery we have diſprov'd that opinion of the philoſophers, and other learned writers, who maintained the impoſſibility of inhabiting under the *Torrid Zone*, for the exceſſive heat, which our daily voyages beyond the line have made familiar with us.

14. By this diſcovery we have authentically proved, by fact, antipodes, a thing before held ridiculous by many, *(viz.)* That one people's feet are oppoſite to another's, which, till *Magellan* ſailed round the world, could not be made plain.

15. By this diſcovery we found the two poles equal in their nature, and that the ſame effect the north ſtar produces unto us on this ſide the line, the ſouth does the like on the other ſide, but with this difference, That when it is ſummer with them, it is winter with us; and when it is ſummer with us, it is winter with them.

16. By this diſcovery we have found the ſtrangeneſs of winds, to blow contrary to our climate, and ſhould not have believed it, if experience had not ſhewed it: as, namely, the certain conſtancy of a wind to blow from the *Canaries* to the *Weſt Indies*, betwixt the north and the eaſt, and never to change; and then again, from the coaſt of *Brazil*, towards the *Eaſt Indies*, as far as *China*, we find a limited wind, certain in ſome places for three months, and in others for ſix; the day of their entrance and change being known to all people: and theſe are called the *Monſons*; but from whence the name is derived, whether before the chriſtans acceſs into thoſe parts, I cannot find.

17. By this diſcovery we have found out ſtrange and unheard of fiſhes; amongſt the reſt, and of moſt wonder, is the *Remora*, whoſe nature is to ſtop the way of a ſhip, and to bring her aſtern, though the wind be ſtrong and large to carry her forward.

18. This fiſh has been heretofore writ of, and look'd upon as a poetical fiction, till a voyage in a carrack to the *Eaſt Indies*, put all men to ſilence; for the beak head of that ſhip was claſp'd about with a *Remora*, to the fear and wonder of the mariners; for they found themſelves by the heighth to be an hundred leagues aſtern of their ordinary courſe; and at laſt finding the cauſe with labour and pains, they got this monſter unglued; and at laſt the carrack arrived at the port of *Goa*, where, for the memorableneſs and ſtrangeneſs of it, this ſhip, the captain, the day it happen'd, and her arrival, are publickly pictur'd, and to be ſeen to this day.

19. By this diſcovery we are come to the knowledge of many iſlands and rocks not known before, and ſome of them not above a quarter of a mile in compaſs, as namely, *La Peana de St. Pedro*, in four degrees to the northward of the line, all white, and like a ſugar-loaf; the iſland of *St. Helena*, two miles in compaſs, healthfully ſeated, that yields plenty of water, fiſh, goats, and fruits, as well to us in our navigations from the *Eaſt Indies*, as to the *Portugueſe* in times paſt. The iſland of *Aſcenſion*, wholly barren,

barren, not affording ſo much as water: but the ſtrangeneſs of theſe rocks and iſlands, is, That they are plac'd in the midſt of the ocean, the neareſt of them not being within one thouſand three hundred miles of any main continent.

20. We are come to know the goodneſs and operation of the bezoar-ſtone, and of the beaſt it ſelf that yields it. The cocoa of *Maldivia*, and the ſtrange growth of it upon trees five or ſix fathom deep in the ſea; the virtue whereof far exceeds the bezoar-ſtone.

21. By this diſcovery we have learnt many means for health by drugs, and choice things of nature, for man's body, the place of their growth, and the ſtrangeneſs of them. We know the *Abada*, or rhinoceros, a beaſt that has a horn in its forehead, and is thought to be the unicorn: but it is not ſo, though it had the ſame virtue; for unicorn there is none.

22. By this diſcovery we are now ſerved with our ſpices, drugs, precious ſtones, and all other *India* commodities, immediately from thence by the ſhipping of *Europe*, which was wont to be received by the way of *Turky*, at unreaſonable prices, and at the will of the *Turk*.

23. By this diſcovery the *Portugueſe* have brought in and ſettled the *Portugueſe* language, which is now grown familiar and frequent in thoſe parts of the world: they have built many famous cities and towns, erected biſhopricks, churches, and monaſteries; they have eſtabliſhed temporal and ſpiritual laws, and the ſame form of government they enjoy and live under in their own country.

24. By this diſcovery they have found many ſtrange kings, who govern their people with much civility, their towns and cities anciently built, their palaces of great majeſty and pomp, and all things elſe anſwerable to their excellent policy, rule, and government.

The Names of the Towns the Portugueſe *have in the* Eaſt Indies, *with their Form of Government.*

Soffala.	*Mangalor.*
The iſland of *Mo-ſambique.*	*Cananor.*
	Cranganor.
The iſland of *Ormus.*	*Cochin.*
Diu.	*Cortlan.*
Daman.	*Columbo*, in the iſland of *Ceylon.*
Bocain.	
Chaul.	*Negapatan.*
Goa.	*St. Thomas.*
Onor.	*Molacca.*
Barçalor.	*Molucco* iſlands.
Ternate.	*Band*
Tydore.	*Boyna.*

Goa is the metropolitan city of all the *Eaſt Indies*, lies in the kingdom of *Decan*, and is an iſland twenty or thirty miles in compaſs, both pleaſant and fruitful: the viceroy reſides in this town, as does the metropolitan biſhop of the whole *Indies*.

The carracks arrive from *Portugal* in this port of *Goa*, unleſs they be forced about the iſland of *St. Lawrence*, which if they be, they can fetch no harbour nearer than *Cochin*, which is the place the carracks uſe to take in their lading in their return to *Portugal*.

The winter in *Goa* begins the 15th of *May* with very much rain, and ſo continues till the 15th of *Auguſt*; and during that ſpace no ſhip can paſs over the bar of *Goa*, becauſe the continual ſhowers of rain drive all the ſands together near a mountain called *Oghana*, whence they ſpread themſelves over the ſhoals of the bar, and into the port of *Goa*, whence they can find no way out, but continue there till the 10th of *Auguſt*, when the rain ceaſes, and the ſea drives the ſands away again.

How a new Viceroy is declared, in caſe the old one dies; and of the ſeveral Titles given to Perſons ſerving in the Eaſt Indies.

If a viceroy dies in the *Eaſt Indies*, there are always five *Via's*, as they call them, which are letters under the king's ſeal, figured 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, which they open according to their figures, beginning with number 1, and ſo on, in caſe thoſe named in the firſt be dead, till they lite of one whom the king has appointed viceroy. Theſe letters are kept by the jeſuits, and opened at maſs, in the preſence of all the nobility and others, with great ſolemnity and ſtate.

Fidalgo da caſa del Roy noſſo ſenbor; This is a gentleman of the king's houſe, and the chief title.

Moſos Fidalgos, An honourable title, and are commonly gentlemens ſons, or advanced by the king's favour.

Cavalleiros Fidalgos: This is a title of a knight, and much abus'd by baſe people that are made ſo.

Moſos de Camara: Theſe are the king's ſervants, ſome of his chamber, ſome of his accounts, and ſome for other ſervice; and this is the firſt degree of credit; and as they deſerve, ſo they are advanced to better.

Eſcudeiros Fidalgos: Theſe are eſquires.

Homes

Homes Honrados: This is the meaneſt rank amongſt them; every man that ſerves the king in the *Indies*, is paid according to thoſe titles; and when they return with their certificates into *Portugal*, under the hand of the viceroy and *Matricola-General*, the king prefers them according to their titles and places.

The ſeveral Countries from whence Eaſt India *Commodities are brought.*

Cloves from the *Molucca* iſlands; mace and nutmegs from *Banda*, *Java*, and *Malaca*; pepper from *Malabar*; cinamon from *Ceylon*; pearls taken at a place called *Baharem* in the *Perſian Gulph*, in *June*, *July*, *Auguſt*, and *September*; ſandel from *Cochin* and *Malaca*; all *China* commodities from thence, as quickſilver, white ſucket, camphir, lignum aloes, *China* roots, fine ſilk and lattin; galls from *Cambaya*, *Bengala*, and *Siria*; ginger from *Cambaya*, and many other parts; wax and long pepper from *Bengala*; muſk from *Tartary*, by the way of *China*; coco *de Maldivia* from the ſhores of *Maldivia*; indico from *Zindi* and *Cambaya*; long pepper from *Bengala* and *Malaca*; opium from *Pegu* and *Cambaya*; aloes ſoccatrina from the iſland of *Soccatora*, where *St. Thomas* was ſhipwrecked; manna and wormſeed from *Perſia*; rhubarb from *Perſia* and *China*; callicoe from *Calicut*.

Some Particulars of the Carracks Navigation to the Eaſt Indies.

Every man that goes, puts in ſecurity to perform the voyage; and if he goes not, pays dearly for it.

The maſter and pilot have for their pay, outward and homeward, ſeventy five pounds each; but the room allowed them to carry commodities, they commonly let out for five thouſand ducats; no officer that goes, but buys his place of the proviſor.

The boatſwain has for his wages one hundred twenty five ducats, and three thouſand ducats freight; the quarter-maſter has for his wages ſeventeen ſhillings and ſix pence *per* month, and two thouſand ſix hundred ducats freight; and every other officer according to his rate and proportion. The factors and the purſers have no pay, only their cabins allowed, which will ſtow twenty pipes of wine apiece, and a cabin aloft to lie in.

There is no difference in their allowance of victuals, every man has thirty two pound of fleſh a month, onions, garlick, dried fiſh eaten at the beginning of the voyage. Sugar, raiſons, honey, prunes, rice, and ſuch things are kept for the ſick men.

Every man makes his own proviſion to dreſs his meat, as wood, pans, pots, *&c.*

There are officers for the king that give the ſame allowance to the ſoldiers; for the ſoldiers and ſailors are ſerved apart.

In their return the king pays no ſoldiers; and ſuch ſoldiers as come home are paſſengers, and have no allowance, either of meat or wages.

The ſailors in their return have no allowance of meat, only bread and water, till they come to the *Cape of good Hope*, and then they make proviſion themſelves; they are only allowed the ſtowage of their cheſt below, which if they ſell, they may have eighty ducats for it.

No ſoldier that comes home, as aforeſaid, can depart the *Indies* without a paſs from the viceroy; and they muſt ſerve there five years before they can have it.

In ſailing to the *Indies*, ſometimes they keep too much to the coaſt of *Braſil*, and are forced home again, becauſe they cannot double the ſhores of *Abrolhos*.

The ſhip that goes from *Moſambique* to *Goa*, no man can adventure in, but the captain of *Moſambique*, and ſuch perſons as are married in the town; for none but married men are ſuffered to live there, becauſe of peopling the place, which is very unwholſome, and infectious.

The government of *Moſambique* is worth to the captain for his three years, three hundred thouſand duckets; but after his three years, he is bound to ſerve at the command of the viceroy three years more, unleſs he have a ſpecial patent from the king to the contrary.

The brave Exploits of the Portugueſe *at* Adem, *and other Places.*

The great ſucceſs of the *Portugueſe* purchaſed them both fame and envy, as well from chriſtian princes as turks; and *Soliman the Magnificent*, in the year 1537. attempted, by his baſſa *Soliman*, in *Egypt*, a voyage againſt the *Portugueſe* at *Adem*, upon the mouth of the *Red Sea*.

He furniſhed himſelf with eighty brave ſhips, twenty five foiſts, four galleaſſes, twenty galleys, and ſeven other veſſels; all which he carried from *Cairo* to *Suze* in pieces, being eighty miles by land.

With theſe forces he reſolutely beſieged *Adem*, which was defended by greater valour by the *Portugueſe* and their governour *Franciſco de Almada*.

The *Turks* were forced to retire with great ſhame; carrying ſome few *Portugueſe* they had taken priſoners to *Conſtantinople*, and committing moſt barbarous cruelty upon them.

Don *Alonſo de Albuquerque*, with thirty ſhips won *Calicut*; with twenty one he took *Goa*; with twenty three *Malaca*; with twenty

ty ſix he entred the *Red Sea*; whith twenty two he recovered *Ormus*. *Lopes* made a voyage into the *Red Sea* with thirty ſeven galleys. *Lopes de Sequiera* with twenty four ſhips laid ſiege to *Guida*.

Henry de Meneſes waſted *Paitan* with fifty ſhips: *Lopes Vas* left in the arſenal one hundred thirty ſix ſhips of war, very well furniſhed: *Nuno d'Acuna* undertook the expedition to *Diu* with thirty ſix ſhips.

The famous Exploit of Ferdinand Magellaens, *who firſt ſailed round the World.*

THE honourable exploits and enterprizes of the *Portugueſe* nation ceaſed not, but ſtill one or other of them was in action, and would not be ſatisfy'd till they had brought to light the weſtern parts of the world, as by their endeavour and labours they had done the eaſtern; for it ſeems they had an opinion of the world's roundneſs, and that by a ſhip ſailing weſtward, and another eaſtward, they might meet together by conſent, if the weſtern ſea could be diſcovered.

The man that firſt undertook to reſolve this doubt, was *Ferdinand Magellaens*, a *Portugueſe* by nation, and a gentleman by birth, who having lived ſeven years in the *Eaſt Indies*, and pondering with himſelf, that the world was round, thought there might be another way to the *Molucco* iſlands, beſides the common known courſe by the cape of *Good Hope*; and was the more emboldened to it by a kinſman of his own, *Juan Serrano*, who dwelt in the *Molucco's*.

Upon his return to *Portugal*, what the occaſion was, is unknown; but he and another gentleman, called *Rui Falero*, left the ſervice of their king in 1516. and offered it to cardinal *Ximenes*, then archbiſhop of *Toledo*, and governor of *Spain*, upon the death of king *Ferdinando*.

Don *Emanuel* king of *Portugal* hearing of the flight of theſe two ſervants of his, ſent to expoſtulate their departure, accuſing them as fugitives, and his ſubjects, and unfit for any prince to entertain; and ſought to divert their propoſition of a new diſcovery, but could not prevail with the cardinal.

Rui Falero was ſo highly concerned for leaving the king's ſervice, and the diſhonour that would redound to him by it, that for very grief he run mad, and dy'd. But *Magellaens* being honoured with the order of knighthood of *St. James*, proceeded upon his voyage, and ſet ſail the 20th of *September* from *St. Lucar*; and in the year 1519. he arrived at *Teneriff*, one of the *Canary Iſlands*, on the 26th of the ſame year.

Then coming into twenty two degrees, on the coaſt of *Braſil*, he found a harbour, and called it the river of *Serrano*, after the name of his pilot; from thence he went to port *St. Julian*, where he wintered, and there his death was conſpired by ſome captains, and others of his company, who were executed for it in the ſaid port of *St. Julian*.

Mr. *Douty*, that conſpired the death of Sir *Francis Drake*, (as Sir *Francis* ſeem'd to pretend,) was there executed; and in this iſland they found a part of the *Magellaens* gallows, on which his men were hanged; from hence *Magellaens* came to the river of *Santa Cruz*, where one of his ſhips was loſt, but the men ſaved. Sailing thirty leagues further, he came to a cape, which he called by the name of *Urſula*, becauſe it was upon *St. Urſula's* day he there entered the *Streights*, and one of his ſhips forſook him, and returned home, whereof *Stephen Gomes* was pilot.

He found the *Streights* an hundred and thirty leagues in length, and two in breadth, the ſhore deep, and land full of ſnow, though it lay but in fifty two degrees; the point from whence ſhe diſcovered the *South Sea*, he called *Cape Deſcado*, and placed a croſs on it, as a token for his ſhip, which he did not think was returned; now did he conjecture the *Molucco's* were not far from him, but therein he was deceived.

From the *Streights* he ſailed three months, and never ſaw land, and was put to wonderful extremity for want of victuals, and many of his men died with hunger. The firſt iſland he fell in withal, he found uninhabited; and being two hundred leagues one from another, he called them *Unfortunate Iſlands*; then came he to other iſlands, which he called *Ladrones*, becauſe they were all thieves, and like gipſies.

The 18th of *March* 1721. he landed upon an iſland called *Zamal*, thirty leagues from the *Ladrones*, uninhabited; yet he ſtaid there to refreſh his men upon it; and after arrived at an iſland called *Zaloan*, where he found civil uſage; and ſo many iſlands there together, that they called the ſea *Archipelago de Lazaro*.

He paſſed by the iſlands *Cenalo*, *Huynan*, and many others, till he came to the iſland of *Botman*, where he was civilly entertain'd, and at *Catagan*.

He went, by the help of pilots from one iſland to another, till he came to *Cebu*, which is the beſt iſland of the reſt. The 7th of *April* he ſent to viſit the king of *Cebu*, who uſed him courteouſly; and here he met with ſome *Moors*, who told the king of their countrymen

countrymen the *Portugueſe* being at *Malaca*, and in the *Indies*: the king of *Cebu*, with his queen, and all the whole iſland was baptiz'd, the king called *Charles* after the emperor, his ſon *Ferdinand*, after his brother; and here they deſtroy'd all their idols.

Not far from *Cebu* there is another iſland call'd *Matan*, where the king refuſed to pay tribute to *Magellan* in the emperor's behalf; whereupon he made war with him, and was unfortunately ſlain, with eight of his company; which in my opinion was great folly in *Magellan* to adventure his life againſt a people and iſland that never chriſtian was likely to come to more.

After his death, his company choſe *John Serano* and *Barboſa*, *Portugueſe*, for their commanders. *Serano* was after betray'd by his interpreter, and himſelf and thirty of his men ſlain; and as many taken priſoners. Upon this diſaſter the king of *Cebu* renounced his religion, beat down the churches and croſſes, and returned to his ancient idolatry. Eight of the thirty that were taken priſoners were ſold into *China*; and within few days after *Magellan*'s death, they had news of the *Molucco* iſlands. Going from *Matan* they found an iſland called *Boholli*, where they burnt one of their three ſhips, to furniſh the other two.

They came to the iſland called *Ponayotton*, the people being moſt black; from thence they went to *Chippit*, to *Cagayan*, and to *Pulon*; to the iſland of *Barneo*, where the king entertain'd them with great magnificence.

They arrived at the iſland of *Ciumbabon*, where they ſtaid forty days to trim their ſhips, to take in water, wood, and other neceſſaries: ſome of the men by this time were altogether without cloaths; and there they found leaves, which, when they fell from the trees, would move and ſtir as though they were alive; and being cut, blood would come out of them.

In ſailing to *Tugimnor* and *Solo*, they paſſed the ſea of *Weeds*, and in thoſe iſlands found great pearls; and then they went to the iſland of *Baytan* and *Callagan*, where they took a canoe, that informed them of the *Molucco* iſlands; and paſſing by many other iſlands, on the 8th of *November*, 1521. they arrived at the *Molucco's*, and the iſland of *Tydore*, where they were honourably entertain'd by the king. He told them, he had ſeen in the heavens certain ſigns, that ſuch ſhips, and ſuch men as they were, ſhould come to that iſland; and for the more friendſhip with the emperor, he would have his iſland called no more *Tydore*, but *Caſtile*: this king was a *Moor* by religion.

The king of the iſland of *Gilolo* was a pagan, but came to them with great friendſhip: both theſe kings accompanied them to the iſland of *Marc*, and when they parted, it was with tears. From thence they came to the iſlands of *Chacovan*, *Lagoan*, *Sicho*, *Grocke*, *Caiphe*, *Chulacro*, *Lamatoia*, *Terenton*, *Ambiton*, *Budia*, and many others, till they came to *Gallion* and *Mutir*, where they ſtaid fifteen days to mend their ſhips.

They arrived from *Moula* to *Tymor* the 15th of *January*, 1522. and here the men mutinied. In this iſland they found great ſtore of white ſanders; and in it the *French* pox is very riſe and common; and coming to *Tuida*, they had plenty of cinnamon; from hence they directed their courſe to the cape of *Good-Hope*, ſhunning the ſight of the iſland of *Sumatra*, or any other land.

After many days ſailing with contrary winds, at laſt they came to the cape of *Good Hope*, and finding their want and extremity ſo great, many of them moved to return to *Moſambique*, and to ſubmit themſelves to the mercy of the *Portugueſe*; but moſt voices withſtood it, though half the men were dead.

After a long navigation they came to the iſlands of *Cabo Verde*, and ſet their boat on ſhore, where fourteen of them were betray'd by the *Portugueſe* of that iſland; and *John Sebaſtian Cano*, then captain, who had outliv'd all the other commanders, perceiving the falſhood of the *Portugueſe*, he hoiſted ſail, and directed his courſe to *St. Lucar* in *Andaluſia*, where he arrived on the 6th of *September*, 1522. with only eighteen *Spaniards* of all thoſe he carried with him, having been upon the voyage three years wanting fourteen days, and celebrated monday for ſunday, (that is to ſay,) one day's difference in computation.

The other ſhip turned back, by reaſon of her weakneſs, towards *New Spain*; and being croſſed five months with contrary winds, was forced back again to the *Molucco* iſlands, where ſhe met a fleet of five ſhips of the king of *Portugal*'s, commanded by one *Brito*, who took both ſhip and goods, and ſent the men priſoners to *Malaca*: this afterwards bred great contention between the two kings of *Spain* and *Portugal*.

An Addition of the Authors concerning this Voyage of Magellan.

This voyage of *Magellan* decided a long and difficult controverſy amongſt the learned, as well divines as others; ſome being of opinion that the world was round, others not; and amongſt the reſt, that famous father of the church, *St. Auguſtin*, held that the world was not round, as is apparent by his works.

But *Magellan*'s ſhip having ſailed about it, as by his voyage is manifeſt, has quaſhed the erroneous opinions of thoſe that denied the roundneſs of it.

In my opinion, if the world had been certainly known to be round, as no doubt but it was imagin'd by *Columbus*, it might be a great motive, and indeed an unanſwerable reaſon to animate and encourage him to the diſcovery of a new land, after the open ſea of the cape of *Good Hope* was known, and the *Eaſt Indies* found out by the *Portugueſe*.

For he could not be ſo ignorant, but underſtand, that by running a weſterly courſe from the *Canary Iſlands*, if he were not interrupted by a land, the ſea would conduct him to a place diſcovered by the *Portugueſe* in the *Eaſt Indies*; and then, if the worſt befel him that could, yet he ſhould be able to ſhake hands with the *Portugueſe*, his neighbours, in the moſt remote regions of the world.

A Difference betwixt the Spaniards *and the* Portugueſe *about the* Eaſt Indies.

The *Streights* being newly diſcovered, which took the name of *Magellan*, and gave an entrance in the *South Sea*, and by conſequence unto the *Molucco* iſlands, added fuel to the fire before kindled between *Charles* I. emperor and king of *Spain*, and Don *John* II. of *Portugal*, about the right of thoſe iſlands, to whom they ſhould belong, upon the diviſion of the new world.

This bred a long queſtion between the two princes, till it was accommodated, as ſhall appear in my diſcourſe of the northern paſſage.

As all good ſucceſſes encourage men to follow the ſteps of the treaders-out of the way, even ſo did this diſcovery the more animate them, becauſe it brought with it both honour and profit, not only by the places diſcovered, but by the known wealth they yielded; and out of hope that other enterprizes might prove as famous and commodious, the *Spaniards* neglected no occaſion to ſecond his late diſcovery; and therefore in the year 1525. this tract and paſſage was attempted by *Garcia de Louiſa*, a knight of *Malta*, with ſeven ſhips, and four hundred and fifty men.

He departed from the *Groyne* with unfortunate ſucceſs, himſelf paſs'd the *Streights*, but died in the voyage; ſome of his ſhips were loſt, others put into *New Spain*; his own ſhip arriv'd at the iſland of *Tydore* in the *Molucco's*, another came to the iſland of *Bachiam*, where the king thereof entered his ſhip under colour of friendſhip, ſlew the captain, his brother, and took all the men priſoners: another was loſt in *Candiga*; and, to conclude, they all fell into the hands of their enemies, either *Portugueſe* or iſlanders.

Vargas biſhop of *Placentia*, ſent ſeven ſhips out of *Bilboa* to the *Molucco's*; only one of them paſſed the *Streight*, and arrived at *Arequipa*, a port in the *South Sea*, and went no further: this ſhip was the firſt that diſcovered the lying of the coaſt of *Peru*.

Notwithſtanding the many diſgraces and loſſes the *Spaniard* received by this new found *Streight*, yet it did nothing diſhearten them; but they tried by all ways and means how they might have acceſs to the *Molucco* iſlands, by another way than by the cape of *Good Hope*, and *Ferdinand Cortes*, the conqueror of *New Spain*, by order of the emperor, ſent two ſhips with four hundred men, in the year 1528. the general *Alvaro Serou*, to ſeek the *Molucco's* from *New Spain*; which ſucceeded no better than the reſt had done; neither was the *Streights* left off, but often attempted by theſe that follow.

The ſecond enterprize after *Magellan*, was by two ſhips of *Genoa*, which arrived at the mouth of it, and one of them with a ſtorm was caſt away at the river of *Plate*, the captain called *Pancaleon*; the other in 1526. returned home.

Sebaſtian Cabot, a *Venetian*, would have paſſed the *Streights*, but could not; he returned to the river of *Plate*, being then employ'd by Don *Emanuel*, king of *Portugal*.

Americus Veſputius was ſent likewiſe by Don *Emanuel* to find the *Streights*; but neither could find the *Streight*, nor yet the river of *Plate*.

Simon de Alcaſara went with divers ſhips and four hundred and forty *Spaniards*; but before they came to the *Streights*, they mutiny'd, and ten or twelve being ſlain, returned.

From this year, till the year 1577. the attempt of the *Streights* lay dead, not any one ſeeking to enterprize it, till Sir *Francis Drake* had it in agitation, and performed it with as great a reſolution, to the general honour of our nation.

It was after this, and in the 1586. begun and performed by Mr. *Cavendiſh*. The time of his departure from *England*, his days of ſailing, the ſpace he was abroad, and the time of his return, ſhall appear in a brief repetition I have made by way of journal, with ſome addition of Sir *Francis Drake* himſelf, which is the next that follows.

An Introduction to Sir Francis Drake's *Voyage about the World.*

I Have laboured in all my relations to walk uprightly, and with integrity, neither ſwaying to the one hand, or bending to the other; I have endeavoured to carry my intentions ſo equally, as not to deſerve blame for too much commending; nor reproof, for detracting more than truth leads me; and as I have begun ſo indifferently, ſo will I continue as ſincerely, and ſay ſomewhat of this noble gentleman Sir *Francis Drake*, who is to enter into the next rank of my diſcourſe.

There is no man ſo perfect, but is fit to be amended; nor none ſo evil, but he has ſomething in him to be praiſed: and comparing the imperfections of Sir *Francis Drake* with his perfections, the world, and not I, ſhall truly judge of his merits.

His detractors lay to his charge the baſeneſs of his birth and education, his oſtentation, and vain-glorious boaſting; his high, haughty, and inſolent carriage; and except againſt his ſufficiency for a general, though they allow him to be an able captain.

His friends and favourers anſwer in his behalf, That the meanneſs of his birth was an argument of his worth; for what he attained to, was by no other means than merit. They ſay, that every man is ſon to his works; and what one has by his anceſtors, can ſcarcely be called his own; that virtue is the cauſe of preferment, and honour but the effect; that a man is more to be eſteemed for being virtuous, than being called worſhipful; the one is a title of honour, the other deſert.

Marius being upbraided by *Sylla* in the like manner, for the baſeneſs of his birth, and haughtineſs of carriage, anſwered, That he was not of ſo great a family as *Sylla*, yet *Sylla* could not deny but that he was the better man; for in *Sylla*'s houſe were painted the acts of his forefathers; but in his were hung up the banners that he himſelf had won from his enemy.

In vindication of Sir *Francis Drake*'s oſtentation and vain-glory, they ſay it was not inherent to him alone, but to moſt men of his profeſſion and rank. It is true, he would ſpeak much and arrogantly, but eloquently, which bred a wonder in many, that his education could yield him thoſe helps of nature. Indeed he had four properties to further his gift of ſpeaking, (*viz.*) His boldneſs of ſpeech, his underſtanding in what he ſpoke, his inclination to ſpeak, and his uſe in ſpeaking; and though vain-glory is a vice not to be excuſed, yet he obtain'd that fame by his actions, that facility in ſpeaking, and that wiſdom by his experience, that I can ſay no more, but that we are all the children of *Adam*.

His friends further ſay, That his haughty and high carriage is ſomewhat excuſable, when it appears not but in his command; for a general ought to be ſtern towards his ſoldiers, couragious in his perſon, valiant in fight, generous in giving, patient in ſuffering, and merciful in pardoning: and if Sir *Francis Drake* was to be praiſed for moſt of theſe virtues, let him not be blam'd or condemn'd for one only vice. Many times where a man ſeeks obedience, it is imputed to his pride and high carriage; but if people's hate grew upon envy, (as it is likely,) it appeared greater than if it had been grounded upon injury.

The exceptions againſt him by thoſe that condemn him as an ill general, are, his neglect of furniſhing his fleet to the *Indies* in 1585. his not keeping *Santo Domingo* and *Carthagena*, when he was poſſeſſed of them in that voyage; his weak preparation for ſuch an expedition as that of *Portugal*; his promiſe to go up to *Lisbon* that voyage, and non-performance; the taking of the pinnace in his way to the *Indies*, which diſcovered his directions in 1595. All theſe I formerly handled; and refer the reader to the place where they are treated of; though ſomething I will ſay of him, as he was a private captain, and eſpecially of his renown'd voyage about the world, being the firſt attempt of that nature that ever was performed by any nation, except the *Spaniards* themſelves: and it was the more honour to him in that the *Streights* of *Magellan* were counted ſo terrible in thoſe days, that the very thoughts of attempting it were dreadful; ſecondly, in that it had been but once paſſed, and but by one ſhip that ever return'd into *Europe*, and that above ſixty nine years before his enterprize. His praiſe was, That he could carry a voluntary action ſo diſcreetly, ſo patiently, and ſo reſolutely, in ſo tedious and unknown a navigation, the condition of ſeamen being apt to repine and murmur. But, laſtly, and principally, that after ſo many miſeries and extremities he endured, and almoſt two years ſpent in unpractiſed ſeas, when reaſon would have bid him ſought home for his reſt, he left his known courſe, and ventured upon an unknown ſea in forty eight degrees; which ſea or paſſage we know had been often attempted by our ſeas, but never diſcovered.

This attempt alone muſt ſilence all his detractors; for it ſhew'd an extraordinary reſolution in his perſon, a ſpecial de-

ſire

ſire to enrich and benefit his country, and a ſingular patience to endure the diſaſters and miſhaps that befel them.

And yet he muſt not go ſo clear without ſtain or blemiſh: for you muſt know, that though he deſerved well in the direction and carriage of his journey, yet the ground of his enterprize was unjuſt, wicked, and unlawful, his deſign being to ſteal, and thereby to diſturb the peace of princes, to rob the poor traveller, to ſhed the blood of the innocent, and to make wives widows, and children fatherleſs.

No man had more experience of the inconſtancy of fortune than he; for the nature of fortune is to bite when ſhe flatters, and to ſtrike when ſhe is angry.

What his birth and other deſerts were, needs no reiteration. Fortune did much for him; but at his death ſhe was angry with him: firſt, in that there was a doubt whether it was natural; ſecondly, and the beſt his friends can ſay, that it was cauſed by grief, for failing of his expectation in that voyage; thirdly, after his meritorious ſervices, his heir was proſecuted and perplexed for debts and accounts to the crown; and laſtly, died, like *Piſarro* and *Almagro*, without a child to ſucceed him, and perpetuate his memory.

Sir Francis Drake's *Voyage round the World.*

SIR *Francis Drake* departed from *Plimouth* with five ſhips and a pinnace on the 13th of *December*, 1577. The 25th he fell in with the coaſt of *Barbary*; the 29th of *December* with the iſle of *Mayo* and cape *Ferd*; the 13th of *March* he paſſed the equinoctial line; the fifth of *April* he fell in with *Braſil*, and in thirty degrees, and ſo to the river of *Plate*; where he loſt the company of two of his ſhips; but meeting them again, took out their proviſions and caſt them off.

The 29th of *May* they came to *St. Julian*'s port, where the people were extraordinary tall of ſtature, and *Magellan* termed them giants. This was the place where Mr. *Douty* was executed the 7th of *July*, 1578. and in the ſame iſland where *Magellan* executed his mutiniers, as I have ſhew'd before.

The 20th of *Auguſt* he fell in with the *Streight* of *Magellan*; the 25th of *September* he paſſed them; the 25th of *November* he came to *Macho*, a port in *Peru*, in thirty degrees, where he had appointed a meeting, if the ſhips had loſt company; but captain *Winter* was returned home after he had paſſed the *Streights*. The 25th of *December* he came to *St. Jacob*; the 29th to *Cippo*, where the *Spaniards* armed three hundred men againſt them.

In *February* he arrived in *Chile*; the 15th at *Lima*; the 16th of *March* at *Acaculco*, where he felt a terrible earthquake in his ſhip. From the 16th of *April*, till the 5th of *June*, he ſailed without ſeeing land, and arrived in forty eight degrees, thinking to find a paſſage into our ſeas, which land he named *Albion*: the people were courteous, and took his men for gods; they live in great extremity of cold and want. Here they trimmed their ſhip, and departed the 25th of *July*, 1579. ſtanding his courſe for the *Molucco's*.

The 29th of *September* he fell in with certain iſlands, where he met with the worſt-condition'd people of all his voyage; the 19th of *October* he came to *Mendiona*, where he water'd; then to the iſlands *Tagolada* and *Saron* the 1ſt of *November*; the 4th he had ſight of the *Molucco's*; and coming to *Ternate*, was kindly and civilly uſed by the king; the 10th of *December* to *Celebes*; and here his ſhip ſtruck upon a rock, but was moſt miraculouſly preſerved: he came near to *Beratin*, where he was refreſhed, but found the people cruel. The 16th of *March* he came to *Java Major*, thinking to go from thence to *Malaca*, but neceſſity forced him to direct his courſe homeward. The 25th of *March* 1580. he departed from *Java*; the 15th of *June* he paſſed the cape of *Good-Hope*, having fifty ſeven men, and but three buts of water; the 12th of *July* he came under the line; the 16th he fell in with the coaſt of *Guinea*, and there watered; the 22d of *Auguſt* into the height of the *Canaries*; the 11th of *September* into the height of *Tercera*; the 24th in ſight of *Scilly*; the 25th to *Plimouth*, where he was well welcomed, and his ſhip afterwards carried to *Deptford*; where ſhe lies to this day for a monument, and himſelf knighted in her, as he worthily deſerved.

A ſhort Account of Mr. Cavendiſh.'s *Voyage round the World in the Year* 1586.

THIS voyage into the *South Sea* was often attempted by ſundry *Engliſhmen* after Sir *Francis Drake* had led the way, but never any of them had the fortune or happineſs to perform it, but only Mr. *Cavendiſh*, whoſe voyages I briefly treat of next.

Mr. *Cavendiſh*, having ſpent his beſt means at court, thought to recover himſelf again by a voyage into the *South Sea*; for then

then the wars with *Spain* began, and it was lawful to make any ſpoil upon the *Spaniards*. According to his hope, he enriched himſelf with a greater fortune than was left him at firſt, if diſcretion had taught him how to manage it.

He built two ſhips from the ſtocks for this voyage, and departed from *Plimouth* on the 21ſt of *July*, 1586. The 5th of *Auguſt* he fell into the *Cana.* ; the 27th of *September* he departed from *Sera Leona* in *Guinea*; the 25th of *October* he fell in with the coaſt of *Braſil*; the 6th of *January* he put into the *Streights* of *Magellan*, where he found but twenty two *Spaniards* alive of three hundred which *Diego Flores de Valdes* left there, in his unfortunate voyage he undertook to intercept the *Engliſh* in their paſſage that way.

The 27th of *February* they were out of the *Streights*; the 14th of *March* came to the iſland of *St. Maria* and *Chile*; after to *Marmorano*, and the town of *Iriea*; the 4th of *May*, 1587. he came to *Piſta*, from thence to *Cheripa*, to *Paita*, and to the iſland of *Puna*.

The 12th of *July* he paſſed the equinoctial; the 28th he came to *Acapulco*, which he burnt; the 13th of *Auguſt* to the port of *Navidad*, and then to *St. Jago*; the 3d of *September* to the bay of *Compoſtella*; the 12th to the iſland of *St. Andrew*; the 26th to the bay of *Maſſedan*, and ſo to the port of *Aquacara*, near the cape of *California*, where he lay till the 4th of *November*, and took his great and rich prize that came from the *Philippine* iſlands.

In forty four days he went to the iſlands of *Ladrones*, being nigh two thouſand leagues from thence; the iſland he fell in withal was called *Guana*: the 14th of *January* to the *Philippines*, he fell in with *Tandaya*, then to *Manila*, and ſo to the *Molucco's*, he paſſed by the iſlands of *Mindanao*, *Sibolla*, and *Borneo*; the 28th to *Java Major*; the 29th of *May* he fell in with the cape of *Good Hope*; the 7th of *June* with the iſland of *St. Hellena*; the 4th of *July* 1588. he paſſed the line, being the 4th time he had paſſed it.

The 24th of *Auguſt* he ſaw *Flores* and *Corvo*; the 3d of *September* he met a *Flemiſh* hulk, that told him the good ſucceſs of our navy againſt the *Spaniards* in 1588. the 5th he met with captain *Clarke* of *Southhampton*, who had taken a *Braſil* man, and entering into our channel, he was in a more violent ſtorm and imminent danger than in his whole voyage, as he told me himſelf; the 9th he came with great joy to *Plimouth*, and was received with much applauſe for his honourable enterprize, as he well deſerved.

As there were divers *Engliſhmen* that attempted this voyage to the *South Sea*, and only two performed it, as you have heard; ſo there were two others that paſſed the *Streights*, but not with the like ſucceſs, (*viz.*) Sir *Richard Hawkins* in 1593. who found the *Spaniards* better provided than when *Drake* and *Cavendiſh* were there; the *Spaniards* having intelligence of his coming, after a long and cruel fight, took and carried him and his ſhip to *Lima*, where he remained priſoner till 1597. and was then brought for *Spain* in that fleet I met and fought at the *Tercera* iſlands.

The other that paſſed the *Streights* was Mr. *John Davies*, the diſcoverer to the north-weſt, who being captain of the *Deſire* with Mr. *Cavendiſh* in his ſecond voyage, and the ſame ſhip he had performed his voyage about the world in, repaſſed the *Streights* when Mr. *Cavendiſh* could not; but by contrary winds and foul weather, was forced to return back again.

Captain *Davies* was after ſlain in his ſecond voyage to the *Eaſt Indies*. Theſe two voyages of *Drake* and *Cavendiſh* proved ſo happy, that they encouraged not only *Engliſhmen*, but *Hollanders* to enterprize it, hoping to annoy the *Spaniards*, thoſe *Streights* giving a paſſage to *Peru*, which afforded the greateſt wealth in the world.

Of ſuch Engliſhmen *as attempted the Paſſage of the* Streights, *and failed.*

IN the year 1582. and two years after *Drake's* return, her majeſty ſent two ſhips, and two pinnaces, under the command of Mr. *Edward Fenton*, to try his fortune in the *South Sea*; which the king of *Spain* hearing, he employ'd *Diego Flores de Valdes*, (who was after general of the *Caſtile* ſquadron for *England* in 1588.) to way-lay *Fenton*, as he paſſed the *Streights* of *Magellan*; which Mr. *Fenton* being informed of, when he arrived at *Braſil*, and in the ſame port where two of *Flores's* ſhips had ſtay'd, and with whom he had a ſmall encounter; and perceiving it was in vain to proceed any farther, he returned home without ſeeing the *Streights*.

This voyage of *Flores*, from the begin- 1582.
ning to the latter end, proved moſt miſerable and unfortunate; for beſides the loſs of the greateſt part of his fleet and men in going and coming, he built a fort within the *Streights*, and placed in it for governor

Pedro Sarmiento, with five hundred *Spaniards*, who periſhed, as I have before expreſſed.

1586. The earl of *Cumberland*, on the 26th of *June*, ſent two ſhips and two pinnaces to paſs the *Streights*, in the year after the war broke out betwixt *England* and *Spain*. Theſe ſhips arrived in forty four degrees upon the coaſt of *Braſil*, to the ſouthward of the line, intending to proſecute their deſign for the *South Sea*; but being in want of all things neceſſary for ſuch a voyage, they proceeded no farther.

1589. Mr. *Chidley*, being encouraged by [illegible] good ſucceſs of Mr. *Cavendiſh*, who the 9th of *September* before, arrived from his proſperous voyage, ſold the better part of his eſtate to furniſh him in this expedition for the *South-Sea*; but his ſucceſs proved moſt lamentable, himſelf and moſt of his men dying without ſeeing the *Streights*, or returning a penny profit towards his expence.

Mr. *Cavendiſh* having ſpent what he got 1591.
in his former voyage, attempted a ſecond; but with the like ſucceſs as Mr. *Chidley*, both as to death, and failing of the ſight of the *Streights*, except in his ſhip the *Dearc*, which I have ſpoken of.

Mr. *Benjamin Wood*, a mariner by pro- 1[illegible]
feſſion, but more underſtanding than ordinary mariners, undertook this voyage with one ſhip and a pinnace belonging to Sir *Robert Dudley*; but there was never any news of ſhip or man, being ſuppoſed to be caſt away upon the ſhoals of *Abrolhos*, which lie in ſeventeen degrees to the ſouthward upon the coaſt of *Braſil*.

Of ſuch Holland *Ships as have paſſed the* Streights; *but to little Purpoſe or Profit.*

1597. FIVE ſhips went from *Holland*, and paſſed the *Streights* of *Magellan*, only one of them returned by the cape of *Good Hope*. In thoſe ſhips there went ſeveral *Engliſhmen*, and particularly one called Mr. *Adams* of *Lymebouſe*. This man afterwards arrived at the iſland of *Japan*, where he was much eſteemed by the people of that country, and found means from thence to give advertiſement into *England* of his being there, and the ſtate of that country, with deſire that our merchants would undertake the trade of *Japan*: he was ſo induſtrious and careful to benefit his country, that if he had lived, he intended to have attempted a paſſage from thence to *England*, by the north-eaſt, which has been often enterpriz'd from hence, but ſtill failed. But I do not approve of his opinion herein; for that in winter the *Monſons* always blow ſoutherly, a ſeaſon of continual night; and in ſummer northerly, full in their teeth, as they ſhould paſs.

1614. Five other ſhips of *Holland* paſſed the *Streights*, only their pinnace was caſt away before ſhe entered the *Streights*, which ſhips and captains I well knew.

1623. The *Naſſau* fleet departed from *Holland* with the greateſt pride and aſſurance of profit that men could do. They were termed the *Naſſau* fleet, becauſe the prince of *Orange* was the greateſt adventurer in them. They were furniſhed with an extraordinary expence, and choice men, both of ſoldiers and ſailors; but paſſing the *Streights*, and coming into the *South Sea*, they found the world much altered in thoſe parts ſince *Drake*'s and *Cavendiſh*'s being there; for wherefoever they offered to land, they were repulſed with loſs and ſhame; ſo that in concluſion they could not perform ſo much with fourteen or fifteen choice and brave ſhips, and two or three thouſand men, as Mr. *Cavendiſh* had done with one ſhip alone of an hundred and twenty ton and thirty men, he having landed in ſeveral places.

Cornelius Van Scowton diſcovered a new 1615.
paſſage into the *South Sea*, three degrees to the ſouthward of the *Streights* of *Magellan*; in which voyage he arrived at many iſlands, in his courſe to the *Eaſt Indies*, that were never diſcovered or known before, where he found people of ſeveral complexions; but none of thoſe places where he arrived gave any great hope or promiſe of profit, if the navigation thither had been eaſy.

This ſhall ſuffice touching matters of the *Eaſt Indies*, and the *Streights* of *Magellan*, until I have occaſion hereafter to mention them. And another while I will direct my courſe unto *America* and the *Weſt Indies*, which was diſcovered within few years after the *Eaſt*.

The Diſcovery of America *by* Columbus.

AMERICA was ſo called after *Americus Veſputius*, a *Florentine*; but in my opinion, there was leaſt reaſon to do him that honour of all thoſe that took upon them to diſcover in his time. I could never hear of any thing he did of fame, no, not ſo much as the finding the river of *Plate*, when he went upon the diſcovery of it.

No

No man deſerved to have that country called after his name, but *Columbus*, the firſt diſcoverer of it, who was unworthily and unthankfully dealt withal by the *Spaniards* in *Hiſpaniola*, where he was governor; for they ſent him priſoner into *Spain* in chains. But king *Ferdinand* and *Iſabel* his wife are to be excuſed from any hand in this unworthy act; for they hearing of his uſage, cauſed him to be releaſed; and before this happened, they did him the greateſt honour that ever was done to ſubjects; for they made him ſit in their preſence.

The *Spaniards* cannot be excuſed for their ingratitude to *Columbus* on another account; for they write, though few give credit to their relation, that a pilot in a carvel that was forced with an eaſterly wind upon the coaſt of *America*, and returned but with three men alive, died in *Columbus*'s houſe, from whom he had the light of his diſcovery.

But no author either names the pilot's, or the carvel's name, or where he arrived, or to what province in *Spain* ſhe belong'd; but confuſedly, one ſaith, ſhe was a *Portugueſe*, another a *Spaniard*, another a *Biſcainer*, another that ſhe belonged to the iſland of *Madera*, another to *Tercera*; and they differ as much in the place where ſhe arrived. This was foully done of the *Spaniards*, to detract from *Columbus*, for no other reaſon but that he was a ſtranger.

Chriſtopher Colon, or *Columbus*, as we call him, was born in *Genoa* in *Italy*, his original a mariner; afterwards he betook himſelf to make ſea-cards, and had this voyage in his thoughts a long time, but was much troubled how to undertake it for want of means; for he ſaw the king of *Portugal* buſy in his conqueſt of *Africk*, and in his enterprize in the *Eaſt Indies*; the king of *Spain* was as much taken up in his wars of *Granada*: whereupon he ſent his brother *Bartholomew Colon* to *Henry* VII. king of *England*, who was both rich, and free from war; but the king gave little credit to him: and indeed the three kings did rather deride him, than accept of his offers, looking upon him as a cheat, and as an impoſtor.

Columbus being at *Lisbon*, embarked for *Palos de Moguer* in *Spain*, where he ſpake with one *Alonſo Pinſon*, a skilful pilot, and a *Franciſcan* frier called *Perez Marchina*, a learned coſmographer. The frier deſired him to recommend his deſign to the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, and the duke of *Medina Celi*, who had ſhips at that time in *St. Mary* port; but they rejected him as the kings had done, and looked upon his propoſal no better than a dream. Then the frier adviſed him to go to the king and queen, who were at the ſiege of *Granada*, and writ to another frier in his behalf called *Ferdinand de Talavera*, the queen's confeſſor: he came to the court in 1480. and delivered his petition to the king and queen; but being a poor man, a ſtranger, and evil apparelled, was ſcorn'd, only *Alphonſo de Avila*, contador-mayor, gave him his diet. This contador one day carried him to *Pedro Gonſales de Mendoça*, archbiſhop of *Toledo*, who brought him to the king and queen, and promis'd to furniſh him for his voyage, when the war of *Granada* was at an end, which happened not long after; and becauſe the king wanted money, an officer of his, called *Lewis de St. Angel*, lent him ſixteen thouſand ducats.

The diſcovery of the *Indies*, and beating the *Moors* out of *Spain*, after they had been there ſeven hundred and ſeventy years, fell out both in one year.

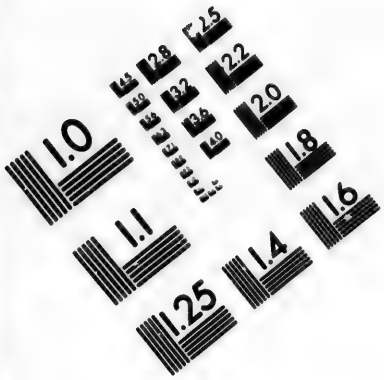
Columbus was furniſhed with three carvels and an hundred and twenty men at *Palos de Moguer*. *Martin Pinſon* was pilot of one, *Francis Pinſon* of another, and *Detus Pinſon* of the third, all three brothers, and departed the third of *Auguſt*, 1492. They came to the iſland of *Gomera*, one of the *Canaries*, where they refreſhed; from thence he ſailed thirty four days weſt without ſeeing land, inſomuch that his company murmured, and contrived his death; but he ſatisfy'd them with good words and promiſes; at laſt he ſpy'd a thick cloud, which prov'd land, on the 11th of *October*, whereat they all rejoiced, thanked God, and kiſs'd *Columbus*'s hands.

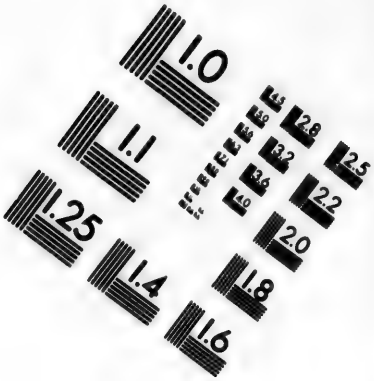
The firſt land they fell in with was called *Guinaya*, one of the iſlands of *Lucaios*: from thence he went to *Hiſpaniola*, then called *Haitu*, where the admiral's ſhip was loſt, but all the men and furniture ſaved.

The *Indians* fled from them, all but one woman, whom they took and cloathed, and us'd courteouſly, and let her go again; which did ſo much imbolden the *Indians*, that they reſorted to the *Spaniards*, and help'd them to unlade their ſhip that was loſt, and do them other ſervices; and with the good will of the king they built a caſtle of wood, and left thirty eight *Spaniards* in it under a captain; and this was the firſt footing the *Spaniards* had in the *Indies*. *Columbus* took ten parrots, ſome turkeys, and other things the land afforded, and returned to *Palos* in *Spain* in fifty days.

The king and queen were at *Barcelona* when *Columbus* arrived, whither he went with his *Indians* and other rarities the third of *April*, a year after he departed from thence.

At his coming to the king the *Indians* were baptiz'd, the king, queen, and prince being





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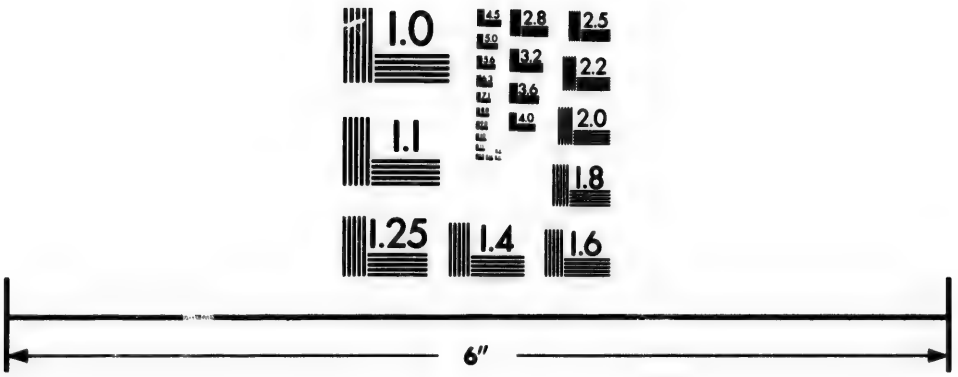

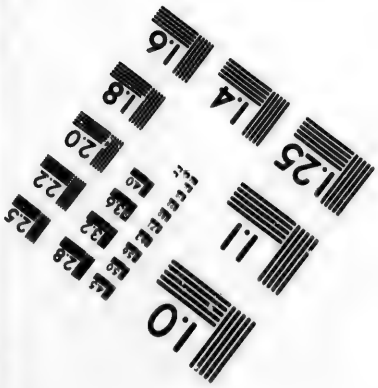

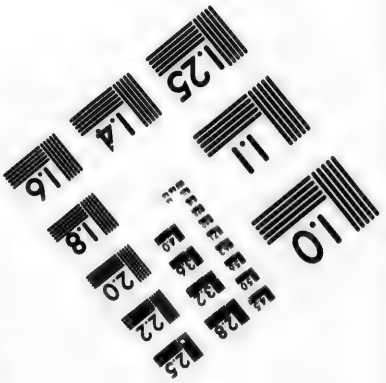

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being preſent, who were their godfathers and godmother: they cauſed *Columbus* to ſit by them, which was never done to any ſubject. They confirmed the privilege of the tenths, and gave him the title of admiral of the *Indies*, and to his brother *Bartholomew* that of *Adelantado*.

The queen favour'd this diſcovery more than the king, and would not for a while let any *Arragonians* go to the *Indies* without licence. The king rewarded many of *Columbus*'s company; but the mariner, who firſt diſcovered the land, not being recompenced to his content, fled into *Barbary*, where he turned *Turk*.

The *Indians* confeſs'd to *Columbus*, that there were many prophecies amongſt them, That they ſhould be ſubdued with white men with beards, with apparel on their backs, with bright ſwords that ſhould cleave a man in ſunder, and ſhould girt their ſwords to their ſides.

Columbus in his ſecond voyage had ſeventeen ſhips and one thouſand two hundred men, mares, ſheep, cows, and corn to ſow. The firſt land he fell in with was the iſland of *Deſcada*; and coming to *Hiſpaniola* he found his thirty eight *Spaniards* ſlain, through their own fault, for injuring the *Indians*. He built a town, and in honour of the queen called it *Iſabella*. And now began the *Spaniards* and *Columbus* to diſagree, as I have ſhew'd before.

What afterwards befel the *Spaniards* in their diſcoveries and conqueſts of the *Indies*, has been ſufficiently handled by ſeveral authors.

I will only treat of the famous exploits of *Francis Pizarro* and *Ferdinando Cortes*; the one, conqueror of the rich countries and mines of *Peru*, the other of the famous countries of *New Spain* and *Mexico*. Their births, originals, and adventures, are ſuch, and ſo ſtrange, that former times cannot ſhew the like, and, perhaps, in future ages they will ſcarce be believ'd.

Of the firſt Diſcovery of the South Sea *by* Vaſco Nunnez de Balboa, *which was the firſt Step to the Diſcovery and Conqueſt of* Peru.

Vaſco Nunnez de Balboa, an induſtrious man, but in diſgrace with his king, undertook the diſcovery of the *South Sea* with but a few *Spaniards*, and performed it with prodigious labour, ſufferings, and danger from the *Indians*, with whom he often fought, but ſtill came off victorious. On the 25th of *September*, 1513. from the top of a high mountain he ſpy'd the ſea to the ſouthward of him, which ſo much rejoiced him and his men, that it amaz'd the *Indian* king.

An *Indian* king on the ſouth ſide treated him with much courteſy, carrying him in his canoes to the iſland of pearls; and on this ſide *Vaſco* built the town of *St. Michael*, the firſt the *Spaniards* had there.

Vaſco having diſcovered the ſea and coaſt, ſettling friendſhip whereſoever he came, and gathering much wealth, returned to *Darien*, whence he firſt ſet out, and was received with much joy and triumph; thence he ſent away a meſſenger to give the king of *Spain* an account of his ſucceſs, who pardoned his paſt offences, and made him *Adelantado* of the *South Sea*.

Vaſco Nunnez de Balboa continuing at *Darien*, *Pedrarias d'Avila* arrived there, being ſent from *Spain* to take upon him that government, and receiv'd by *Vaſco* with extraordinary honour; but had *Vaſco*'s meſſenger arriv'd in time, *Vaſco* had been appointed governor. *Pedrarias* carried one thouſand five hundred men, but he and they behaved themſelves ſo cruelly in all parts, that they brought much deſtruction upon the *Spaniards*.

Vaſco and he fell out, but were reconciled by the biſhop; and *Vaſco* married his daughter. *Vaſco* being upon the *South Sea*, the place of his command, *Pedrarias* ſent for and got falſe witneſſes to accuſe him, that he ſhould ſay, He would not obey him, but would be upon his guard with his three hundred men he had with him, if any body offered to wrong him. Upon this falſe ſuggeſtion *Pedrarias* put him to death; at which the king of *Spain* was much offended, and *Pedrarias* gained the ill-will of all men; for *Vaſco* was generally beloved and reſpected; and the ſentence given againſt him was unjuſt, being procur'd by falſe witneſſes, and out of a private grudge.

The Actions of Francis Pizarro, *Conqueror of* Peru.

BEFORE I ſpeak of *Franciſco Pizarro*, his deeds, and exploits, I will ſet down his birth and education, that his actions may ſeem the more ſtrange and admirable: he was baſtard to captain *Pizarro*, ſerving in *Navarre*, and was left an infant at the

the church-door, where no body would own or take compaſſion of him; till at laſt his father for ſhame took him home, and brought him to do all kind of drudgery; and one day ſending him to keep his hogs in the field, he gave them a ſort of poiſon, which killed ſeveral of them. The boy not daring to return home, run away, and went to *Seville*, and from thence ſhipped himſelf for the *Indies*, and by degrees came to be enſign, and afterwards captain.

Pizarro and *Diego de Almagro*, being at *Panama*, were deſirous, like other undertakers, to try their fortunes in diſcoveries. *Almagro* being rich, drew to him one *Ferdinand Luque*, a ſchoolmaſter and prieſt of that town, who was likewiſe wealthy; and all three undertook a diſcovery, with a vow, one to another, equally to divide the profit that ſhould accrue. It was determined amongſt them, that *Pizarro* ſhould undertake the conqueſt; *Almagro* go and come with all neceſſaries to relieve them; and *Luque* to make proviſion for ſupplies. This happen'd in the year 1525.

The firſt voyage that *Pizarro* made, was with one ſhip, and one hundred and fourteen men: he ſailed one hundred leagues; and went aſhore ſeveral times, where he found ſharp encounters, loſt ſome of his men, and was himſelf hurt in ſeveral places; which forced him to return to *Chincama*, not far from *Panama*, repenting of his enterprize.

Almagro, who ſtaid behind *Pizarro*, to ſupply him, as you have heard, went after him with ſeventy men, and came to the river of *St. John*; and finding no ſign of *Pizarro*'s being there, returned; but at his going back he landed at ſome places where he found *Pizarro* had been, and where he was hurt.

Almagro ſlew and hurt ſeveral men, and returned to *Panama*, thinking *Pizarro* had done the like; but underſtanding that he was at *Chincama*, he went to him, and by conſent furniſhed two ſhips, and carried two hundred *Spaniards* and ſome *Indians*. They arrived at a marſhy and wateriſh place, where the people live in trees: they are warlike, and killed many *Spaniards*, and called them the *Scum of the Sea*, having no fathers; and ſaid they would have none in their country that had beards, or that would break their cuſtoms.

Pizarro and *Almagro* had a great deſire to conquer that country, becauſe of the ſhew of gold and ſtones; but could not do it with that ſmall force, becauſe many of them were dead. *Almagro* returned to *Panama* for fourſcore men more; but before his coming back, *Pizarro* endured great want of victuals.

Upon *Almagro*'s return, they found their forces ſo ſmall, the country ſo barren and unhealthful, that they left it, and went to *Chatama*, where they found plenty of all things, and thought to make themſelves ſo rich, that they needed not to proceed further: but they were deceived; for the *Indians* were their enemies; and ſo many, that they durſt not fight them. *Almagro* was to go back for more men to *Panama*, and *Pizarro* to ſtay in the iſland of *Guara*.

The *Spaniards* were ſo weak and tired, and ſo diſcontented, that they deſired to retire with *Almagro*, and to leave their hopes of gold; but *Pizarro* would not ſuffer them, either to go or write, leſt they ſhould have diſcredited the country; and ſo *Almagro* would have got no ſoldiers: but notwithſtanding this prohibition, the ſoldiers writ, and hid their letters in bottoms of thread, by which means their miſeries came to be known, and complained of to the governor, who commanded, that no man ſhould ſtay with *Pizarro* againſt his will.

At *Almagro*'s coming to *Panama*, one *Pedro de la Rios* was arrived for governor, who proclaimed, That no man ſhould ſtay with *Pizarro* againſt his liking; and ſent a meſſenger to *Pizarro* to let him know ſo much. Whereupon moſt of his men left him; and thoſe that *Almagro* took up, run away from him; ſo that *Pizarro* had but twelve men left with him, whereof one was a *Grecian*. He went to an iſland called *Gorgena*, where he lived upon ſnakes, herbs, and crab-fiſhes, till *Almagro*'s return from *Panama*; and then he went over to the main land, and put the *Greek* aſhore, who brought him news of the riches of that country, and the plenty of victuals, with the ſtate of their king *Atabaliba*; which was great joy to them all; for the ſouth ſea was the fountain and happineſs of all their diſcoveries.

Pizarro hereupon return'd to *Panama*, and from thence into *Spain*, to carry the emperor news of this rich country, which he deſired the government of. He left two *Spaniards* behind him to learn the language, cuſtoms, and riches of the country; but they were afterwards ſlain by the *Indians*.

Pizarro was above three years upon this diſcovery of *Peru*, and endured as much hunger, and other miſeries, as man could do.

Pizarro's *return to* Panama, *thence into* Spain, *and thence back again to* Peru.

At *Pizarro*'s arrival at *Panama*, he imparted the hope of his diſcovery to *Almagro* and *Luque* his aſſociates, who were grown poor by their undertakings; but yet furniſhed him with one thouſand pieces of gold for his journey into *Spain*, moſt part of which they borrowed.

At his arrival in *Spain*, the emperor gave him the title of *Adelantado* of *Peru*: and to

encourage men to go with him, *Pizarro* promiſed more riches than he knew of, though not ſo great as after it proved. He carried with him three of his brethren, *Ferdinand*, *John*, and *Gonſalo*; *Ferdinand* only legitimate, the others baſtards. They arrived in *Panama* in great pomp and pride. But *Almagro* was offended with *Francis Pizarro*, becauſe he had taken upon himſelf all the honour in *Spain*, and excluded him who was at all the expence, and part of the labour and pains. *Pizarro* excuſed himſelf; which gave but little ſatisfaction.

The expence of the *Pizarro's* was ſo great, and their means ſo ſmall, that they could not proceed upon their enterprize, without the help of *Almagro*; whom *Francis Pizarro* laboured to win again. In concluſion, by mediation of friends, *Almagro* furniſhed him with ſeven hundred pieces, and ſuch arms and victuals as he had; ſo that *Pizarro* proceeded with two ſhips, and 13 many men as he could carry. He came to a place called *Coaque*, where he found much wealth, but endured much miſery. From hence he ſent to king *Atabaliba* for friendſhip; who anſwered, If he would return the wealth gotten, and clear the country, he would be his friend; or elſe not. A frier was ſent to perſuade him, but all in vain; ſo that they came to a battle. Many of the *Indians* were ſlain, and their king taken priſoner; and not a *Spaniard* killed or hurt, but only *Francis Pizarro* in the head, as he was ſnatching at the king to take him.

Before this, *Pizarro* took the iſland of *Puna*, and gained great wealth, which he gave to his ſoldiers that came to him lately. Here his people fell ſick of the pox, a natural diſeaſe of thoſe parts; and here he delivered ſeventy priſoners that had been taken by the iſlanders, and ſent them free to *Tumbes*, whence they were. Notwithſtanding this courteſy, they incenſed the people againſt the *Spaniards*, and ſlew three that were ſent in civil manner to treat with them; which ſo enraged *Pizarro*, that he took their town, and brought them to obedience.

Theſe things happen'd before the taking of *Atabaliba* priſoner; who now being in their hands, offered for his ranſom, as much ſilver and gold as would fill a great and ſpacious room wherein he was; which he truly performed; but the time was ſo long before it could be brought two hundred miles, that *Ferdinand Pizarro* adventured to go for it; and in that journey he learnt much of the ſecrets of the country.

Francis Pizarro divided the treaſure thus gotten, and gave to every man his due; never ſoldiers in the world were ſo rich. He dealt juſtly with *Almagro*, and gave him what was his due: all things grew exceeding dear, a ſhirt at ten pounds, a quart of wine at five pounds, and one thouſand two hundred and fifty pounds a horſe. *Pizarro* ſent his brother *Ferdinand* to the emperor with his fifths, and a relation of what had happened: many common ſoldiers went, who carried, ſome twenty, ſome thirty, ſome forty thouſand ducats in plate.

There was an *Indian* called *Philip*, a *Chriſtian*, and interpreter to the *Spaniards*, who fell in love with one of *Atabaliba*'s wives; and thinking to marry her after his death accuſed him of plotting the deſtruction of the *Spaniards*, for which he was condemned and executed; but whether juſtly, or no, is a queſtion. Before his death he deſired to be baptized; but whether from his heart, or no, that is uncertain.

Pizarro hearing the fame of *Cuſco*, marched thither, and took it, where he found as much wealth as he had by the ranſom of *Atabaliba*; and it is thought there was as much hid that never came to light.

Almagro had commiſſion from the emperor to be marſhal of *Peru*, and governor of one hundred leagues of land further than *Pizarro*. Whereupon he took upon him to govern *Cuſco*; and this was the firſt beginning of the ſtrife betwixt them two, but for the preſent accommodated; and *Almagro* went to diſcover the country of *Chile* in 1535. where he endured much hunger, cold, and other diſaſters.

Ferdinand Pizarro returned out of *Spain*, and came to *Lyma*, after *Almagro*'s departure to *Chile*; and brought a patent to his brother, wherein he was made a marquis, and to *Almagro* the government of *New Toledo*.

He required all the ſilver and gold that was received for the ranſom of *Atabaliba* for the emperor; the other being a king: but the ſoldiers anſwered, they had paid their fifths, which was their due. This cauſed a ſudden mutiny: but *Pizarro* appeaſed it, though with the ill will of his ſoldiers. *Mango*, whom *Pizarro* had made king, rebelled againſt him, and had almoſt taken *Cuſco*. In the conflict he ſlew divers *Spaniards*.

Almagro hearing the emperor had made him governor, as aforeſaid, returned out of *Chile*, and took *Cuſco* by force, alledging it was in his government. He impriſoned *Ferdinand Pizarro*: *Mango* the *Indian* king beſieged it; and now began broils betwixt *Almagro* and *Pizarro*; and now did *Franciſco Pizarro* receive many loſſes by the *Indians* that rebelled againſt him. *Pizarro* ſent forces to regain *Cuſco* from *Almagro*; but by mediation of friends they were to meet and conſult before they fought, but to little purpoſe; for that treaty broke up, and they fought a moſt cruel battle, in which *Almagro* was taken, and put into the ſame priſon he had put the brother of *Pizarro*,

zarro, who there condemned and executed him. If the *Indians* had taken advantage of this diviſion, they had defeated the whole power of the *Spaniards*.

Almagro was of mean birth, and never known who was his father: he could not read; but was valiant, frank, merciful, and vain-glorious. *Francis Pizarro*, upon this accident ſent his brother *Ferdinand* into *Spain* with the emperor's fifths, and to excuſe the death of *Almagro*. He came to *Valladolid* in great ſtate, and with much wealth; but within a while after was committed to priſon.

Francis Pizarro went on with his victories, and endured great hardſhips; yet he prevailed, got great wealth, and made peace with the *Indian* kings. *Gonzalo Pizarro* was a principal man in all theſe undertaking.

Francis Pizarro's *Death.*

Francis Pizarro returning from the *City of the Kings*, endeavoured to be reconciled to *Diego de Almagro*, ſon to him that was put to death; but he would accept of no conditions of friendſhip; neither would *John de Rada* adviſe him to it, who was left in charge of him at his father's death, with command to ſeek revenge of the *Pizarro's*; and though *Francis Pizarro* was ſtill informed of the practice againſt him, yet he little eſteemed of it; but notwithſtand his ſecurity, on the 24th of *June*, 1541. *John de Rada* and ten others ſentred upon him whilſt he was at dinner, and ſlew him. He was a man neither liberal, nor covetous, nor would he proclaim what he gave; he was a good husband for the king, and a great gamester, not regarding with whom he play'd; he would never wear rich apparel, and yet ſometimes would put on a garment that *Ferdinando Cortes* ſent him; he took a pride to wear white ſhoes, and a white hat, in imitation of *Gonſalo* the great captain; he uſed his ſoldiers well, and got their loves; he was groſs, valiant, and honourable, and negligent of his health or life.

Upon his death, his and *Almagro*'s faction had many bickerings; and at laſt thoſe of *Almagro*'s party ſeditiouſly proclaimed, there was no other governor in *Peru* but *Diego de Almagro*. He appointed *John de Rada* his general; they committed many inſolencies, murders, and cruelties; they divided all the goods of the *Pizarro's* and their friends, and placed whom they liſted in command, meaning to make *Diego de Almagro* their king.

The emperor hearing of thoſe tumults in *Peru*, ſent one *Vaca de Caſtro*, a doctor, with authority to puniſh them; and he coming thither, thoſe who ſtood for the emperor repaired to him: whereupon *Almagro* prepared all his forces to meet him, where they fought a cruel battle, in which *Almagro* was overthrown; though more men were ſlain on the other ſide; few captains eſcaped, and thoſe that were hurt, died, by reaſon of the great froſt and ſnow that was in the country.

Vaca de Caſtro executed thirty of the principal offenders, and baniſhed divers others. *Almagro* fled to *Cuſco*, thinking to find relief; but his lieutenant he left there, hearing the ſucceſs of the battle, apprehended him, and *Vaca de Caſtro* at his coming thither cut of his head.

This *Diego de Almagro* was a baſtard, whom his father had by an *Indian* woman in *Panama*; but he was braver than the meſtiſo's uſed to be; he was the firſt that ever took up arms againſt the king in the *Indies*: his followers were ſo loving and conſtant to him, that though they had often offers of pardon, they would not leave him.

Vaca de Caſtro ſettled things in good order, gave the *Indians* content, who now begun again to cultivate their grounds, which before they could not do for the wars; and about this time many mines were diſcovered.

The emperor being informed of the revolts in *Peru*, and the ill uſage of the *Indians*, he diſplaced his commiſſioners there, and choſe others, giving them an oath to deal juſtly, and to order things uprightly. He made forty laws, and ſigned them at *Barcelona* the 20th of *November*, 1542. But theſe laws were ill taken in *Peru*.

He ſent *Blaſco Nunnez Vela* with the title of viceroy, with the laws aforeſaid; wherein the emperor gave great freedom to the *Indians*; which diſcontented the *Spaniards*; though no doubt the emperor did it out of a good conſcience.

Theſe things bred ſo great a heart-burning in the *Spaniards*, that with one conſent all the towns of *Peru* revolted, and made *Gonzalo Pizarro* their general. The viceroy armed as much on the other ſide; and at firſt ſent the biſhop to perſuade *Pizarro*; but he would admit no treaty. The viceroy was hated of all men, and eſpecially for murdering the king's factor, that was taken priſoner in the *City of the Kings*.

Now began great garboils, what with the impriſoning of the viceroy, and the coming of *Gonzalo*; but before this happen'd, the viceroy had impriſoned *Vaca de Caſtro*, and the five commiſſioners that came with him out of *Spain*, for the better appeaſing of things, and ſent *Caſtro* priſoner into *Spain*.

Pizarro came to the *City of the Kings*, and cauſed the emperor's commiſſioners to admit him for governor. Thoſe that had the charge to carry the viceroy priſoner into *Spain*, ſet him at liberty: which proved an unlucky ſervice; for if he had been carry'd

carry'd into *Spain*, *Pizarro* would have agree with the commiſſioners. *Pizarro* ſtrengthened himſelf as well by land as by ſea, and ſent *Ferdinand Bachicao* with fifty men, who was eſteemed a coward, but did much miſchief: he increaſed his two brigantines to twenty eight ſhips, and came to *Panama*, where he did what he pleaſed, like a tyrant. His death was practis'd in *Panama*; which he hearing, prevented, with the death of thoſe that intended it, and returned to *Peru* with four hundred men, to the defence of *Pizarro*, who followed his victory, and put his enemies to many ſtreights. They committed great cruelties one againſt another when they were taken on either ſide.

Pizarro hearing of the great ſpoils that *Bachicao* made at ſea, by conſent of his council diſplaced him, and put in *Pedro de Hinojoſa* in his room.

Pizarro ſent *Hinojoſa* to ſcour the ſeas, leſt they ſhould make head againſt him, and to give ſatisfaction for the ſpoils that *Bachicao* had made; but they of *Panama* were jealous of him, till at laſt they agreed he ſhould enter the town with forty men, and afterwards return to *Peru* to *Pizarro*.

The viceroy *Blaſco Nunnez* and *Pizarro* came to a battle, in which the viceroy was taken priſoner; and being known to one that had ſerved him, he cut off his head, and the next day buried him, *Pizarro* mourning in black for him.

After this *Pizarro* governed with great juſtice and uprightneſs, till he was drawn into tyranny by *Francis Carvajal* and others, who would make him king, ſaying, They might do it, becauſe the country was gain'd by them, as well as *Pelaius* king of *Spain*, when the *Moors* entred it. They would have conditioned to have *Ferdinando Pizarro*, who was priſoner in *Spain*, ſet at liberty; others propoſed to bring in the turk amongſt them.

Gaſca *ſent out of* Spain *to quell the Rebellion in* Peru.

THE emperor hearing of the tumult in *Peru*, occaſioned by the commiſſioners proceeding againſt the viceroy, and the inſolencies of *Pizarro*, being then troubled with his wars of *Germany*, choſe out a milder man than *Blaſco Nunnez* to govern in *Peru*, which was *Pedro de la Gaſca*, a prieſt; a man whoſe wiſdom was tried in other affairs. He went with little ſhew of pride: the commiſſioners he choſe to be ſuch as he could truſt, and he had the title of preſident. The emperor writ to *Pizarro*, and dated his letter from *Venlo* in *Germany* in *February* 1646.

Gaſca arrived at *Nombre de Dios*, and carried himſelf mildly, ſaying, He came not to make war, but, according to his profeſſion, to make peace, and revoked the rigour of the laws that cauſed the war. From *Panama* he ſent the emperor's letters; and writ himſelf to *Pizarro*, telling him, He was come to pardon all offences, to draw him to obedience, to give ſatisfaction to his people, and, if he refuſed this grace, to make war.

Pizarro was enraged at the receipt of theſe letters, and would not ſuffer the gentleman that brought them to ſit down; which the gentleman took for a great affront. *Pizarro* called for his friends, to conſult what anſwer to give the preſident's letter. *Carvajal*, the chief incendiary, was abſent; and therefore it was hoped he would accept of grace; yet every man delivering his opinion, ſome adviſed to take and raze *Panama* and *Nombre de Dios*, that the emperor might have no place to relieve his men and ſhipping; and they having all the ſhips in the ſouth ſea, might without fear enjoy *Peru* to themſelves, and then doubted not but to make *New Spain* revolt too, or, at leaſt, they would rob all the towns on the ſea coaſt, and live by ſpoil and rapine; which indeed they might have done, having the general of the ſea true to them.

Pizarro cunningly anſwered *Gaſca*'s letter, by conſent of thirty of his men, under their hands; That they underſtood of his coming by *Hinojoſa*, general of the ſea, and the fair ſhew of good he pretended; but it was too late, after ſo many murders, occaſioned by the viceroys; perſuading him to return to inform the emperor, That they would receive no governor but *Pizarro*, and offered to ſend ſome man of quality into *Spain* to make their caſe known to the emperor. *Carvajal* diverted *Pizarro* from all good intentions, and would not ſuffer him to make any acknowledgment to *Spain*: They ſent theſe letters to *Gaſca*, and offered to give him a great quantity of money to depart home; and if he refuſed it, they writ to their admiral *Hinojoſa* to apprehend him. Theſe letters being brought to *Panama*, put *Gaſca* in fear that he ſhould be killed; for they abſolutely refuſed to receive him in *Peru*.

Gaſca dealt ſo cunningly with *Hinojoſa*, that he brought him to ſubmit himſelf and fleet, and became a true ſervant to the emperor. This was the overthrow of *Pizarro*; and *Hinojoſa* was continued general, and none of his captains diſplaced. *Gaſca* now prepared again for war, and furniſh'd himſelf

ſelf for his journey to *Peru*; and before his arrival ſent a pardon to all the common ſort. In his expedition he carried himſelf courteouſly, lovingly, and friendly.

Gaſca's carriage, and the ſubmiſſion of the ſhips, made a great change amongſt the rebels; for happy was he that could appear for the emperor. *Pizarro* was much grieved to hear of theſe alterations; but, like a courageous captain, ſent to all his friends to come to him with their forces; but moſt part of them forſook him, and the town of *Lima*, *Cuſco*, and the reſt, took part with the emperor.

When *John de Caſta* came to *Pizarro* to *Arequipa*, they conſulted what to do, having four hundred and fifty men in the whole country againſt them: he reſolv'd to go to *Chile*, where never *Spaniard* had been; but he was followed by one *Centeno* with a loyal party for the emperor, between whom was fought a cruel battle, *Pizarro* gaining the victory: he loſt two hundred and twenty men, and *Centeno* many more. *Centeno* fled; but the others having ſo great a loſs did not follow him. *Pizarro*, upon the victory, divided his forces into ſeveral parts. *Cepeda*, a principal man of account on his ſide, perſuaded him to make conditions with *Gaſca*, which he would not do, but was angry at the motion, and grew ſuſpicious of him.

Gaſca came into *Peru* with two thouſand men, where he heard of the overthrow *Pizarro* had given *Centeno*; and his men being ſickly, and finding the corn green, and not to be eaten, they were much diſcouraged; but *Centeno* coming with the remainder of his forces, put them into heart; whereupon he went in the purſuit of *Pizarro*, but had great trouble in paſſing the river *Apurima*. *Pizarro* being advertis'd of it, departed from *Cuſco* with a thouſand ſoldiers. *Donna Maria Calderon* ſpeaking againſt the tyranny of *Pizarro*, *Fran. Calderon* entered her chamber one morning, and ſtrangled her in her bed. Now came their armies in view of one another, every one taking advantage of the place: *Gaſca* delay'd giving battle, in hopes that moſt of *Pizarro*'s men would leave him; but they did not; and he being forced by ſnow, cold, and hunger, engaged in the heat of the action. *Cepeda*, who (as I ſaid before) advis'd *Piſarro* to accept of conditions, fled to *Gaſca*, which much diſhearten'd *Pizarro*'s ſide. This example, and others that did the like, made moſt of them yield.

Piſarro ſeeing it, choſe rather to ſubmit than fly, and yielded himſelf to *Villa Vicentia*, ſerjeant-major, who carried him to *Gaſca*. Never ſuch a battle was fought, in which the heads and chief commanders were doctors and ſcholars.

Gaſca ſent forces to cut off thoſe that eſcap'd in their way to *Cuſco*, and to ſecure the town. The day following, being the ninth of *April*, 1548. *Gaſca* committed the cauſe of *Pizarro* and other offenders to judges, who condemn'd him and thirteen more to death, wherof *Francis Carvajal* was one, and indeed the chief promoter of all the miſchief in thoſe parts. He was eighty four years of age, and had been an enſign in the battle of *Ravenna*: he was ſoldier to the great captain *Gonçalo Fernandez*, and the moſt noted ſoldier in the *Indies*, yet never counted valiant nor skilful. It was a by-word, *As cruel as* Carvajal, becauſe he had been the executioner of four hundred *Spaniards Pizarro* cauſed to be put to death after *Blaſco Nunnez* came into *Peru*, carrying blacks with him continually for that purpoſe. *Pizarro* was never overthrown but in this battle, though he had fought many.

Gaſca's ſoldiers looked for a better reward than was given them; though, indeed, they were well dealt with, yet they mutiny'd upon it, but were ſoon quieted.

Gaſca took a courſe for the eaſe of the *Indians*, and to reduce them to the chriſtian religion, as alſo for the peaceable government of the kingdom.

When *Gaſca* arriv'd at *Nombre de Dios* out of *Spain*, he brought not an hundred men with him, nor money, but procured credit, and, at his going away, paid all debts, and carried with him to the emperor almoſt two millions, but for himſelf not a penny, being the firſt man in authority that ever did the like; for covetouſneſs was the bane of all the *Spaniſh* affairs.

No man that had commanded in *Peru* had eſcaped death or impriſonment but this *Gaſca*: *Francis Pizarro* and his brothers beheaded *Almagro*; *Almagro*'s ſon murdered *Francis Pizarro*; *Blaſco* apprehended *Vaca de Caſtro*; *Gonçalo Pizarro* ſlew *Blaſco Nunnez*; and *Gaſca* did as much to *Gonçalo Pizarro*. There were ſlain one hundred and fifty eight captains and men in authority, which is to be imputed to the genius and riches of the country: for the like diviſions happen'd before the *Spaniards* came thither, which made a long war amongſt them.

When *Gaſca* had ſettled all things in good order, he prepared for his return into *Spain*, and came to *Panama*, leaving much wealth there, which he could not carry; but it happened that two ſons of *Rodrigo Contreras*, governor of *Nicaragua*, with two hundred ſoldiers entered the town, and took the treaſure, and as much more as they could get. One of the two brothers got himſelf with his wealth into two or three ſhips, the other follow'd *Gaſca*,

ca, thinking to rob and kill him. They murdered many, and ſlew a biſhop, becauſe he ſent to their father into *Spain* on account of their villanies: they drew to them all factious and diſcontented people that favoured the party of *Pizarro*.

Gaſca hearing of thoſe diſorders, returned with ſpeed, fought with, and overcame them; one of the brothers was drowned in paſſing a river: he diſpatched ſhips after the other, and took him and all his wealth. This proved a fortunate ſucceſs to *Gaſca*, and got him great honour.

He embarked at *Nombre de Dios* for *Spain* in 1550. with much wealth for others, and reputation to himſelf: his going, coming, and ſtaying, was little more than four years.

The emperor made him biſhop of *Placentia*, and ſent for him to *Ausburg* in *Germany*, where he then lay, becauſe he would be informed by word of mouth of all proceedings, and the ſtate and condition of the people of the *Indies*.

This ſhall ſuffice for ſo much as concerns the beginning, progreſs, and concluſion of the *Spaniſh* conqueſt of *Peru*, which were full of difficulties, hazards and cruel murders among themſelves. For what concerns particular men, towns, and countries, I refer you to divers authors, as well in *Spaniſh* as *Engliſh*; and will now proceed to the conqueſt of *Mexico*, by that renown'd and fortunate gentleman Don *Ferdinand Cortes*.

The Exploits of Don Ferdinand Cortes *Marquis* del Valle.

FERDINAND CORTES was the ſon of a gentleman, but of ſmall fortunes; and ſeeing his father could not maintain him in the port of his birth, he deſir'd to put himſelf into the world; and, with his father's bleſſing, and little help otherwiſe, he made ſhift to get into the wars of [illegible] where he ſtay'd not above a year, t[illegible] want and ſickneſs; and being forc[illegible] neceſſity to return for *Spain*, was for[illegible]o beg till he got to *Seville*, knowing his father's circumſtances could not relieve him at home.

Not long after his arrival at *Seville*, there happened a fleet to depart from thence to the *Indies*, in which he procured a paſſage; and being taught to write and read, put himſelf into the ſervice of a ſcrivener, and by degrees, through his own induſtry, advanced himſelf to perform thoſe actions you ſhall read in the following diſcourſe.

After running through ſeveral employments in *Hiſpaniola* and *Cuba*, he became familiar and intimate with the governor of that iſland *Diego Velaſquez*. This governor, upon the report of the wealth of *Jucatan*, had ſent his nephew *John de Gryolva*, to diſcover along that coaſt; who returning with a promiſing account of the riches, not only of that coaſt he was ſent to, but of that afterwards called *New Spain*, *Velaſquez* fitted out a fleet at his own expence to conquer that country, and gave the command of it to *Cortes*, whom, upon ſecond thoughts, he deſign'd to have removed; which *Cortes* having intelligence of, he haſted away with his fleet upon his diſcovery.

Being arrived at *Vera Cruz*, and receiving there information of the vaſt wealth of the king of *Mexico*, he ſet forward towards him on the 16th of *Auguſt*, 1520. with five hundred foot, fifteen horſe, and one thouſand three hundred *Indians* to carry the baggage.

After four days march he came to a goodly country, called *Chinchecas*; but before he came thither he had paſſed high hills, full of ſnow and ice, though it was in *Auguſt*.

Next he came to *Tlaſcalla*, a people who were enemies to the *Mexicans*. *Cortes* overthrew them in three conflicts: the town had twenty thouſand houſes, very fair, and handſome markets and fairs: *Cortes* took it by night, and returned to his camp, where he found his men in mutiny; but appeaſed them, out of hope they ſhould ſpread abroad the goſpel of Chriſt.

From thence he went to *Chalotecan*, a country no leſs fruitful; where he was entertained with their kind of muſick, but they were ſet on by the king of *Mexico* to betray him, which was diſcovered by an *Indian* woman; and *Cortes* ſuddenly ſet upon them, and overcame them. The king of *Mexico* ſent to excuſe himſelf of this treaſon, and to lay it upon the people of the country: he ſent to invite *Cortes* to *Mexico*, and as he paſſed the country he was well entertained, eſpecially in *Tlateluleo* and *Xaliſco*, the one friend, the other enemy to the *Mexicans*.

When *Cortes* came within half a mile of *Montezuma*, the king ſent a thouſand courtiers, all in one garb, to meet him, who ſaluted him one after another, firſt touching the ground with their fingers, and kiſſing it; then came *Montezuma* with two hundred better apparelled, two and two together, without ſhoes, though they uſe ſhoes at other times; he leaned upon two of his nobility, to ſhew that he was upheld by his nobles.

Corte-

Cortes was told, he muſt not touch the king, for that it was the cuſtom of the country; he preſented the king with a chain of bugles, and ſome diamonds in it; which the king took in good part, and gave him in requital another of gold wrought in ſnails, crabs, and ſuch toys. He lodged *Cortes* in his palace with great ſolemnity, and made liberal proviſion for his army. The king erected a curious throne of ſtate, where he directed his ſpeech to the *Spaniards*, as follows:

Noble ſoldiers, and merciful captains to them that yield, you are welcome into this country of ours; I would have you know, that our forefathers have told us, and our chronicles declare it, That we are not antiently of this land wherein we live, but brought hither by a king, who left us here, becauſe we refuſed to return with him in company: Our forefathers marry'd, had iſſue, built houſes, which we enjoy; and we have ever been of opinion, that they will come to us again, and make us ſubjects to them, as they have formerly been to our anceſtors. And therefore conſidering from whence you come, and that you are ſent from a great king, we yield to you all obedience and ſervice, and make account you are entred into your own houſes.

I am not ignorant of what hath happen'd to you by the way, and that the Cempoalans *have ſpoken ill of me; they are my enemies, and I pray you believe them not: I know they tell you my houſes and walls are gold, and that I make my ſelf a god: but I pray you behold my houſes that are made of wood, lime, and ſtone, and my ſelf a fleſhly man like others. Indeed I have plate from my anceſtors, and what I have ſhall be yours. I muſt now depart; but will ſo provide, that neither you nor yours ſhall want.*

Cortes anſwer'd, *That what he ſaid was true; and that the king of* Spain *was the king they looked for; and that he was ſent thither purpoſely to let them know ſo much.* After they had paſſed ſix days in great jollity, *Cortes* had news that ſome of his men were murdered by the king's appointment; for which he was glad, thinking to take that occaſion to ſubdue and conquer him and his country.

Cortes ſent for the malefactors, and put them to death: they accuſed *Montezuma*, whom likewiſe he impriſoned, but within a while after he ſet him at liberty: he confeſſed his fault, and promiſed his allegiance ever after.

The king choſe rather to dwell in the palace with *Cortes*, than at pleaſure abroad. To give him ſatisfaction, he ſent to diſcover mines for him, and procured a great quantity of wealth to preſent him; he wiſhed and adviſed his nobles to obey *Cortes*, and labour'd how he might ſubdue *Cacomacſin*, his vaſſal, who wholly refuſed to ſubmit to *Cortes*. This act of his was affirmed by publick notaries in writing by the conſent of all the nobility, and interchangeably given to one another.

Valaſques, the governor of *Cuba*, envying *Cortes*, ſent *Narvaes* with eighteen ſail of ſhips, to command *Cortes* to go out and quit *Mexico*; whereat *Cortes* was amazed, and in a dilemma; for if he made head againſt *Narvaes*, the *Indians* would preſently have revolted, and if he did not, *Narvaes* would in time poſſeſs himſelf of the country: wherefore he reſolved with one hundred and ſeventy men to go againſt *Narvaes*, leaving a garriſon in *Tenuſtitlan*, which he commended to the care of the king. *Narvaes* had eight hundred *Spaniards*, and nineteen great pieces; nevertheleſs *Cortes* ſet upon, took him, and the reſt yielded themſelves.

In this interim, the citizens of *Tenuſtitlan* revolted againſt the king and *Spaniards*, and aſſaulted the caſtle, alledging, their diſlike to the *Spaniards*, was for breaking down their idol.

Cortes haſtened thither with ſeventy horſe, and five hundred *Spaniards*, which gave heart to them in the caſtle; the *Indians* were deſperate, and deſired rather to die than live: they put *Cortes* to a retreat, which emboldened them much.

Cortes afterwards uſed many engines, and other inventions; and though he ſlew multitudes of *Indians*, yet they valued it not: *Montezuma* looking out of a window, thinking to diſſuade the people from their violent courſes againſt the *Spaniards*, was ſtruck with a ſtone, of which wound he died within three days. He was a man of a good nature, wiſe, and prudent. The *Spaniards* gave the *Mexicans* his body to bury, and offered the *Indians* conditions of peace; which they wholly refuſed, vowing to thruſt the *Spaniards* out of their country, though it were with the loſs of 1000 men to one. Yet within a day they deceitfully made a propoſition of peace, which *Cortes* accepted of; and to give them the more content, he ſet a prieſt of theirs at liberty, thinking it would have wrought more heartily; but the day following, when *Cortes* had the leaſt ſuſpicion of them, and ſat quietly at dinner, they attempted one of his houſes: whereupon he ſuddenly roſe from table, and with his horſe charged the *Indians*, where he loſt divers men, and was himſelf ſore wounded, and ſcarce able to retire. It was now come to that paſs with the *Spaniards*, that they muſt either periſh, or quit the city; and that night they reſolv'd

to

to fly with *Montezuma*'s children, and treaſure; but the *Indians* having notice of it, purſued them, recovered the priſoners, ſlew one hundred and fifty *Spaniards*, forty one horſes, and two thouſand *Indians* that took their part. Now did *Cortes* endure great miſery and famine, and had but one dead horſe to feed on in five days, till he came to *Tlaſcalla*.

The *Tlaſcallans* entertained him courteouſly, where he ſtay'd ten days; he built many fortreſſes for his own ſafety and theirs, and ſent for aid into *Hiſpaniola*: In the mean time he gained the love of many *Indians*, who took part againſt the *Mexicans*.

Cortes built thirteen boats; and on the other ſide, the new king of *Mexico* prepar'd for war, and made certain pikes to annoy the horſe, which they feared more than the men. *Cortes* cut a paſſage into the ſalt lake, for his boats to have a paſſage to the ſiege of *Tenuſtitlan*: theſe ſhips intercepted all proviſion, and annoy'd the *Indians* infinitely. *Cortes* aſſailed the town in four places, having in his army one hundred and twenty thouſand men; ſome came for fear, ſome for liberty, ſome for friendſhip, ſome out of gain: this ſiege laſted ten weeks, and waſted ten thouſand people with famine, and other misfortunes. *Cortes* by chance took the new king, as he was ſtealing away ſecretly by the lake: he ſubdu'd *Tenuſtitlan*, and fourteen towns by the lake ſide; as alſo all the *Mexicans* realms, and provinces to the crown of *Spain*, giving great ſpoil to the ſoldiers, and reſerving the fifths to the king.

Cortes deſerved more honour than all the reſt of the *Spaniards*, for his conqueſt in the *Indies*; he ſubdued *New Spain*, and gave it that name, becauſe it was like *Spain*; he may very well be compared to *Marius* and *Scipio* in the *Roman* ſtate: his houſe remains great to this day, and has the title of marquis *del Valle*, which he left to his poſterity.

Cortes being afterwards captain-general, and *Mendoça* viceroy of *Nova Eſpania*, there happened many private grudges between them, but yet they joined together for the finding out of the paſſage from thoſe ſeas to ours, which we properly call the north-weſt paſſage; as alſo in the conqueſt of *Sibola* and *Quivira*, where they were perſuaded by certain friers, That the people worſhipped the croſs, and had other tokens of chriſtianity: but all proved falſe, and few *Spaniards* returned home, their miſery was ſo great, and the country ſo cold and barren, the people cruel, and five hundred leagues from *Mexico*.

Cortes, after his taking *Mexico*, ſent to diſcover the northern parts, and his people arrived in a country where *Ticoantipe Cician Pipe* was king, who received them lovingly, and ſent an ambaſſador to *Cortes*, thinking he was come out of the clouds, and that their veſſels were great whales: they wondered at their horſes, and accepted a friendly peace, offering *Cortes* fifty thouſand men to aſſiſt in conquering *Tutepec*, who was his enemy for uſing the chriſtians well.

Notwithſtanding that *Ferdinand Cortes* had deſerved as much honour as could be laid upon him; to the diſgrace and ſhame of that time and age, he was called from his command, and at his arrival in *Spain* was unworthily dealt withal.

He afterward went the unfortunate journey with *Charles* the firſt to *Algiers*, not having ſo much command as to be admitted a councellor of war. In that expedition he loſt two emeralds in the field, which could never be found again, valued at one hundred thouſand crowns. He died the ſame year, and much about the ſame time that *Henry* VIII. king of *England*, died.

The Names of the firſt Governors of the Iſland Hiſpaniola, *where the* Spaniards *made their firſt Habitation, and from whence they diſcovered other Parts of the* Weſt Indies; *with an Account of all thoſe Diſcoveries.*

Chriſtopher Columbus was governor eight years; during which time he and his brother *Bartholomew* conquered and peopled the greateſt part of it, and made it beneficial to the king.

Francis de Bovadilla ſucceeded *Columbus*, and ſent him priſoner into *Spain*; he governed three years, and well.

Nicholas de Ovando was next, and went thither with thirty ſhips, into which *Bovadilla* put all the wealth he had got for himſelf and the king, which was the greateſt the *Indies* had afforded till then; but all theſe ſhips with their wealth, except ſix, were caſt away in a ſtorm. *Ovando* was a religious man, and governed ſeven years with much wiſdom. When he went thence, he was ſo poor, that he was forced to borrow money for his expences, though his revenue was two thouſand pounds a year. He would not ſuffer any ſcandalous perſon to live among them: he conquered ſome provinces not ſubdued before, pacify'd others, and was made chief commendary of *Alcantara* when he return'd home.

Jame-

James Columbus governed ſix or ſeven years, but was removed, and in diſgrace with the king, with whom he had ſeveral years ſuits for his father's right to the *Indies*.

F. Luis of *Figueroa*, prior of the monaſtery of *Mayorano*, was ſent by cardinal *Ximenes*, who governed after the death of king *Ferdinand* and his queen. He took from the courtiers all their *Indians*, becauſe they being in *Spain*, their ſervants uſed the *Indians* very ill. He put them to ſchool to be inſtructed, but many of them died of the ſmall pox. In his time the planting of ſugars in that iſland was much improved.

After him went *Marcello de Villalobos* but with the title of preſident, which ſtill continues.

The firſt biſhop of *St. Domingo* was *D. F. Garcia de Podilla*, a *Franciſcan*. Many miracles were wrought in the firſt converſion of the *Indians*. The firſt archbiſhop of *St. Domingo* was *Alonſo de Fuca Mayor*.

In the iſland the *Spaniards* found no ſort of four-footed beaſts, except three ſorts of coneys; but they have now all ſorts of cattle, and of one cow there came eight hundred in twenty ſix years. Many of the dogs the *Spaniards* carry'd turned wild, and did more harm than wolves; and the cats they carried out of *Spain* would not caterwaul there.

The Iſlands of the Lucayo's.

Theſe iſlands are four hundred in number, lying to the northward of *Hiſpaniola*, and the firſt diſcovered by *Columbus*. The people are fairer than in *Cuba*, and *Indians* uſed to come from other places to live with thoſe women. They had no fleſh; and when the *Spaniards* carry'd them to *Hiſpaniola*, and gave them fleſh to eat, they died. They thought, that when they died they were carried into the northern regions, and from thence to paradiſe in the ſouth.

Seven inhabitants of *Hiſpaniola*, amongſt whom was *Lucas Vaſquez de Ayllon*, a ſcholar, and auditor of the iſland, fitted out two carvels at *Puerto de Plata*, in the year 1522. to fetch *Indians* from the iſlands *Lucayo's* to work in their mines; but they found no men there, and therefore reſolved to go northward for ſome, becauſe they would not loſe their labour. They came into thirty two degrees, where is now cape *St. Helen*, and the river *Jordan*. The *Indians* took their ſhips for great fiſhes, and entertained the *Spaniards* well, who brought away two of thoſe *Indians*; one whereof was caſt away in one of the carvels, the other ſtarved himſelf to death.

Lucas Vaſquez, by the report of an *Indian*, ſuppoſed the country to be rich, and therefore went into *Spain* to beg leave of the emperor to conquer it. Leave was granted; and he being made a knight of the order of *St. Jago*, returned to *St. Domingo*, where he fitted out ſome ſhips in the year 1524. but his admiral ſhip was loſt in the river *Jordan*, with many men; and this was his end.

St. John de Puerto Rico, or *Borriquen*.

The people of this iſland were braver than thoſe of *Hiſpaniola*. *Columbus* diſcovered it in his ſecond voyage, and *John Ponce de Leon* went to inhabit it in 1509. The king and queen received him courteouſly, and became chriſtians. At firſt they thought the *Spaniards* were immortal; wherefore, to try it by conſent, they drowned one *Salcedo*, whom they much feared; and ſeeing he died when they threw him into the water, they took heart, revolted, and killed five hundred *Spaniards*. They much dreaded a dog called *Bezerillo*; his maſter received pay of the emperor for him, and the dog did great ſervice. He would diſtinguiſh betwixt the *Indians* that were friends and foes; at laſt he was killed with a poiſoned arrow. The firſt biſhop of this iſland was *Alonſo Manſo*, *Anno* 1511.

Florida.

The admiral *Columbus* taking *John Ponce* from his government at *Borriquen*, and he being left without command, and rich, fitted out two carvels, and not finding the iſland *Boyuca*, where the *Indians* told the *Spaniards*, there was a well that made old men young, he diſcovered the coaſt of *Florida* on *Eaſter-Day*, *Anno* 1515. He fitted out three ſhips at *Seville*, came to *Guadalupe*, where putting men aſhore for wood and water, and to waſh their cloths, the people of that iſland ſlew them. Thence he went to *Florida*, where the *Indians* ſtanding on their guard, wounded him, and many more; and he died of his hurt at *Cuba*, after loſing much of his wealth. He ſailed with *Columbus* in the year 1493. and was a good officer, and did good ſervice.

Ferdinand de Soto, who had been in the wars of *Peru*, and was grown rich by the ranſom of *Atabaliba*, deſired the conqueſt of *Florida*, whither he went, and ſpent five years in the attempt; but he and all his men died without doing any thing.

After the death of this *Soto* many ſued for the conqueſt of *Florida*; and in 1548. *Julian Samana* begged it: but the emperor thinking it no good courſe to convert the *Indians* by force, ſent ſeveral friers to convert them; but the *Indians* killed four of them at their firſt landing.

Panuco.

Fifty leagues from *Florida* is the river of *Panuco*. The firſt diſcoverer of it was *Francis de Garay*, who only ſailed along the coaſt; but he that undertook the conqueſt was *Pamphilo de Narvaes*, with the title of *Adelantado*. He ſailed from *St. Lucar* with five ſhips, ſix hundred men, one hundred horſes, and all other proviſions, in the year 1527. and ſuffered much by the way through the ignorance of his pilots: yet he proceeded with three hundred men; but his fault was, that he did not inhabit where he landed. Of the three hundred *Spaniards* that went aſhore with him, only four lived, who wander'd ſix years up and down naked, and wrought many miracles; as healing of diſeaſes, and raiſing a dead man to life. This *Narvaes* was he that went to oppoſe *Cortes* in *New Spain*. A *Moriſco* foretold it to him, That his fleet ſhould have an ill end; and few of it eſcaped.

Francis de Garay fitted out three carvels at *Jamaica* in the year 1528. intending to attempt *Florida*, which they thought to be an iſland; for they were more willing to inhabit iſlands than the continent. Attempting to land, all his men were either kill'd or hurt; but he got to *Panuco*, and returned to *Jamaica*, where he refitted his ſhips, and recruited his forces, but had worſe ſucceſs than before. He vied with *Cortes*, hoping to gain as much honour as he had done, becauſe the country promiſed well. He therefore provided eleven ſhips, with ſeven hundred men, one hundred and fifty horſes, and all neceſſaries, and ſailed to *Panuco*, where he loſt all, but himſelf, who eſcaped to die afterwards at *Mexico*. *Nunno de Guzman* who was alſo governor of *Panuco*; he carried but two or three ſhips, and eighty men, and yet revenged the ſlaughters the *Indians* had made.

Jamaica.

Columbus diſcovered *Jamaica* in his ſecond voyage. His ſon *James* conquered it, when he was governor of *Hiſpaniola*. *Francis de Garay* was the richeſt governor it ever had, but for his loſs in the expedition to *Panuco*. This iſland breeds the beſt hogs in the *Indies*: the chief town is called *Seville*. The firſt abbot it had was *Peter Martyr* of *Angleria*, who writ the decades of the *Indies*.

The diſcovery of *New Spain* is before, with the actions of *Cortes*.

Cuba

Was diſcovered by *Columbus*, and call'd *Fernandina*, from king *Ferdinand*: *Nicholas de Ovando* began the conqueſt of it, when he was governor of *Hiſpaniola*: the chief town and port in it is the *Havana*. The firſt biſhop was *Hernando de Meſa*, a *Dominican*. Many miracles were wrought in this iſland, by which means it was the ſooner ſubdued.

Yucatan.

Francis Hernandez de Cordova diſcover'd it *Anno* 1517. having one hundred and ten men with him. Here landing to take water he was oppoſed, and had twenty men killed, fifty wounded, as he was himſelf in thirty three places, and two taken, whom the *Indians* ſacrificed. He returned to *Cuba* troubled for his loſs; but glad that he had found ſuch a fruitful country.

Francis de Montejo went next to conquer it, with five hundred *Spaniards*, in ſhips of his own, and built a town called *Santa Maria de Vitoria*. Here he endured much hunger, and other miſeries; but outlived them; and continued twenty years, marrying an *Indian* woman, and following the cuſtoms of the *Indians*. He refuſed to go with *Cortes* upon his conqueſt.

His companion *Aguila* peopled *Campeche*, *Merida*, *Villa Doca*, *Salamanca*, and *Seville*, where he lived quietly and peaceably with the *Indians*, who in this place worſhipped the croſs, and had temples and altars; which made the *Spaniards* conceit, that ſome of the *Goths* fled thither when the *Moors* ſubdued *Spain*.

Hondura's.

Columbus diſcovered all this coaſt, thinking to find a paſſage into the *South Sea*. *Francis de las Caſas* founded *Trunillo* in the year 1525. by order of *Cortes*. Here the *Spaniards* impriſon'd and killed one another.

The people are ill natured; but very obedient to their maſters. The firſt biſhop's name was *Pedraca*: the firſt governor was *James Lopez de Salzedo*, killed by his own people. Next to him was *Vaſco de Herrera*, who was killed in the ſame manner, as were other governors.

Nombre de Dios.

The country about it was called *Veragua*, diſcovered by *Columbus*, *Anno* 1502. *James de Nicueſſa*, who went with *Columbus* in his ſecond voyage, obtained the government of it, and fitted out in *Spain* nine veſſels, with ſeven hundred and eighty men, in 1588. He coaſted along to *Carthagena*, where he found the company of *Alonſo de Hojeda*, his great friend, in diſtreſs, the *Indians* having killed ſeventy of his men; which they

they revenged, entring their houſes by night, and killing and taking them all priſoners.

After this, *Nicueſſa* paſſed from *Hojeda* with two carvels, appointing the reſt to follow him. *Lopez de Olano*, who had the command of a veſſel, miſſed of him, and went to ſeek him in the river of *Chagre*: there they went aſhore and ſunk their veſſels, intending to make it their reſidence, and choſe *Olano* for their general, till the coming of *Nicueſſa*. Three of *Nicueſſa*'s men came to them in a boat, telling them where he was, and that he had loſt his two carvels, and endured great hunger for three months.

Olano hereupon ſent one of his boats to fetch him out of that miſery; but when he came to them, he baſely impriſoned *Olano*, accuſing him of uſurping command, and deſtroying the ſhips.

He would not ſtay here, though they were within three months of reaping their corn; for fear *Olano* ſhould have the honour of the undertaking.

Out of the other bark they made a carvel, and went to *Porto Bello*, ſo called by *Columbus*, becauſe of its goodneſs. Here the *Indians* ſlew twenty of his men. He left half his company, and went away to *Cape Marmol*, where he built a fort, calling it *Nombre de Dios*. Of ſeven hundred and eighty men he had not above one hundred left alive. Here grew great contention between *Vaſco Nunnez de Balboa* and *Francis Enciſo* about the command; which was the cauſe they landed not, but returned.

Nicueſſa, ſeeing they were gone, went to *Hiſpaniola* to complain, but was drowned by the way; but firſt he went aſhore by the way, and writ on barks of trees, which were afterwards found, *This way paſſed the unfortunate* James de Nicueſſa. He was the firſt that diſcovered *Darien*; where he was reduced to ſuch extremity, that his men were forced to eat dogs, toads, and one another. After this *Philip Godofre* deſired the government of *Beragua*, but with no better ſucceſs, by reaſon of famine: this was in the year 1536.

The admiral *Lewis Columbus* ſent *Chriſtopher Penna* to people there, who ſuffered much by famine. By agreement betwixt the king and *Columbus*, he was created duke of *Veraguas* and marquis of *Jamaica*, *Anno* 1546.

Darien.

Hojeda, *Nicueſſa*, and *Baſtida*, as you have heard, were the diſcoverers of this country; and after many calamities, mutinies, famine, and other miſfortunes, *Hojeda* died a frier at *St. Domingo*, and left *Francis Pizarro* his lieutenant.

In 1502. *Baſtido* fitted two veſſels at *Cadiz*. He had been with *Columbus* in all his voyages; but loſt his ſhips at *St. Domingo* by the worm that eat them. He was impriſoned by *Bovadilla*, for trading with the *Indians* without leave; but the king gave him two hundred ducats a year in lieu of *Darien*. When thoſe *Indians* fought with the *Spaniards*, they would put gold at the end of their arrows, thinking they would ſtoop for it, and they might kill them.

Pizarro ſeeing the fifty days expired, wherein *Hojeda* had promiſed to return, (who, as was ſaid above, was become a frier,) being in great want of victuals left that country, and put to ſea with two carvels; one of them was caſt away in a ſtorm, and the other had her rudder ſtruck off by a fiſh; which made them all conclude themſelves loſt; but by good luck they got to *Carthagena* almoſt ſtarved.

In his way he left *Enciſo*, whom *Hojeda* had left to follow with victuals. *Pizarro* told him, how *Hojeda* was turned frier; but *Enciſo* thought it was an invention of his own, and that *Pizarro* had fled from him; but being ſatisfy'd, he cauſed him to return, though *Pizarro* offered him two thouſand ounces of gold, not to go back, the country was ſo unfortunate.

They landed at *Comagre* to take in water; and though the *Indians* were man-eaters, yet they uſed them kindly, when they underſtood that neither *Hojeda* nor *Nicueſſa* were there. Going into *Uraba* their ſhips ſtruck, and their mares, hogs, and all they had, was loſt.

This diſaſter made *Enciſo* deſperate, thinking they muſt all periſh; and they all ſwore to one another, rather to die by the hands of men than by hunger. They landed with one hundred men, and were beaten. Thence they went to a country cloſe by, and built a village, calling it *Guardia*: at firſt the *Indians* were quiet; but afterwards became their enemies, whom they overcame, and poſſeſſed much wealth of theirs.

Now began great factions between *Enciſo* and *Vaſco Nunnez de Balboa*: *Nunnez* refuſed to obey him, or pay the king his fifths; and thus they continued a year.

Henry Colmenores went with two carvels from *St. Domingo*, to relieve *Hojeda*'s men. And after many dangers he arrived at *Careſa*, and put fifty five men aſhore, whom the *Indians* ſlew, excepting ſeven, that hid themſelves in a tree; but they were taken and eaten. *Colmenores* fearing the *Indians* would attempt his carvels, removed to the gulph of *Uraba*, and firing his guns, was anſwered with fires by the *Spaniards* aſhore. There was great joy for their meeting; and all of them made up

one

one hundred and fifty men; a ſufficient number againſt the *Indians*.

The factions continued; and to appeaſe them *Colmenores* adviſed, That *Enciſo* ſhould govern, he having the king's patent for it. *Nunnez* refuſed, and would not allow of it; but afterwards took *Enciſo*, and confiſcated all he had. *Enciſo* got into *Spain* to complain of him, and obtain'd a ſevere judgment againſt him; which came to nothing, becauſe afterwards *Nunnez* was the cauſe of finding the *South Sea*, and all the wealth obtain'd by it. *Nunnez* had done many other good ſervices, and conquer'd *Caſtilla del Oro*.

Nunnez having the abſolute power, endeavoured to govern well, and had two hundred and fifty *Spaniards*; and in the town of *Nueſtra Sennora el Entigua del Darien*, with one hundred and thirty of them he went out to find victuals for the reſt: an *Indian* king refuſing him relief, he took two of his wives and children, and carried them away. In the plundering the town he recovered three *Spaniards* that had been taken of *Nicueſſa*'s company, who told him how well that king had uſed them; whereupon he releaſed his two wives and children, and took their oaths to aid him againſt *Ponca* their enemy, and to relieve them with victuals.

Nunnez ſent his friend *Maldivia* to *Santo Domingo* for more men, becauſe the country promiſed gold, and with him a proceſs againſt *Enciſo*. He ſacked a town two leagues up the country, where he had gold, but could not take *Ponca*; and fearing to be ſo far in the country without more help, he returned to *Comagre*, and made peace with him. *Comagre* had a fair-built houſe plenty of victuals, and lived in a civil manner. He had ſeven wives and ſeven children, his eldeſt ſon gave him ſeventy ſlaves to ſerve the *Spaniards*, and much gold. As they were weighing the gold, two *Spaniards* fell out, which the king obſerving, he ſtruck down the ſcales, ſaying, "If I had "known, *Chriſtians*, you would have fallen "out for my gold, I would not have gi- "ven you any; for I love peace, and I "wonder that you who are friends ſhould "fall out for ſo vile a thing. If your coun- "try be ſo civiliz'd as you report, it had "been better you had kept in it, than to "come ſo far to quarrel. We live here "and content ourſelves with indifferent "things, and you call us barbarous; but "we will not kill one another for gold; but "I will ſhew you a country where there is "gold enough."

The *Spaniards* were aſtoniſhed to hear the young man talk ſo rationally; and cauſed the three *Spaniards* that were taken, to ask how far that country he promiſed was off, and how called. He told them ſeven days journey, and that the name of it was *Termenana*; but adviſed them to carry more men, becauſe the way was mountainous, and the people man-eaters.

Nunnez hearing him talk of another ſea, embrac'd him with great joy, and beſought him to become a *Chriſtian*; which he did, and was baptiz'd by the name of *Charles*. He was a great friend to *Chriſtians*, and promiſed to go with them to the other ſea, provided they would carry a thouſand *Spaniards*, for fewer would not conquer *Temenana*; if they miſtruſted him, he offered to go bound; and if he told a lye, they ſhould hang him; and this was the beginning of the diſcovery of the *South Sea*.

Nunnez return'd with great joy to *Darien*, and divided his wealth. The king's part came to fifteen thouſand peſos, which was caſt away going to *Spain*. *Nunnez* endur'd great miſery, the corn they ſow'd being ſpoiled with rain. Men were ſent out with great danger for food, who returned with gold; but all full of ſores made by the biting of gnats.

Colmenores went another way with ſeventy men; they met together, and went among the people that live upon trees. The *Spaniards* defired a peace with them, which they refuſed, relying on the height of their trees; but when the *Spaniards* offered to cut them down, which they imagined they could not do, till they ſaw it, they then offered them peace and victuals. Gold they did not uſe, but promiſed to fetch ſome, yet came not again being gone to perſuade other kings to join with them againſt the *Spaniards*. They gather'd five thouſand men in boats, which was diſcovered by a woman *Nunnez* had with him. He prevented their treaſon, and ſlew moſt of them; and they never after attempted any treachery againſt the *Spaniards* in thoſe parts.

Colmenores was ſent to the emperor with this news; but his wife they kept as a pledge. *Colmenores* had been a ſoldier under the great captain.

John Sebedo, a franciſcan, was the firſt biſhop of *Antigoa*, in *Darien*, and the firſt prieſt that ever was in that new world. *Nunnez* was a gentleman by birth, induſtrious in war, and belov'd by his ſoldiers. This country is unwholſome, ſubject to much rain, and many were there killed by thunder-bolts.

Zenu,

Is a river, a town, and port, ten leagues from the ſea, which has a good trade for fiſh. The *Indians* there work their plate curiouſly. *Baſcada* diſcovered it *Anno* 1512. but *Hojeda* and *Enciſo* did moſt good there.

Enciſo

Enciſo being ready to give battle there, tokl the *Indians* they were *Spaniards*, and peaceable men, who came thither from afar, in great danger, and deſired victuals. The others anſwered, There was little ſign they were ſuch men; and deſired them to be gone, for they would admit of no ſtranger among them. The *Spaniards* perſuaded them to own the true God; and told them that country was given them by the pope, who had the command of ſouls; and that they came to take poſſeſſion of it. They anſwer'd laughing, That they approved of the ſervice of one God, but would not diſpute of religion; that the pope was very free of what was not his own, but had nothing to do with them; and that either the king of *Spain* was very poor, to deſire their country, or very bold to threaten them; and that if he came thither himſelf, they would ſet his head upon a pole. To conclude, they engag'd, and the *Spaniards* overthrew them with the loſs of two men.

Carthagena.

Juan de la Coſta, who was pilot with *Baſtida* in 1504. ſet out four carvels, offering to ſubdue the *Indians* of this place. He came to *Carthagena*, where he found captain *Lewis Guerra*; they joined together, and took ſeven hundred men, and returned without doing any great matter.

Peter de Herrera went governor with an hundred men, forty horſes, and three carvels in 1532. He peopled it; but a mutiny happening among the *Spaniards*, he and his brother were brought priſoners into *Spain*.

The people here are taller than in any other part of the *Weſt Indies*. They are now chriſtians, and have a biſhop.

Santa Maria.

Baſtida diſcovered and governed this land in 1524. but it coſt him his life; for his ſoldiers mutiny'd againſt him, becauſe he would not give them the ſpoil of gold, ſaying, he valued the *Indians* more than them. His death was procured by his friend *Peter Fuentes*, who thought by his death to rule all.

Don *Pedro de Lugo* ſucceeded him; and after him his ſon, both of them exceeding covetous. Here *Pedrarias d'Avila* landed, when he went governor to *Darien*, and had a great engagement with the *Indians*, who were much daunted at the cannon firing from the ſhips; for they thought it had been thunder and lightning.

New Granada

Is eighteen leagues from *Santa Maria*, and was diſcovered by *Gonſalo Ximenes*: he found out the mines of *Emeralds*, by means of the king of *Bigouſa*, who uſed the *Spaniards* civilly. This king had forty wives; his ſubjects were obedient to him, and would not ſuffer him to ſpit on the ground. They kept a *Lent* two months in the year; during which time they were not to know woman, nor eat ſalt. In 1547. the emperor ſent a governor to *New Granada*.

Venezuela.

The firſt governor here was *Ambroſe Alfinger*, a *German*, in behalf of ſome merchants the emperor mortgag'd it to. In 1528. he was kill'd, and his men reduced to ſuch miſery, that they eat three *Indians*. *George Spira*, another *German*, ſucceeded him.

Queen *Iſabel* would not conſent that any but her own ſubjects ſhould go to the *Indies*; but after her death, the king gave leave to the *Arragonians*. The emperor opened this gap to ſtrangers, by this contract with the *Germans*, yet now none can go but *Spaniards*.

Venezuela is now a biſhoprick; it is ſo called, becauſe ſeated like *Venice*: the women are more familiar than in any other part of the *Indies*; but their religion and attire is no better.

Cumana and *Cubagua.*

Cumana is a river that takes the name of the province. Here was a great fiſhery for people, and certain friers built a monaſtery in the year 1516. *John Garcia* being their vicar. Three of them went to convert the people up the country, but were ſlain; yet afterwards the others brought the people to civility, and their children to learn. Thus it continued two years; at the end whereof they revolted and ſlew one hundred *Spaniards*, entered the town, deſtroy'd the monaſtery, and killed all the friers.

James Columbus being governor of *Santo Domingo*, ſent three hundred *Spaniards* to revenge this wrong, under the command of *Gonſalo de Ocampo*. At his firſt coming he pretended to the *Indians* that he came out of *Spain*, which emboldened them to come aboard him. When he had as many as he thought fit, he ſeized them, made them confeſs all their villany, and compelled them to build the town of *Toledo*, which is within half a league of the ſea.

When the aforeſaid monaſtery flouriſhed, *Bartholomew de las Caſas*, a prieſt that had lived in *Santo Domingo*, begged the government of this country, promiſing the emperor more wealth; and that the *Indians* ſhould be better uſed than before. By means of count *Naſſau*, and other *Flemings*, he

obtain'd it. He was furniſhed at the king's expence, and carried three hundred labourers, with every one a croſs on his breaſt, like a knight. At his coming he found *Ocampo* there, and the country in another condition than he had expected. He required *Ocampo* to obey him, which he refuſed till he had orders from *Columbus*, who employed him, and would not allow him to come into his town of *Toledo*, but obliged him to build a great barn of clay without for his labourers. Both went to *Santo Domingo* to complain; by which means *Toledo*, was unpeopled; which the *Indians* taking the advantage of, they entered upon the clay-houſe, and left not a *Spaniard* alive. The prieſt hearing hereof, became a frier, and never ſent the *Flemings* the pearls he had promiſed them.

The loſs of the pearl-fiſhery was a great damage to the king; but *Columbus* ſent *John Caſtellon*, with a number of *Spaniards*, who made amends for the follies of the other two, recover'd the country, built a caſtle at the mouth of the river, and ſet up the pearl-fiſhery at *Cubagua*, where *New Cadiz* was built. This iſland was but two miles about, and barren in thoſe days, but yielded to the value of two millions in pearls. There is a ſweet and medicinal ſpring in it. At ſome times of the year the ſea is red, which they impute to the breeding of oiſters, and purging of women. They ſay here are mermaids. This iſland of *Cubagua* was diſcover'd by *Columbus*, which was the cauſe of his diſgrace, being accuſed for concealing pearls he took there.

Vincent Pinſon, and *Adrian* his nephew, growing rich in their voyage with *Columbus*, fitted out four carvels, and had leave to diſcover thoſe countries where *Columbus* had not been. They came to cape *St. Auguſtin*, where they found people as big as *Germans*, and had experience of their valour; for they ſlew eight *Spaniards*, yet he brought away thirty *Indians*, and much braſil; but loſt two carvels, men and all, having ſpent ten months upon the voyage.

Orellano and *Amazons.*

This is counted the famouſeſt river in the world, riſes in *Peru*, has many iſlands in it, and flows an hundred leagues into the country. The man that gave an account of it was *Francis de Orellano*, lieutenant to *Gonçalo Pizarro*.

Orellano being in *Peru*, was ſent by his captain to ſeek victuals, and being in a boat, was carried with ſuch ſwiftneſs by the current, that he could not return to *Pizarro*. He carried with him much wealth, and came out into the north ſea down that river. From thence he ſailed into *Spain*, where he ſued for employment, and undertook that voyage to the river of *Orellano*. He ſtaid in *Spain* till all his wealth was ſpent, and then married, and drew his wife's friends to venture with him. He gathered five hundred men, but unfortunately died at his going to ſea, and that enterpriſe was never after attempted. He reported he met with *Amazon* women; but it was not believed.

It is ſuppoſed that *Marannon* and *Orellano* have both the ſame ſource in *Peru*; and that the latter is fifteen leagues over, where it falls into the ſea.

James de Ordas, who had been a captain with *Cortes* at the conqueſt of *Mexico*, was ſent thither with the title of *Adelantado*, carrying ſix hundred *Spaniards*, and thirty five horſes; but the enterprize fail'd by his death.

Jerome Ortillano was ſent afterwards with an hundred and thirty men, in the year 1534. who arrived not there, but ſtaid and peopled at *St. Michael*, *Venevente*, and other places.

The River of Plate.

From cape *St. Auguſtin*, to the river of *Plate*, is ſeven hundred leagues. Some attribute the honour of diſcovering it to *Americus Veſpucius*; but it was *John de Solis*, in 1512. who returned into *Spain* with his ſhips laden with *Braſil* wood, and obtained the government of the river of *Plate*; but landing with ſome men, he and they were all ſlain in 1515. yet his ſhips returned ſafe. In the year 1526. *Sebaſtian Cabot*, in his voyage to find the *Molucco* iſlands, of which he fail'd, arrived at the river of *Plate* with four ſhips, at the emperor's charge. In *Braſil* he found ſome *Frenchmen* trading. The *Indians* killed two of his men, but would not eat them, ſaying they were ſoldiers. *Cabot* returned into *Spain* with little credit, though he was not to blame, becauſe his men were in fault.

Don *Pedro de Mendoſa* went to the river of *Plate* in 1535. with twelve ſhips, and two thouſand men, a greater number than ever had been carried to the *Indies* at one time; in the way thither he ſickened, and in his return died.

Alvar Nunnez Cabeza de Voca was ſent *Adelantado* to the river of *Plate* in 1541. with four hundred men, and forty ſix horſes. He could not agree with the *Spaniards* Don *Pedro* left there; nor yet with the *Indians*, ſo that they ſent him priſoner into *Spain*.

John de Sanabria was bound to carry three hundred men, at his own coſt, to the river of *Plate*; but he died at *Seville*, and his ſon went.

F. Bernard de Armenta, and four others, went to the river of *Plate*, and by the way fell upon an iſland, where they found three of

of *Cabot*'s company, who had learned the language, and by their means they converted the ſavages wonderfully.

Four years before this an *Indian*, called *Orignay*, had proclaimed in thoſe parts, that ſhortly there would come chriſtians and preachers among them; adviſing thoſe people to receive them, for they were holy, and would make them leave their beaſtlineſs. He made ſongs to that effect, which they ſung; and this proved a great help to their converſion; for they entertain'd the friers as if they had been gods.

For the better Underſtanding of the Circuit of America, *I will here ſet down a Rutter of the Diſtance from Haven to Haven, and Cape to Cape; and will begin with the northern Regions.*

	Leagues.
From *Greenland* to the river *Nevado*	200
From thence to *Maluas*	200
From thence to cape *Marſo*	70
From thence to *Delgado*	50
From thence to *Granzio*	200
From thence to *Dacalos*	200
From thence to cape *Florida*	800
From *Bacallao Bay* to *Rio*	70
From thence to the bay of the iſlands	70
From thence to *Rio Fondo*	70
From thence to *Rio Gamas*	70
From thence to cape *St. Mary*	70
From thence to cape *Baxo*	40
From thence to *St. Antonio*	100
From thence to cape *Arenas*	80
From thence to port *Primo*	80
From thence to *Rio Jordan*	70
From thence to *St. Hellena*	40
From thence to *Rio Seco*	40
From thence to *Labruz*	20
From thence to *Cona*	40
From thence to cape *Florida*	40
From thence to *Ancon*	50
From thence to *Nilves* river	100
From thence to *Flores*	20
From thence to *Santo*	70
From thence to *Peſcadores*	70
From thence to *Rio Palmas*	100
From thence to *Panuco*	30
From thence to *Vera Cruz*	70
From thence to *Alvarado*	30
From thence to *Caſinado*	50
From thence to *Grigalda*	50
From thence to *Redando*	80
From thence to *Jucatan*	90
From *Florida* hither is accounted	800
From thence to *Rio Grande*	100
From thence to cape *Camero*	150
From thence to cape *Gratioſo*	70
From thence to *Dijagnadero*	70
From thence to *Zorobaro*	40
From thence to *Nombre de Dios*	50
From thence to *Farallones* in *Darien*	70
From thence to the gulph of *Urano*	14
From thence to *Carthagena*	70
From thence to *Santa Maria*	50
From thence to cape *de Vela*	50
From thence to *Caquibaca*	40
From thence to gulph *Triſte*	50
From thence to cape *Coriano*	100
From thence to *Cubagua*	4
From thence to point *Solis*	70
From thence to cape *Anegado*	70
From thence to *Rio Dulce*	50
From thence to *Orellano*	100
From thence to *Marannon*	100
From thence to *Tiera de Humes*	100
From thence to *Angela St. Lucar*	100
From thence to cape *Primero*	100
From thence to cape *St. Auguſtin*	70

Cape *St. Auguſtin* is the nigheſt land betwixt *Africk* and *America*, and but five hundred leagues from cape *Verde*.

From thence to *Todos Sanctos*	100
From thence to *Abrelos Ojos*	100
From thence to cape *Frio*	100
From thence to the bay *St. Michael*	600
From thence to *Rio St. Franciſco*	700
From thence to *Tibiquerio Rio*	700
From thence to the river of *Plate*	50
From thence to *Santa Helena*	55
From thence to *Arenes Goadas*	30
From thence to the *Bazas Anegdas*	40

Coaſting *America* from port to port, as I have done, it amounts to nine thouſand three hundred and odd leagues.

From thence to *Tierra Baxa*	50
From thence to *Baxa Sinfonda*	75
From thence to *Arecifes de Lobas*	40
From thence to cape *St. Domingo*	45
From thence to cape *Blanco*	20
From thence to *Rio de Juan Serrano*	70
From thence to the cape of *Eleven thouſand Virgins*	80

From thence you paſs the *Streights* of *Magellan*, which is an hundred and fifty leagues long.

Now you enter the South Sea.

From cape *Deſcado* to cape *Primero*	70
From thence to the river *Salinas*	155
From thence to cape *Hermoſo*	100
From thence to *Rio St. Franciſco*	70
From thence to *Rio Santo*	120
From thence to *Puerto Deſcado* in *Chile*	
From thence to *Rio Deſpoblado*	200
From thence to *Ariqua*	90
From thence to *Lima*	140
From thence to cape *Aguila*	100
From thence to cape *Blanco*	40
From thence to cape *Helena*	70
From thence to *Quezemes*	70
From thence to *Rio Peru*	100
From thence to gulph *St. Michael*	70
From thence to gulph *Urano.*	120

From

	Leagues.
From thence to *Panama*	55
From thence to *Troantepeque*	650
From thence to *Guerra*	70
From thence to *Barica*	100
From thence to cape *Blanco*	100
From thence to port of *Poſſeſſion*	100
From thence to *Fouſeca*	15
From thence to *Choratego*	20
From thence to *Rio Grande*	30
From thence to *Guartinola*	45
From thence to *Chitula*	50
From thence to *Puerto Serrado*	100
From thence to *Teacampetes*	40
From thence to *Colina*	100
From thence to cape *Corrientes*	100
From thence to *Cheneton*	70
From thence to *Rio Miraflores*	250
From thence to cape *Californio*	230
From thence to the bay of *Abad*	100
From thence to cape *Euganno*	100
From thence to cape *de Cruz*	50
From thence to port *Sardinas*	100
From thence to *Syerra Neada.*	150

There is the furtheſt diſcovery.

It is to be conſidered, that the *South Sea* ebbs and flows very high, and the north ſea does not, unleſs it be in *Pavia*, the *Streights of Magellan*, or a few other places. And thus much concerning *America.*

The Length and Breadth of Europe, Aſia, *and* Africk, *the other three known Parts of the World.*

EUROPE takes its weſtern beginning from the furtheſt part of *Ireland*, running to the river *Tanais* towards the eaſt, accounted two thouſand one hundred ſixty ſix miles, both places lying in fifty two degrees of latitude; and from north to ſouth, that is, from the *Morea*, lying in thirty five degrees northward, to ſeventy two degrees of latitude, is reckoned two thouſand two hundred and twenty miles, and had in it of late years, till ſome of them were united into one, twenty eight chriſtian kingdoms.

Aſia, from the eaſt to the weſt, that is to ſay, from the river *Tanais*, directly eaſtward, four thouſand two hundred and eighty four miles; and from north to ſouth four thouſand five hundred and ſixty miles.

Africk, from eaſt to weſt, (*viz.*) from *Gambra* to *Guardufu* in ten degrees of north latitude, is four thouſand one hundred fifty five miles; and from north to ſouth two thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty miles, (*viz.*) to the equinoctial line, ten degrees, ſix hundred leagues; from thence to the cape of *Good Hope*, two thouſand one hundred and ſixty miles.

The Two Worlds undiſcovered, beſides the Four known.

THE four known parts and diviſions of the world have been often ſpoke of in theſe diſcourſes; and, beſides theſe four, there are two others, generally conceived not as yet diſcovered.

The one under the pole, and not fit to be attempted, though we certainly know a land to be there; but my hope is, as in my diſcourſe of the north-weſt paſſage will appear, that under the north pole we ſhall find a ſea, and no land, through which we ſhall paſs to *China*, and thoſe parts of the world.

If not, though that part of the earth ſhould afford us another world, as big and ſpacious as all the reſt beſides, yet could we expect no more advantage from it, than *Greenland* affords us, which never any man inhabited to bid us welcome, nor commodity on ſhore to entice us thither to repair; and, therefore, though another world ſhould appear in that climate, it can neither benefit us, nor the *Chriſtian* commonwealth, more than a country of ice and ſnow.

The ſecond imagined new world is to the ſouthward of the *Streights of Magellan*, commonly called *Tierre del Fuego*, which is ſuppoſed to be a continent, and to run eaſt and weſt the compaſs of the world about.

That there is a land, beſide the probabilities, there are proofs; the one by Mr. *Richard Hawkins*, in his voyage into the ſouth ſea; for falling ſhort of the *Streights of Magellan*, he eſpy'd a country; but his intention being of another ſort than diſcovery, he would not approach the ſhore, but ſtood his direct courſe to the *Streights*, which he paſſed in 1594.

The next proof of a land, though not of a main land, ſuppoſed by Sir *Francis Drake* to be to the ſouthward of the *Streights*, was found out by *Cornelius Van Stowden*, of whom I have ſpoken in my ſecond book, that in the year 1616. diſcovered a paſſage into the ſouth ſea, three degrees to the ſouthward of the *Streights*, where he found diverſity of lands and iſlands till he arrived at the *Molucco's*, as I have ſaid in the ſecond book.

But be it firm land, or iſlands, it is all one to us, that ſeek by the knowledge of it

it to make gain by it. It is a vain thing for us to think, that a country ſeated in ſo cold a climate, and not inhabited, ſhould bring forth the fruits of the earth, or that it can be planted to afford us any commodity, no, not the value of fetching, though it ſhould coſt us nothing.

For compare it with *Newfoundland*, and the continent of that coaſt, long ſince diſcovered and known to us, and conſider what uſe or profit we have made, or can make of a plantation there, and we ſhall find it not worth our labour; for though it be not ſo cold as farther to the northward, yet 'tis in that extremity of coldneſs, that in many hundred years it cannot be tempered for our bodies to live in.

This may ſeem an ambiguous ſpeech, that the earth of an intolerable cold conſtitution may be tempered for men to live in, and to make uſe and benefit of.

But what I ſhall ſay in this point is prov'd both by reaſon and experience, That the coldneſs of *America* in fifty one degrees, which doth parallel us in *England*, is by many degrees colder than with us in *England*, and the difference thereof cauſed by art and pains: for where there is a plantation of towns and houſes; commerce of people, whoſe breath ſends forth a heat; diviſions of lands, as by walls, ditches, hedges, the grounds trenched and dried with continual fires; it yields a perpetual heat, and is a ſhelter againſt all kind of cold, in compariſon of a country that has none of theſe benefits or helps.

We our ſelves have examples of it, betwixt a natural mooriſh and wet dwelling, and ſuch a place that by induſtry and art is brought to a better perfection. We ſee the difference of houſes that are continually dwelt in, and fires kept burning; and others that lie unhabited, waſte, and no care taken of them.

Beſides theſe reaſons, to diſcourage us from planting in theſe degrees of *America* equal to *England*, the *French* have convinced us by their example, who, by their long travel and charge, have ſought to produce ſome benefit out of thoſe countries; but all their labours have proved vain; for, they find, the cold deſtroys all their good intentions, and the only gain they now make is in their trades for furs.

Then, if by reaſon and proof, *America* in fifty one degrees can yield us no profit, being but two thouſand miles from *England*, where we have a conveniency to tranſport our men and proviſion once a year, at an eaſy rate, in ſhips that fiſh in *Newfoundland*, by whom we may be reliev'd; what can we expect from a country in the ſame latitude ſouthward, that is as cold, the people barbarous and ſavage, and having no conveniency to tranſport our men, otherwiſe than in ſhips we purpoſely hire, to ſail nigh ſeven thouſand miles from *England*, the equinoctial line to be twice paſſed, in going and coming, which muſt diſtemper mens bodies by the ſudden entering out of the cold into the heat; and this is the only cauſe to be imputed to the death of our men in our long navigations.

More then for our own ſatisfaction, that a land is there placed, we can expect no good from thence; for where there wants heat, there wants riches, by proof of the pure metals, and the quantity and diverſity of them, growing betwixt the two tropicks, above all other parts of the world.

And for our other kind of commodities that are produced out of the earth, the temperate zone affords them in moſt abundance, but not cauſed by the heat of the ſun alone, but by the managing and manuring of the land, by the labour and induſtry of the people, and by the commerce, trade, and civility, betwixt man and man, country and country; for, no doubt, in times paſt, when the people of *England* were barbarous, they lived in the ſame eſtate, and the country was of the ſame condition that other places are, of the ſame height at this inſtant.

Therefore I conclude, that though all the countries contained in the hot and temperate zones yield no profit, unleſs they be manur'd and us'd accordingly, yet, I ſay, no part of the world out of thoſe zones, where the cold has ſo predominate a power over men, beaſts, and fruits of the earth, is of any value or goodneſs to intice men to inhabit or people it; for neither by art or induſtry ſuch a climate can be made capable for man to live in, or fruitful to make any uſe of.

But notwithſtanding theſe reaſons collected out of experience, there are ſome men, who, to appear ſingular, and others for argument ſake, go about to prove there are other countries not yet diſcovered, as pleaſant and as plentiful as thoſe that are known by daily traffick.

It has been my chance often to meet with ſome of theſe ſelf-conceited witty men, and for want of learning to defend my opinion, I have fled to the protection of reaſon, with humility to ſubmit to judgment, and to acknowledge my errors, after I am confuted by proof: but before the diſcovery of any ſuch countries ſhould be ſet on foot, I have adviſed, That the firſt thing they ſhould attempt, ſhould be to find out another ſun; for the power and operation of this ſun is known to us by the light it ſends abroad to all parts of the world at ſeveral ſeaſons of the year, as the countries are

ſeated from the *equinoctial* line, which is termed, *The girdle of the world.*

This *Sun* is known to riſe in the eaſt, and ſet in the weſt, making its courſe every twenty four hours about the world; its declination to the northward and ſouthward, is well known to us not to exceed the two *tropicks*, which are in twenty three degrees and an half from the *equinoctial:* we likewiſe know, that it is the guide of the lengthening and ſhortening of the days, occaſioned by its motion. We alſo know all ſuch lands in *America*, *Africa*, and *Aſia*, as lie between the two *tropicks*; and, trading into theſe countries, know what the heat of the *Sun* in that ſpace produces.

Then ſeeing we are perfectly acquainted with the virtue and quality of our *Sun*, and the power and heat it ſends forth to the countries adjoining to it; and that the riches of all places grow by the heat they are ſeated in; I deſire to be ſatisfied what richer countries can be hoped for beſides thoſe already known to us, unleſs there be another *Sun* to work the operation this *Sun* does. And thus much concerning my private opinion of the two worlds undiſcover'd.

Other Seas beſides the Ocean, great Part of them lately diſcovered.

I HAVE ſailed into all the quarters and corners of the earth through the wide unknown ocean, and left no country unſpoken of, to which the main ſea has given paſſage. But beſides the great ſpacious and known ſeas, beſides the commerce, trade, and intercourſe of all nations, I have at large related there are other ſeas, which, in compariſon of the ocean, may be termed rather *Lakes* or *Streights*, which I will a little handle.

The firſt ſhall be the *Caſpian Sea*, which is invironed and compaſſed about with land, and ſeated in a main continent; where there is no iſſue or paſſage into any other ſea; but like a pool or pond it has a ſettled being.

The ſecond is the *Red Sea*; which, after one thouſand two hundred miles running, falls into the *Indian Sea*; and but that this ſea is named a ſea in the ſcripture, which is the authentick proof of all other authors, it ſhould no more deſerve the name of a ſea, than the *Perſian Gulph*, which falls into the *Indian Sea*, and is equal in breadth and length to the *Red Sea*, and yet is called a gulph.

The third is the *Mediterranean Sea*, which divides *Europe* from *Africk*; and ſomething I will ſay of this ſea, when it comes to the place to be treated of: but firſt concerning the *Caſpian* and *Red Sea.*

The *Caſpain Sea* is at leaſt two hundred leagues in length, and one hundred and fifty in breadth; many rivers running into it, and eſpecially the river *Volga* out of *Ruſſia*; which river divides itſelf into ſeventeen branches before it falls into the *Caſpian Sea.*

There are few ſhips, and but ſmall trade on this ſea, for want of mariners and ſea-port towns; and becauſe of the poverty of the people, and abundance of ice.

Our *Engliſh* merchants finding a trade into *Perſia* out of *Ruſſia* by the *Caſpian Sea*, built a ſhip after the manner of *England*; the tar uſed about her iſſued out of the earth thereabouts; ſhe was of twenty ſeven or thirty tons burthen, and ſailed with *Engliſh* mariners. This was the firſt and the beſt-built ſhip that ever ſailed, or diſplay'd chriſtian colours in thoſe ſeas; ſhe drew not above five foot water; for the ſea is both ſhallow, and ſubject to ſhoals. This trade was left off, by reaſon of the danger of thieves and robbers, and the barbarity of the people.

About this ſea *Ottoman*, the firſt of that name and houſe that bare rule amongſt the *Turks*, had his original, and came from thence in the year 1300.

In ſome places of this ſea the water is freſh; and in ſome other places as ſalt as in the ocean.

It neither ebbs nor flows, except ſome times with the rage of the wind.

There are ſeveral ſorts of fiſh, which are not in our ſeas; but great monſters and fiſhes there are none. And thus much for the *Caſpian Sea.*

The *Red Sea* is not red, as many conceive; but takes the name from the red buſhes that grow along the ſhore ſide. Others are of opinion, that the name is derived from the red ſands in that ſea, eſpecially towards the ſhore, which cauſe the water to look red.

This ſea has three channels; that in the middle is the deepeſt, and betwixt twenty five and thirty fathom; the other two are full of rocks and ſhoals, which makes it navigable only in the day time, and that with danger.

The ſhore affords neither graſs, herbs, nor weeds, nor the ſea any quantity of fiſh.

Some are of opinion, that the gold of *Ophir* was brought out of the *Eaſt Indies* through this ſea.

No man can ſail in this ſea, but *Turks*, or ſuch as have licence from them; for which they pay very dear.

Preſter John has only one harbour in the *Red Sea*, called *Arquico*; the *Portugueſe* and

and *Preſter John* have often attempted to damniſy the *Turks* in the *Red Sea*; but they proceeded ſo faintly, that they ſtill failed in their enterprizes.

Mecca is the place ſo famous for the ſepulchre of *Mahomet*, and for the number of people yearly reſorting to it, ſeated upon the *Red Sea*, and forty days journey from *Cairo* in *Egypt*. *Sida* is a great port in this ſea; whither forty or fifty ſhips yearly reſort, laden with ſpices, and other rich commodities out of *Cambdaya*, and other parts of the *Eaſt Indies*. And now to the *Mediterranean Sea*.

Out of the *Mediterranean* two other ſeas are increaſed; the *Adriatick*, which runs up to the city of *Venice*, and divides *Italy* from *Greece*; and the *Euxine*, that parts *Europe* from *Aſia*, poſſeſſed only by the great *Turk*.

The *Euxine Sea*, and no other part of the *Turks* dominions, except the iſland of *Cyprus*, affords him any harbour to build galleys in, or ſhips, or materials to build them withal. What ſhips, galleys, or other veſſels ſoever he at any time ſends into the *Red Sea*, are carry'd from thence to *Alexandria*, and tranſported to *Cairo*, and ſo to *Suſa*, which is above two hundred miles by land; a trouble and charge not to be eſtimated, if we conſider his fleet of eighty great ſhips, twenty five foiſts, four galleaſſes, twenty galleys, and ſeven other veſſels, all brought out of the *Euxine Sea* to *Suſa*, in the manner aforeſaid, when he attempted and failed in his enterprize to *Aden* in 1573.

The commerce and trade into the *Mediterranean Sea*, has been more ancient and famous, than all other ſeas in the world, although it is neither long nor broad; for at the entrance into it, it is not above two leagues over, which was forced by means and labours of people, as it is received by tradition; and I the rather believe it, becauſe to this day the entrance into this ſea is called *The Pillars of* Hercules, who is ſaid to be the author of the work; and were it not for this ſmall entrance, conſidering that the ſea has a ſtoppage upon the land of *Syria*, it were rather to be termed a lake than a ſea.

Among many obſervations on the *Mediterranean*, this is not the leaſt to be conſidered, That though the ocean continually runs through this ſmall ſtreight of two leagues, carrying ſuch abundance of water, that in reaſon it were enough to overflow and drown that part of the earth on which it beats, having no paſſage out; yet in no part of the land where theſe waters paſs, does exceed its ordinary and uſual bounds and limits. There have been many opinions and diſputes about the reaſon hereof; but for my part, I hold with him who judges that ſea has a paſſage under the earth.

My next obſervation is, That God has placed in that ſea, the moſt, and the moſt plentiful iſlands of the earth; which iſlands have heretofore ſent forth men of fame, to enrich the world with wit and learning, and in this time ſpread their commodities into all the countries of *Europe*, and receive theirs in exchange.

And though I may attribute to every iſland ſome particular honour, but that it is not proper to my diſcourſe, that treats only of the ſea, yet will I ſay for the excellency of the iſland of *Cyprus*, which the *Turks* have enjoy'd ever ſince the year 1571. that it affords, without the help of any other country, materials to build and furniſh a ſhip, as namely, maſts, ropes, ſails, and ſuch like, that ſhe need not be beholding to her neighbours.

My third obſervation is, That in that ſea there have been fought more naval battles by the *Romans*, *Turks* and *Chriſtians*, than in all the other ſeas of the world beſides: the wars of the pirates was in that ſea, whom *Pompey* the great overcame, to his everlaſting honour and praiſe: the *Romans* kept in continual imployment in that ſea two thouſand ſail of ſhips, fifteen hundred galleys, eighty great galleons, with their prows and poops richly gilt, and had always double proviſion for the navy.

My fourth obſervation is God's bleſſing to the chriſtians and chriſtian ſhores, oppoſite to *Barbary*, poſſeſſed by *Turks* and *Moors*; for that in all that coaſt of theirs God hath not given them one harbour to entertain a fleet; which has made them heretofore ignorant in navigation, and ſea-affairs; whereas, if the ſhore had afforded them ports, and their land timber, and all other materials to build ſhipping, conſidering their numbers, valours, and the diviſion of chriſtians, I am of opinion, before now, they had been maſters of the better part of *Europe*. And I may the better conjecture it, by the hurts and ſpoils the pirates of *Algiers* and *Tunis* have of late years committed upon the chriſtians, ſince they have had the uſe of chriſtian ſhips; for themſelves have none.

And only theſe two places afford ſafety for their veſſels; *Algiers* by a mole or cove, made by art in the ſea: *Tunis* by an open road, called the *Goletta*; and this ſhall ſuffice for the *Mediterranean*.

Beſides theſe ſeas aforeſaid, there are many lakes; ſome known, others imagined, or received by tradition, as namely, that of *Africk*, called *Zembre*, out of which flow the rivers *Nilus*, *Niger*, *Como*, *Quama*, *Maginca*, and divers others.

The

The river *Nilus* flows forty days in a year, and decreaſes as many, (that is to ſay,) from the 27th of *July* to the 6th of *October*. The river *Niger* doth the like; and much about that time.

The river *Cambra* and *Seneca*, which divides the colour and complexion of the people, falls out of *Niger*. On one ſide of the river *Cambra* the people are of a dead aſh-colour, lean, and of ſmall ſtature; on the other, black negroes, tall and well proportioned.

In the lake of *Zembre*, as alſo in the river of *Layar*, there are water-horſes, and water-oxen, which at night come aſhore and graze; the horſes are ſometimes taken and made tame; they run ſwift; but a man muſt be careful how he rides over a deep river on one of them, for they will ſuddenly dive under water.

Sinus Perſicus is in the gulph of *Perſia*; and has in the mouth of it, in the *Indian* ſea, the iſland of *Ormus*, famous for the great trade to it from the *Indies*, and all the countries in that part of the world.

There are divers towns of the *Arabs* on the gulph of *Perſia*, and great traffick by water; notwithſtanding it is both ſhallow, great cuſtoms are paid, and it is ſubject to *Arabian* thieves.

The town they firſt imbark at in paſſing down to *Ormus*, is *Bierr*; the veſſels that ſail in that ſea, are of forty or fifty tons in burthen, and have no iron in them, but only in their anchors.

Babylon ſtands upon the river *Tigris*, which falls into the river of *Euphrates*; it is a great through-fair, and ſtands in *Perſia*; from *Babylon* they go to *Balſora*, which is a town of great traffick; in former time it was under the *Arabs*, but now under the *Turks*: from *Balſora* they go to *Ormus*, which is ſix hundred miles diſtant, and all in the *Perſian* gulph.

Beſides the ſea and lands lately diſcovered, of which I have formerly treated, producing nothing but my own reaſons to ſtrengthen my opinion, there are other ſeas and unknown paſſages, ſuppoſed to make a paſſage or communication from one to another; as namely, the north-weſt and north-eaſt paſſages to bring us to other ſeas, which our nation, above others, has been induſtrious to ſearch out, to its yearly expence, hazard, and charge, without effecting any thing as yet. Theſe that follow are reaſons, or rather argumcats *pro & contra*, to prove or diſprove a paſſage; which I refer, as I do all the reſt of my diſcourſes, to the conſideration of men of more judgment than my ſelf; it was written upon the return of *Hudſon*'s ſhip, after he was treacherouſly murthered by his company.

A Diſcourſe concerning the North-weſt Paſſage.

THERE are three things to be conſidered in this pretended voyage, upon the diſcovery of the north-weſt paſſage this preſent year 1610.

1. The firſt is the probability of a paſſage.
2. Whether it is like to tend to the ſouthward or northward.
3. What commodities are like to ariſe to us alone, above any other nation, by it.

That there is a paſſage, is confidently believed; though there be ſeveral opinions, whether it runs into the *South Sea*, or into the *North-weſt*, which experience muſt determine. Some there are who pretend to have paſſed it themſelves; but their words carry ſo little ſhew of reaſon along with them, that they deſerve no credit.

Gemma Frigius ſays, There went three brethren from *Europe* through this paſſage, whence it took the name of *Fretum Trium Fratrum*.

In my opinion, if *Gemma Frigius* intended we ſhould believe his report, he ſhould have ſet down the names of the three brethren, their country, the ſhipping, out of what port, or by whom they were employed; the ſeaſon of the year they ſet forth, the time of their return; the courſe they ſailed; what hope or diſpair in making benefit of their diſcovery; the conditions of the people they met with; the commodities of every country where they had commerce; the altitude of every place; what dangers are to be ſhuned, or ſome particular accident that fell out in the voyage; for theſe are deſigns of mens voyages and diſcoveries: and not mentioning any of them, why may we not conceive it to be a fiction, as well as divers other names, that are given to places in maps within the lands of *Africk*, *Aſia* and *America*, which never any man was known to be at, to give an account of.

We muſt either conclude that paſſage not worth following, which was diſcovered, and left off after the firſt voyage; or that thoſe princes, or others, to whom they made relation of it, gave little credit to their report.

For, no doubt, if there had been any ſuch thing, it was undertaken for the ſame end we now attempt it, (that is,) for the diſcovery of new lands, where we may have com-

commerce and traffick: they could not be ignorant of the nature of commodities, and it is like they would have brought home an example of ſome, that would have given encouragement to have perſevered, and not deſiſted from the enterprize, it being diſcovered; neither is it likely, that three brethren, who preſumed to undertake ſuch a voyage for their honour or glory, would let die ſo noble and ſo memorable an action, as the north-weſt paſſage.

The ſecond reaſon to prove a paſſage, is alledged by *Cornelius Nepos*, That there were certain *Indians* caſt upon the coaſt of *Germany*, which were preſented by the king of *Suitb* to *Quintus Marcellus Celer*, the proconſul of *France*.

The third, that in the year 1160. whilſt *Frederick Barbaraſſo* reigned emperor, there came certain *Indians* caſt upon the coaſt of *Germany*.

The fourth, that *Othen*, in the ſtory of the *Gothe*, affirms, That in the time of the *German* emperors, there were certain *Indians* caſt upon the coaſt of *Germany*.

Theſe four proofs are verify'd by three authors: but conſidering that we read in the days of *Quintus Marcellus*, the *Romans* were ſo deſirous to enlarge their empire, that they left no means unattempted, nor no country heard of unconquered; and that they would not examine theſe men, of the cuſtom of the country, the diſtance from whence they came, the wealth and power of their king, the way of their coming, and, at leaſt, to deviſe how to ſend an ambaſſador to be informed of the ſtate of their nation, and to ſettle an intercourſe of traffick. I muſt confeſs, if theſe things were not put in practice by the *Romans*, they were leſs careful of their government and greatneſs than any hiſtory can lay to their charge.

Theſe reaſons, with one more, I muſt likewiſe alledge to the two chriſtian emperors, That they ſhould be ſo careleſs in their duty towards God, that having knowledge of heathen people, they would not uſe their beſt endeavours to draw and bring them to the yoke of Chriſt; by which means they might have been civilized; and having learn'd the language and true worſhip of God, this would have proved a good introduction to have wrought their own ends and deſires upon them.

Theſe, I ſay, may breed ſome ſcruple in me, to doubt that they were people of the *Weſt Indies*; though in thoſe days, they might give them the names of *Indians*, becauſe the ſavages, and the people of *America*, nor *America* itſelf, was not then diſcovered, nor of many years after. I will not deny, but that ſuch men might arrive upon the coaſt of *Germany*; but I ſhould have been better confirmed, if the burden and manner of building their ſhip, had been expreſſed, with the number of men, their time of abſence from home, the behaviour and civility of the people, what ſea or ſtreight they paſſed, what commodities they brought with them, and deſired to carry from thence; for the author ſaid they came to trade.

But the greateſt argument we are grounded upon that they came out of the *Indies*, is, becauſe in the diſcourſe they gave them the name of *Indians*; but I do verily believe, if there were any ſuch people, that they were ſavages of *America*, over-againſt *Germany*, who were put from the ſhore with a weſterly wind; as the *Spaniards* relate of a *Biſcainer*, that was forced with an eaſterly wind from the *Canaries* to the coaſt of *America*, from whom *Columbus* had his light for the diſcovery of the *Indies*: both theſe reports I believe alike.

The fifth proof of a paſſage is grounded upon a report of *Cortereal*, a *Portugueſe*, who, by his own report, paſſed it, and gave it the name of *Cortereal*. But where this *Portugueſe* was born, or took ſhipping, or by whom he was imployed, or upon what occaſion, what became of the reſt of the men, the name of the ſhip, captain, and maſter, or the journals of the voyages, is not expreſſed; which makes me doubt of the credit of this ſtory; for there is no man ſo void of ſenſe, that does not obſerve the month and day of his departure from home, and all accidents in the journey; or though the *Portugueſe* ſhould be careleſs thereof, yet of ten mariners, eight of them would obſerve it.

But leaving this to the *Portugueſe* forgetfulneſs, let us examine who ſhould employ him; and upon what occaſion. If we ſpeak according to reaſon, no prince ſo likely as the kings of *England*, *Scotland*, or *Denmark*; whoſe countries lie more convenient for the paſſage.

Neither is it likely that any other than a prince would ſet them out, becauſe it would concern a prince more than any private man; but allow that more than one or ten ſhould employ them; think you the ſecret of the voyage could be concealed, or that they would leave proſecuting it when diſcovered: no, no; for in thoſe days *England*, *Scotland*, and *Denmark*, would have thought it a great happineſs to their ſtate to have found it out.

And to prove what I ſay, that *England* was ignorant of any ſuch diſcovery, we have no record of any ſuch voyage undertaken out of *England*; nor proof of the *Portugueſe* offer to any king of *England*, as we have of *Columbus*, who tendered his ſervice

to *Henry* VII. for the diſcovery of the *Weſt Indies*, before he made offer of it to *Spain*.

How this *Portugueſe* could cauſe ſuch a ſilence in the reſt of the company, as not to make report of it, is very doubtful, ſeeing man naturally is apt to extol himſelf; and ſuch a ſervice as that paſſage, would cauſe the men not only to boaſt of it, but alſo to make offer where it was moſt likely to be accepted; which, as I have ſaid, I could never hear was done to *England*.

It is an old ſaying, That two may keep counſel, if the third be away; but that the *Portugueſe* could paſs in a ſhip that had but two or three men to ſail her, or that they could be made ſo ſilent as not to report, I refer my ſelf to any judicious man.

The voyage was neither by the king his maſter's appointment, nor by any miniſter under him, or by the conſent of the one or the other, you may conjecture; becauſe the diſcovery of that paſſage, was likely to hazard his greatneſs in the *Eaſt Indies*; and therefore, if any ſuch ſhould be attempted, it is likely he ſhould rather forbid than further it.

And ſeeing it was never ſeconded by *England*, *Scotland*, or *Denmark*, and the king of *Portugal* had leſs reaſon than the reſt to diſcover it, I believe the *Portugueſe* was like a great many vagabonds in *England*, who beg under the name of ſoldiers, that never were in war.

The ſixth proof of a paſſage, and particularly out of the *South Sea*, is related by one *Salvatierra*, a gentleman of *Spain*, that ſpoke it from the mouth of one *Andrew Sernita*, a frier, in the year 1560. which frier confeſſed to the ſaid *Salvatierra*, that he had paſſed from the *South Sea* into *Germany* through the north-weſt paſſage.

This report ſeems to be a hear-ſay of a ſecond perſon; and whether the frier ſpoke it to *Salvatierra*, or no, that muſt reſt upon the honeſty of *Salvatierra*; and whether the frier ſpoke truth, in ſaying it, reſts as much upon the honeſty of the frier; ſo that there are two mens credits at ſtake, and neither of them both to be examined: but let us examine the likelihood of it.

The king of *Spain* in thoſe days had as little reaſon to diſcover ſuch a paſſage into the *South Sea* as the king of *Portugal*; becauſe it would be as great a damage to him as to the king of *Portugal*; the trade of *Peru* being as much expoſed as that of the *Eaſt Indies*.

But ſuppoſe there was no hurt or damage to the king of *Spain* by that paſſage, yet the finding of it would be more inconvenient; for it is nearer from *Lima* to *Panama*, and from thence to *Nombre de Dios* by land, and ſo into *Spain*, which is the ordinary way of trade, than from *Lima* to *Spain* by a north-weſt paſſage.

And therefore ſeeing the diſcovery of that paſſage would neither profit nor ſhorten the *Spaniards* voyage, but might in time [illegible], yea hazard the whole *Indies*. [illegible] reaſon the *Spaniards* had to attempt, [illegible] diſcovery, but rather to divert it; and therefore the frier's teſtimony to be doubted.

By his own report, this paſſage was not long diſcovered before the year 1560. Sir *Martin Forbuſher*'s laſt attempt to the north-weſt was undertaken in 1576. ſo that there could not be twenty years difference betwixt their two undertakings.

If the frier's relation had been true, it is not likely it would have been concealed: and ſeeing Sir *Martin*'s action was undertaken by the queen, who had better means to underſtand the ſtate of it than any private man, no queſtion but the queen would have procured a certain relation for Sir *Martin*'s better inſtruction.

Or if the frier's arrival had been upon the coaſt of *Germany*; as neither the time, place, company, nor ſhip, is ſpoken of, nor any *German* writer makes mention of, which it is likely they would have done, if it had been true, or if not, ſo memorable a thing as the north-weſt paſſage would not have been forgotten in twenty years.

Beſides, the *Germans* had been as likely as any nation in the world to have attempted it, if there had been cauſe, conſidering how induſtrious and ingenious they are by nature; and ſeeing that neither report made it famous, nor that it was ever ſeconded by any other perſon, I think the frier paſſed it in a dream, or upon the horſe *Pegaſus*.

The ſeventh reaſon to prove a paſſage, was by *Stephen Gomes*'s offer to *Charles* V. in 1527. who would have ſent to diſcover it, but that his imployment was ſo great otherwiſe, that he could not attend it; and the king of *Portugal* fearing that the emperor would perſevere in the enterprize, gave him three hundred thouſand ducats to deſiſt; as ſaith *Franciſco de Ulloa*.

How probable this is, let us a little examine. Firſt, I think that neither *Gomes*, nor any other man, durſt make ſuch an offer to the emperor; for he might as well have preſented him with poiſon in his cup, as to diſcover a paſſage that might prove ſo hurtful to the ſtate of *Spain*; and I think few kings would have ſuffered *Gomes* to have lived, if they believed his relation, left, upon refuſal, he might have tendered it to ſome other prince or country that might lie more conveniently for it.

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Secondly, *Gomes* could not have been ſuch a fool, but to think, as it ſtood with the ſtate of the emperor, to have the paſſage found; yet as the emperor was king of *Spain*, it was the moſt hurtful and dangerous thing that could happen to his kingdoms; and of the two titles and dignities, the emperor was to reſpect his inheritance of *Spain*, being ſucceſſive, as the other was but elective.

To prove that it has been paſſed, is not ſet down by *Gomes*; and reaſons that it may be paſſed are as well known to thouſands as to *Gomes*; which makes me judge of *Gomes* to be an undertaking fellow, as we have many in our age that will put themſelves into action, and promiſe good ſucceſs to keep themſelves employ'd.

And I do the rather believe this of *Gomes*, becauſe I read in the voyage of *Magellan* about the world, that this *Gomes* was pilot of one of his ſhips, wherein *Alvaro Meſquita*, *Magellan*'s nephew, went captain; and coming into the *Streights* of *Magellan*, *Gomes* mutiny'd, and compelled this captain to return home.

Beſides, I find it recorded of the ſaid *Gomes*, That he undertook the diſcovery of the north-weſt paſſage in 1525. and after ten months ſpent without effecting it, he brought home certain *Indians*, and arriving at the *Groyne*, was called to from the ſhore as he enter'd that harbour, to know what he came home laden withal; who anſwer'd, with *Eſclavo's*, meaning with *Indians*, which the others conceived to be *Clavo's*, *viz.* cloves, upon the firſt apprehenſion thereof; and in hope to get a reward of the king, the party poſted up to the court with tidings, that *Gomes* had been at the iſlands of *Molucco's*, and was return'd home, laden with cloves; but when this news was contradicted, the fellow loſt his charge and travel, and they were both derided.

But to return where I left off, though there had been no likelihood to impeach the emperor in his *Indies* by this paſſage, yet conſidering it was like to prejudice the king of *Portugal* in the *Eaſt Indies*, the emperor had reaſon, without receiving any ſuch ſum of money, to hinder it; for as much as the more nations traded that way, the ſooner they might diſcover thoſe places that were diſcover'd afterwards, as namely, the *Phillipines*, and other iſlands, and in time might prove his moſt dangerous neighbours.

But eſpecially the emperor was married to the daughter of Don *Emanuel* king of *Portugal*, who had the reverſion of all his kingdoms, if his heirs males failed, as it did, and became hereditary to *Spain*.

And therefore it was moſt ridiculous we ſhould conceive the emperor ever threatened the king of *Portugal* with that diſcovery, or received money of him to that purpoſe, as is expreſſed. But I obſerve it is the nature of all men to flatter themſelves with hope of a thing they would have, and will wreſt reaſons and ſtories to ſtrengthen their belief, by example of this which they miſreport; and therefore I will ſet down the truth of this ſtory out of authentick authors.

There was a long queſtion and debate between the emperor and the king of *Portugal*, to whom the *Molucco's* ſhould belong. And it is true the emperor labour'd to find another way to the *Molucco's*, than by the cape of *Good Hope*.

Magellan was a *Portugueſe* by birth, who had lived ſeven years in the *Indies*: he left the ſervice of his king, and offered it to the emperor, giving hope to find a new way to the *Molucco's*, though it proved the loſs of his own life.

The controverſy to whom the *Molucco's* ſhould belong, continued between the two crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*, and the *Spaniards* made ſundry attempts, by way of the *Streights*, but evermore with unfortunate ſucceſs. At laſt Don *John* III. of *Portugal*, and brother-in-law to the emperor, willingly lent him three hundred and fifty thouſand ducats when he went into *Italy* to be crown'd emperor, upon condition the king of *Portugal* ſhould no way be moleſted in his poſſeſſion of the *Molucco* iſlands till that money was repaid; which being never done, the *Spaniards* never ſince pretended to thoſe iſlands. But there was no mention made of a north-weſt paſſage.

Although there are a great many more probabilities that the *Streights* have not been at any time paſſed, than otherwiſe, yet it is no reaſon abſolutely to diſprove a paſſage, whatſoever any man ſhall ground upon philoſophical arguments, or by any globe or card that is extent; for except a globe-maker can as well prove by experience that there is ſuch a ſea as he ſets down, and by the teſtimony of ſome men that went it, he may as well ſuppoſe what he makes ſea to be as dry land as the deſarts of *Arabia*: and therefore leaving this trial, I will proceed further.

I have peruſed all the voyages to the north-weſt made by Sir *Martin Forbiſher*, and Mr. *John Davies*, with whom I have often conferred touching this paſſage; and I have found by them a likelihood of it, but no more aſſurance than from thoſe that never went ſo far as they did. Therefore whatſoever is hitherto done, is but imaginary.

I muſt confeſs that the laſt year's attempt of *Hudſon*'s has given us knowledge of four hundred leagues further than ever was known

known before; and out of his diſcovery we are to conjecture more or leſs poſſibility of it.

And becauſe I make this voyage the foundation of all others that ſhall ſucceed, I will ſet down, as much as I can remember, what I received from the mouth of the maſter that came home from *Hudſon*, touching the particulars of his voyage, and whether it will avail us, or no, being diſcovered.

The entrance was in ſixty three degrees, and they ran in that height two hundred leagues, and finding the *Streight*, which was forty leagues over to run ſouth, they followed that ſoutherly courſe, making account it would bring them into the *South Sea*; and here they ran two hundred leagues more, till they found the water too ſhallow and unpaſſable.

They wintered in an iſland in fifty two degrees; where in the whole winter they ſaw but one man who came to them but twice: the ſecond time of his coming he brought with him three deer-skins, which he would not exchange for a hatchet; for he priz'd them at more value: but when he ſaw that he could not have it under the whole three, he was content to let them go, and promiſed by ſigns to come the next morning; but came not.

The ſavage was cloathed in skins, and his arrows forked with iron. They found the place much ſubject to north-weſt winds, and far exceeding any part of *England* in coldneſs.

As they tended ſouth, going about the headland, they paſſed near the ſhore, and betwixt certain rocks, ſmall iſlands, and main lands.

They found the flood to come from the north-weſt, which is one of their arguments that it came from the main ſea. The next voyage muſt be to diſcover from whence this current comes, and to ſee if in running weſt or north-weſt, they can find a ſtreight to run ſouth, or an open ſea to the northward.

Victuals they found none from the ſhore, but white partriges; the water they had was ſnow water, which fell abundantly into their ſhips every night: wine, aquavitæ, and other liquid things, did freeze in an exceeding manner, though it was but in fifty two degrees.

I conceive two eſpecial benefits by *Hudſon*'s diſcovery; the one, That we have paſſed two hundred leagues more weſt than was ever diſcovered; that hereafter we may be bold to ſail two hundred leagues directly, without loſing any time to ſearch one ſhore or other, which would have taken up a whole ſummer, if they had not intended to winter.

The ſecond is, That whereas there was hope of a paſſage to fall into the *South Sea*, not many leagues after the entrance into the *Streights*, this diſcovery has put us out of doubt of it; ſo that I make account there is another ſummer gained.

I will ſuppoſe we are two hundred leagues in the *Streights*, and, as they ſay, we encounter with a north-weſt flood: but before we direct our courſe weſt and north-weſt, let us judge of this flood, and where they met it: if in the midſt of the channel, we may the better believe it came out of the main ſea; but if amongſt iſlands, broken land, or rocks, we have no reaſon to ground our hopes of a voyage upon it.

For by experience upon the coaſt of *Britany*, or where there are many iſlands or rocks, the tides alter according to the rocks and iſlands; and I know *Hudſon*'s company confeſs they met them amongſt rocks and iſlands; and therefore no hold to be taken of a north-weſt flood.

But according to the hope we conceive of this flood, we direct our north-weſt courſe, being entered the *Streights*, and in ſixty two degrees. You muſt note, that in running north-weſt, every twenty eight leagues you raiſe a degree; and the further you run any point to the northward, the greater hazard you ſhall endure by ice and cold, the worſt wintering, if you be put to it, and the further from your voyage, becauſe the courſe lies ſoutherly.

But one hope may be, That the northern part of *America*, which is made land in the maps, will prove ſea. Allowing it to be true, and the *Streights* to run but two hundred leagues farther, either northward or weſtward, then let us compare the time we have to paſs the *Streight*, and reckon our departure from *England*, and we ſhall find the climate very unſeaſonable, either to winter, or to make a factory, if we paſs it not in one ſummer.

From *England* to the *Streights-Mouth*, ſeven hundred leagues; to the place diſcovered two hundred; to the ſea imagin'd two hundred north-weſt, where I will ſuppoſe there is an open ſea, though the contrary is known. Now have I run one thouſand one hundred leagues, and in ſixty two degrees.

And if we will know the diſtance from thence to the *Molucco's*, or where we have now a trade, this rule will lead us, (*viz.*) to meaſure with the meridian line from the the entrance of the *Streight*, lying in ſixty two degrees, due ſouth, to the heighth of twenty three and a half, which is the latitude of cape *California*; then meaſure the diſtance from this meridian to the cape of *California*, and from thence to the cape *Mendacina*, which is the furthermoſt known part of *America*, and after to the *Molucco's*, and

and you ſhall find nothing gained by this diſcovery; for that of neceſſity the land of *America* muſt be doubled, before we direct our courſe to any of the places aforeſaid.

But ſuppoſe, upon the opening of the ſea to the northward, the land proves, as is deſcrib'd in moſt globes and maps, (*viz.*) all land, and no ſea, then are you to run due weſt in ſixty two degrees, as aforeſaid; or as the land ſhall lie, ſo many leagues, as you ſhall meaſure by the former rule, (*viz.*) from the ſaid meridian line to the cape *Mendacina*, which, conſidering the diſtance and diſtemperature, the courſe alone would not be run in a whole ſummer.

Or if, being in ſixty two degrees, we find a paſſage to run ſouth-weſt, and to fall into the *South Sea*, about the heighth of cape *California*, it is great odds, that ſtreight will not always run deep, by example of the *Red Sea* and *Perſian Gulph*; both which want no breadth, though very ſhallow; and if this ſhould prove deep and broad, yea, though the narroweſt place be but one league over, we may have the honour to diſcover it; but any other nation ſhall reap as great benefit by it as ourſelves, if we cannot make it good and fortify it on both ſides.

Let us reckon how many leagues we ſhall run before we come to the *Molucco's* by the courſe into the *South Sea*: Allow we be in ſixty two degrees, and nine hundred leagues from *England*; and that our entrance into the *South Sea* be in twenty three degrees ſouth-weſt; then have we raiſed thirty nine degrees, which in a ſouth-weſt courſe amounts to nine hundred and ſeventy five leagues; and from that heighth to *Java* the diſtance is certainly known, by the navigation of Mr. *Cavendiſh*, the pilot of whoſe ſhip, and many other principal men, are yet living, and have annexed the diſtance of places, the days of ſailing, and their abode in every harbour where they arrived, to the *Diſcourſe of the Voyage about the World*; as thus:

From cape *California*, in twenty three degrees and a half, to the iſlands of *Ladrones*, they note one thouſand five hundred and fifty leagues; from the *Ladrones* to the *Phillipines* three hundred and twenty; from the *Phillipines* to *Java Major* five hundred and twenty five: ſo that by this computation, which cannot be diſproved, it amounts to four thouſand five hundred and ſeventy two leagues betwixt *England* and *Java*, by a paſſage into the *South Sea*; and reckoning from *Java* to *England* the common way, by obſervation of the ſaid pilot, it is but four thouſand five hundred leagues, (*viz.*) from *Java* to the cape of *Good Hope* one thouſand eight hundred leagues; from thence to *Flores* one thouſand two hundred; from *Flores* to *England* four hundred and fifty; ſo that we find by demonſtration, that it is further by four hundred and forty five leagues, by a paſſage into the *South Sea*, than by the known way of the cape of *Good Hope*, which is daily frequented.

But it may be ſaid, by the north-weſt paſſage we ſhall have the trade of *Japan* and *China*; which will more avail us than the trade of the *Molucco's*, and the *Eaſt-Indies*, becauſe they are many leagues nearer. If the paſſage be found, I confeſs there is ſomething gained in the diſtance, but nothing in the navigation, allowing that this paſſage falls into the *South Sea*; as if it does not, little good is like to enſue of it, becauſe of the hazard of cold, of ice, and of unknown ſeas, which experience muſt teach us.

But to diſprove the opinion of ſuch as are erroneouſly carry'd away with the conceit that the *Streights* are like to fall into the *South Sea*; about the cape of *California*, this that follows ſhall give an infallible ſatisfaction, by proof that has been made upon that coaſt to the weſtermoſt part of all *America*, both from *Mexico* within the land, and from *Acapulco*, and the port of *Navidad* by ſea.

Ferdinand Cortes, who was captain general of this new-conquered country of *New Spain*, and *Anthony Mendoſa*, at that time viceroy of it, the one hating the other mortally, as is the cuſtom where two ſuch commanders have ſuch equal authority; yet they both preferred the ſervice of their maſter before their own ſpleen and revenge, and jointly undertook a diſcovery of *Quivira*, and the weſtermoſt parts of *America*, being made believe it abounded in riches, and had a trade from *China*, and other parts of *Aſia*. They employ'd in this journey one *Francis Vaſques de Caranaca*, who arrived there by land with a number of *Spaniards*, both horſe and foot; in which journey they endured greater famine and other extremities, than all the reſt of the *Spaniards* undertakings in the continent of *America*.

Some of thoſe *Spaniards*, though not many, returned by land to *Mexico*; from whence they departed, and reported the calamities and extremities they ſuffered. By this I collect, and by my collection will frame my unanſwerable argument, to give the world ſatisfaction, that from *Mexico* to the weſtermoſt part of *America*, in which ſpace, if there be a paſſage, it muſt fall into the *South Sea*, in all their journey they found neither ſea, ſtreight, or other impediment, to hinder or ſtop their journey by land, but that they went and arrived at *Sibola* and *Quivira*; from whence they return'd, which they could not have done if there had been a ſtop-

a ſtoppage by water, either freſh or ſalt; neither did they carry any proviſion of boats, or other means to tranſport men or horſe.

But for better ſatisfaction to this point, I will lay open a later proof, known to divers *Engliſhmen* yet living, that were with Mr. *Cavendiſh* in his glorious voyage about the world in 1586. After he had paſſed the *Streights of Magellan*, and the coaſts of *Chile*, *Peru*, *New Spain*, he came to *California*, where he took his rich prize of ſeven hundred tons of *China* ſilks, coming from the *Philippine* iſlands, bound for the port of *Navidad* in *New Spain*: this ſhip had in her one hundred and ninety paſſengers; and after he had laden his own ſhips with her merchandize, he burnt both ſhip and goods, not being able to carry her with him; and for the men he put aſhore at cape *California*; from whence they travelled by land as far as to the port of *Navidad*, whither they were bound by ſea.

In their way they paſſed many *Indian* countries, not commonly known to the *Spaniards* before; in all which travel they found no interruption by ſtreight, river, or other let of water, freſh or ſalt: and for the proof of their ſafe arrival at the port of *Navidad* aforeſaid, beſides the relation I have ſeen of it, it happened that many years after, a pilot of the ſaid prize taken by Mr. *Cavendiſh*, and a *Greek* by nation, returning into his country, after twenty years ſpent abroad, happened into the company of one Mr. *Lock* an *Engliſhman*, in *Italy*, with whom he grew acquainted, and related to him all the particulars of his voyage, as well what happened by ſea as by land, after Mr. *Cavendiſh*'s putting them aſhore. But leaving this argument, I will proceed farther.

Allow that we be in twenty three degrees, and in the *South Sea*, and direct our courſe to the iſlands of *Japan*, we are to run one thouſand ſix hundred leagues a weſterly courſe (*viz.*) to cape *Mendacina* ſeven hundred leagues, and from thence to *Japan* nine hundred, by the reckoning of *Francis Gall*, who was a perfect pilot, and had often ſailed it; ſo that by this courſe we ſhall run three thouſand four hundred and ſeventy five leagues from *England* to *Japan*.

To prove that nothing is gain'd by this navigation, I will allow we are at *Japan*, and reſolve upon our return for *England* the ſame way we went: we muſt ſo caſt our voyage, as to be ſure of a ſufficient time for our paſſage through the *Streights* in ſummer, otherwiſe we muſt reſolve to be frozen or ſtarved by the way; and what a hazard we ſhall run, if winds croſs us, our maſts break, our ſhips ſpring a leak, the ſails ſplit, men fail by ſickneſs, I ſay, if any of theſe accidents happen, we are left deſtitute of all help or hope, and the greateſt calamity or miſery that ever befel men will light upon us; for there is no death comparable to hunger and cold: and to ſhew how unlikely it is for us to return in one, or ſcarcely in two ſummers, let us examine the winds and ſeaſons.

The *Spaniards* that come from the *Philippines* to *New Spain*, ſtand over to the main land of *America*, and coaſt the ſhore, finding the winds all eaſterly at ſea, inſomuch that they are returning eight months, which they are going in ten weeks; and this is the rather approved by Mr. *Cavendiſh*'s ſailing from cape *California* to the *Philippines*, who never found the wind from betwixt the eaſt and north-eaſt, from the 19th of *November* to the 15th of *January*, in which time he ſailed two thouſand three hundred leagues.

So that although we ſhall arrive with a fair wind at *Japan*, yet, conſidering we ſhall find it againſt us in our return, we ſhall ſooner by one third part, and with leſs hazard and danger, come home by the cape of *Good Hope*, than through the *South Sea*.

Let me now appeal to the opinion of any mariner, whether it were not better for a man to ſail ſix thouſand leagues in a certain and known navigation, where the winds nor ſeaſons never fail, than three thouſand in an uncertain ſea, as we ſhall find to the northward, where the winds are variable, and the climate unnatural, except it be in the *South Sea*, which I have ſhewn the inconveniency of.

The delay of voyages is commonly when the factor is not ready to lay his goods aboard; for there may be time loſt in ſeeking ſuch commodities as his merchant writes for, for a convenient time and ſeaſon to ſhip it; ſome want or diſability in the ſhip or company, arreſt or ſtay by the prince where they are, or many other caſualties not thought upon; but when a ſhip departs from any harbour ſo far off as the *Eaſt Indies*, and ſeeks to recover the place whither ſhe is bound, it cannot be any great hindrance to the merchant to loſe a month's time in coming home, but the rather profitable, as I will demonſtrate by one of thoſe voyages.

For if by the north-weſt there be ſo quick a paſſage, and ſo ſhort a way to go and come as is deſired, I ſay, the trade in few years will be overlaid; for as it is now by the cape of *Good Hope*, ſince we and the *Hollanders* have had traffick in the *Eaſt-Indies*, pepper is bought from 2 *d.* to 4 *d.* there, and when it increaſes in price where it ſhould leſſen, and falls where it ſhould increaſe, what think you in time this voyage will come to, if followed, either the one way or the other?

Let

Let us likewiſe conſider what needleſs commodities they bring from thence. I ſee not but this country may live as well without ſpices, as our forefathers have done; neither are they to be had in truck of our home commodities, as cloth, lead, and tin; but if the merchant make gain by this trade, the chiefeſt ſtock he imploys muſt be in ſilver, which has, and will, in time, make ſuch a dearth of money in *England*, as all men in general will rue it: and as I have ſaid before, we ſhall have the leſs money, and the great quantity of thoſe needleſs commodities, if the navigation ſhould prove ſhort and eaſy.

If a man will ſpeak truly and indifferently of the trade of the *Eaſt Indies*, it is not ſo fit for any king or prince, as the king of *Spain*, who has other *Indies* to ſupply the ſilver that goes out of his country; then what hope have we to perſevere in that voyage, who have no mines or means by traffick to bring money into this kingdom? For this take for an infallible argument, That country which receives more commodities than it vends, the overplus muſt of neceſſity be of money: and by reaſon of our waſteful expence, in ſuch needleſs and ſuperfluous things, as ſilks, lawns, ſpices, wine, tobacco, ſugar, and a hundred ſuch vanities; we muſt confeſs there comes in much more of theſe commodities, than goes out of the realm in truck for them: and then let us conſider the benefit of this trade, and how long it is like to continue good, for the benefit and profit of this kingdom.

The miſchief that is befallen us, by exhauſting our ſilver was foreſeen long ſince by *Charles* V. emperor; who, beholding the greedy gain of the *Portugueſe*, in their trade to the *Indies*, was wont to ſay, "They "were enemies to chriſtendom, by carrying their treaſure from *Europe* to enrich "the heathens."

But now to proceed to what I conceive of *Hudſon*'s laſt voyage: I find we are hopeleſs of any good by the *South Streights* where he winter'd, becauſe of the ſhallowneſs of the water in fifty two degrees; or if it had run as far as to have brought him into an open ſea, yet it was a great error in *Hudſon*, to bid his company welcome into the *South Sea*, upon that *Streight*, tending to the ſouthward; for if you pleaſe to meaſure it by a meridian line, you will find it would have brought him ſcarcely as far as the iſlands of *Lucaias*, which is ſhort of the *Weſt Indies*, and the land *Columbus* firſt diſcover'd.

I verily believe the ſavage *Hudſon* met withal, had been acquainted with trade; firſt, by adventuring ſo near the ſhips and men, the ſight whereof would have daunted him, if he had not ſeen the like before. Secondly, that whereas at his firſt coming, he brought with him three deer-skins, which he would not truck for a hatchet, eſteeming them of better value; this ſhews he knew the price of the hatchet, and knew as well how to rate his hides: and thirdly, by the iron of his dart, which manifeſtly ſhewed, he uſed to trade with chriſtians.

But if it be true, which is told me, that ſome did imagine the iron came from *Japan*, and that thoſe of *Japan* traded with them people, ; the conceit is ſtrange to me, that any man ſhould believe that *Japan* lying ſo far thence as it is, ſhould have trade with a people and country that affords nothing, no, not ſo much as victuals.

If the *Japoneſe* came to diſcover, they ſaw themſelves out of hope to paſs that way, by example of our men; ſo that it is like, that if they had been there once, they would not have come twice; and therefore little ſign of a trade: or if they came to diſcover, it is likely they hop'd to find a ſea, as well as land; and then I ſee not, but they might as well come to us, as we deſire to go to them.

But whoſoever will underſtand reaſon, need not go ſo far as *Japan* for it; for it is moſt apparent, conſidering the height, the diſtance from the ocean ſea, from hence, and from *Canada*, where the *French* yearly trade, it is like this fellow had trade with the *French*; and I am of opinion that *Canada* is but one hundred and fifty miles from this place; and I further believe, That the relation the *French* give of a ſea they have ſeen weſt in thoſe countries, is no other than this *Streight*, or what elſe you will call it, that *Hudſon* diſcovered.

Having ſhewed the ſmall probability of a paſſage, and confuted ſuch mens reaſons as have pretended to have paſſed it, having alledged ſome arguments, that we ſhould have gained little time, though it were diſcovered either north or ſouth; and thirdly, what profit ſhall we reap by it, though it were found? eſpecially conſidering we ſhall have no more privilege than any other nation, except it prove narrow, for us to ſtrengthen and fortify?

Now laſtly will I ſet down a project, how to undertake a diſcovery with ſmall charge; and either find it, or be out of hope of it, in little more than two years.

Beſides the charge and endeavour that is to be uſed in this voyage of diſcovery, I will perſuade, though it be with ſome coſt to the adventurers, That either a pilot be procured from *Spain*, that hath ſailed from the *Philippines* to *New Spain*, who I think is better able to give a light of this voyage, than by experience we ſhall attain to in many years:

Or if there be a difficulty to get ſuch a pilot, yet that he may be conferred with, by

by ſome of good underſtanding in coſmography; for, no doubt, ſailing along the ſhore, as they do in that navigation, he can be able to ſay, whether it be likely that any great river or ſtreight can give hope of a paſſage that falls into the *South Sea*; or, at leaſt, he is able to tell the diſtance from *China* to the main land of *America*; and whether the current ſets from the north, or no, as *Francis Gall* deſcribes; and he is able to tell the breadth of the main land of *America*, from cape *Mendacina* to *New Spain*, if you doubt of *Francis Gall*'s report; and this will I wiſh to be done, before undertaking another voyage; for certainly it will give great hope or diſpair to our diſcovery.

I know it is conceived by the *Spaniards* in thoſe parts of the world, that there is a ſea to the northward that divides *Aſia* from *Africk*; but if it be true, (as I think no leſs,) the entrance of it muſt be farther northward than yet we have diſcovered; and I am of opinion, we muſt bring the moſt northern part of all *America* ſoutherly, before we run weſt; or as the land ſhall bear; and then finding no ice on the ſtarbord ſide, we may be bold to ſay, we have entred into an open ſea; for it ſtands againſt ſenſe or reaſon, that any *Streights* ſhould run deep or narrow, as it muſt do, if we profit by it, whether it run weſt, north, or ſouth, ſo many leagues as the breadth of *America*, if *America* be truly deſcribed; as that we ſhall know by the conference with the pilot of the *Phillipines*.

But now to proceed upon the north-weſt diſcovery; The men that go that voyage, muſt be ſuch as trade into *Iceland*; for they are beſt able to endure the cold, and moſt acquainted with the northern climates.

Three veſſels are enough to undertake it; the one of two hundred tons, the other of fifty tons apiece. The ſhip is to carry ſuch proviſions for wintering, as ſhall be thought neceſſary, with a ſurplus of victuals to be put into the barks at the departure of the ſhip from them.

This ſhip may, if they ſee a convenient place, make her voyage upon the coaſt with fiſhing; if not, ſhe may put round for *Newfoundland*, and buy her lading of fiſh, which being carry'd into the *Streights*, will make a profitable return, towards the charge of the diſcovery.

The two barks muſt be ſtrong and ſhort, becauſe of their aptneſs to ſtay and tack, if the come into a narrow *Streight*, ſhoal water, or amongſt ice.

The captains muſt be skilful mariners, and good coſmographers, men of good reputation, and of great reſolution, for their credits to perform ſuch a voyage; and for their carriage, not to be daunted at any diſaſter.

Their commiſſion muſt give them liberty to puniſh with death, if mutinies or diſorders ariſe; but above all, nothing muſt be wanting that can be thought of for a two years voyage in a northern climate.

The maſters muſt take an oath, to uſe their beſt endeavours to advance the voyage, and to keep ſecret the journal: the plats and cards, and all other writings that concern their navigation, muſt be taken from them at their coming home, and ſealed up to preſent to his majeſty.

There are many other cares to be committed to the captains and maſters; as their mutual agreement; their husbanding of victuals; their drawing the proportion of every cape; the depth and diſtance from place to place; the obſervation of winds, times, and ſeaſons; the variation of the compaſs, and care in keeping company; and to appoint a place of meeting, if they loſe one another, hailing each one both morning and evening; what to do in fogs; to take poſſeſſion of ſuch countries as they come to for the king, and leaving ſome ſigns of their being there for whoſoever ſhall come after. Many other things are to be thought on before their going from home, too tedious to ſet down.

If the two barks ſhall arrive in a place where a river or ſtreight does open two ways, they are to part company, and each of them to proceed upon their diſcovery, as they ſhall agree upon, (with this direction,) That upon either of their returns, they appoint a certain place on ſhore, where to leave their letters wrapped up in a box of lead; and in thoſe letters to make relation of their ſucceſs, from their departure from one another.

There muſt be great providence to preſerve their men in health, and from danger of their enemy; not to believe the allurement of ſavages, but when they ſtand upon their own guard; and if they be forced to uſe violence, to have a ſpecial care that the firſt piece they ſhoot, be ſure to kill or hurt; for ſo ſhall the ſavages be more terrify'd, when they find the pieces kill as well as make a noiſe.

But leaving the diſcovery of the north-weſt paſſage to the care, wiſdom, and diſcretion of the undertakers; I will deliver my conceit of a voyage, which hitherto no man hath written of, much leſs attempted; and that is, due north under the pole. One reaſon that induces me to it, is the nearneſs to *China*, *Japan*, and the *Eaſt Indies*, if there be a paſſage; for by computation, it cannot be above fifteen hundred leagues from *England* to *Quinſay*.

My

My other reaſon is grounded upon an error of the philoſophers; who conceived it was unhabitable under the line, which experience has taught us to the contrary: the like opinion they held of the pole; and we know they have no more reaſon for the one than for the other. And ſeeing the adventure cannot be great or dangerous for the undertakers, I would wiſh men to be as forward and willing to venture therein, as they are now in this to the north-weſt; for the proof is alike for any thing that is done as yet.

My third motive is grounded upon that which makes the impediment of the north-weſt paſſage; which is ice; and that I leaſt fear or doubt of, for the reaſons following.

The abundance of ice which floats in the ſea, and hinders the north-weſt paſſage, is not the ice of the ſea; for the great ſalt ſea cannot freeze; but it is the ice frozen in freſh rivers and ſounds, which, at the breaking up of the year, is driven out of the ſame harbours into the ſea; which ſhews there is more land upon the coaſt of *Labrado*, than towards the north pole; for ſhips have ſailed one hundred leagues to the northward of the north cape of *Norway*, and ſixty ſeven degrees, and have found no ice; whereas, if there had been land in that courſe, or to the northward of it, they would have found the ice, by the reaſons aforeſaid.

And whereas cold may be alledged for an impediment upon this diſcovery, we find by proof, and not without reaſon, that it is hotter to the northward in ſummer, than nearer the ſun, becauſe of the reflection of it, that gives a light and a heat for one half of the year: it is to be compared to a continual eaſy and gentle fire, which will caſt a greater heat, and of a longer continuance, than a violent flame that is ſoon quenched.

And becauſe all diſcoveries before ſpoken of, and that hereafter are to be attempted, have been, and muſt be, by the pains, labour, and induſtry of mariners, I think it not amiſs to ſet down what I was deſired by Mr. *Wright*, the great mathematician, to write to encourage and further a certain ſtipend for the maintenance of navigation, for ſeamens better inſtruction.

The Conveniency of a Lecture of Navigation.

I HELD it not amiſs to inſert ſo much as I was deſired to write, concerning the neceſſity of having a publick lecture read, for the inſtructing of mariners and ſeafaring men of this kingdom; which is as followeth.

If I ſhould go about to prove, how much more fit it is for *England* to maintain navigation than any other country that lies upon the continent, I ſhould do no more than many worthier perſons have hitherto undertaken, or that men in common reaſon ſhould conceive; for *England* is an iſland, and therefore bound to maintain ſhipping for defence of itſelf, offence to other nations, and inriching the commonwealth with trade: for neither can any man enter into peaceable or warlike ſort, or we our ſelves paſs forth of the kingdom, without the help of ſhipping.

And yet are ſhips alone no more available, without men to conduct them, than weapons without hands to fight. Seeing therefore that ſhips and ſeafaring men are unſeparable, the one of no uſe without the other, we muſt have as great care to bring up men, and make them skilful in that art of navigation, as to maintain ſhipping for the good of the commonwealth.

But, with pity I ſpeak it, we have not reſpected the inſtructing our mariners; and no marvel that we have ſuſtained ſo great a loſs by ſhipwreck; for no more than our ſeamen get by bare experience, they never endeavour themſelves to knowledge: and I judge the reaſon is, becauſe they have no means to attain it; otherwiſe I think they would be as willing to know their errors, as it were fit they ſhould be taught.

The help they received in theſe later times, was by mens writings, which I hold not ſo profitable as what they ſhall hear delivered by mouth; for the ordinary mariners are oftentimes ignorant of what they ſhall read, as not underſtanding either word or ſenſe; and when they ſhall have it demonſtrated to them, and the hard words and meaning made plain, they will both conceive what they hear, and be able to put in practice when they underſtand it.

Another diſcommodity they ſhall find by writing, is, That the ſecrets of the art will be publiſhed to the world, and other nations are likely to make as great uſe and benefit of it, as we ourſelves: and therefore, as we ought to ſtrive to exceed other men in navigation, in reſpect I have ſhewed it imports our country ſo much, ſo ought we to keep it ſecret, according to the example of *Spain*, which ſeeks to conceal divers rivers, and other places in the *Indies*, from us, which they know by diſcovery might breed them inconveniencies, and benefit us.

It is a queſtion, Whether a man ſhall attain to better knowledge by experience or learning? and many times you have controverſies ariſe, betwixt a ſcholar and mariner upon that point.

The ſcholar accounts the other no better than a brute beaſt, that has no learning but bare experience to maintain the art he profeſſes: the mariner accounts the ſcholar only verbal, and that he is more able to ſpeak, than act.

I confeſs this is great arrogancy in both, to ſtand ſo obſtinately upon themſelves, when they ought in reaſon one to aſſiſt the other; but eſpecially the mariner is to receive comfort from the ſcholar; for he that has but bare experience, receives what he has by tradition, for learning is the original ground of all arts; but he that has experience joined with learning, it makes that man excellent in the art he profeſſeth. What made *Abraham Kendall* and Mr. *John Davies* ſo famous for navigation, but their learning, which was confirmed by experience?

If we had but a lecture of navigation read, which ſeamen might reſort to, they would ſoon reform their ſpightful humours, and confeſs how needful it is, that learning ſhould be added to experience. And this lecture, no doubt, in a little time will make men as famous as either *Kendall* or *Davies*, to the honour and benefit of the commonwealth.

Men of learning were able to give great light for the finding out the longitude, and for the diſcovery of new lands or paſſages, which experience muſt beat out, when they have their grounds from learned men.

Every man in travel or journeying deſires to find the neareſt and eaſieſt way, for his reſt and gain of time, to come to his journey's end: and ſo ought the mariner much the more; for the ſea is tedious, and more difficult than the land. The land is firm and ſtedfaſt; the ſea wavering and moveable: the land is known and determined by marks, ſigns, and limits; the ſea is vaſt, and no marks to know it: the land has hills, mountains, and rocks; the ſea has ſtorms, tempeſts, great difficulties and dangers, and therefore the more need of help to avoid the fearful perils, and unlooked-for accidents man is ſure to meet withal in the wide and ſpacious ſea.

I am of opinion, there is no error the mariner finds at ſea, either in card, ſtar, inſtrument, or compaſs, but upon his information may be reduced by the skilful mathematician, and made perfect, if not ſuddenly, time may work it, by following ſuch inſtructions as ſhall be preſcribed by them.

It is ſtrange to ſee our errors, that we prefer idle and frivolous ſtudies that bring no profit, as namely, there are lectures of logick, rhetorick, and muſick, allowed, and the readers of them have a competent maintenance for the ſame; none of which ſtudies can be in election to bring the twentieth part of benefit to the commonwealth that this is like to do, if it be well uſed.

But I ſpeak not, that I would have this lecture only erected, and the reſt ſuppreſſed; for learning muſt be nouriſhed in all commonwealths, being the ground from whence government is derived; and for my own part, I will rather wiſh a larger contribution for the maintenance of the reſt, than a diminiſhing of what they have.

I am partly of opinion of our *Mathematicians*, that hold there is no certainty in the art of navigation in our ordinary maſters that take charge; for if there were, they would not ſo much vary one from another, as uſually they do: for proof whereof, let there be four or five maſters or pilots in one ſhip that goes or comes from *England* to the *Tercera's*, if they be any time in traves at ſea, you ſhall have ſome of them thirty leagues before the ſhip, and others as many leagues behind the ſhip.

Imagine by this what danger every ſhip is in that goes from *England*, and comes home again, which, to men of underſtanding, is a wonder that more ſhips do not miſcarry, conſidering the danger of our coaſt: It is not art, but fear and care, that preſerves them; for if they ſhould preſume upon their art to bear in with any land, the rocks would devour ten times more ſhips than they do: but the maſters having ſo provident a care, and ſo great a miſtruſt in their own art, that though they obſerve the ſun and ſtars never ſo exactly, they will not preſume to bear in with the land which they have not made, except the coaſt be clear, and the wind large to claw it off again.

But if this art can be made perfect, and the errors corrected and reduced to a certainty by the painful ſtudy of the learned, it will prove a happy thing to all ſeamen, and by conſequence to the whole commonwealth.

The only means of help that is to be expected or hoped for reformation of theſe ancient abſurdities, which the mariner by all his wit and skill cannot correct, muſt be by a publick lecture allowed to be read, and competent means collected and gather'd for the ſame: for if the hearers of a lecture of the liberal ſciences receive profit by hearing it read, you muſt confeſs they will receive much greater profit from this, being well taught.

For

For beſides the common good we ſhall receive by this lecture, it will concern gentlemen to ſtudy it, who ſeeing the pleaſure, and the neceſſity of it, will make them forward in actions by ſea, which will be a great ſtrength and ſtay to the kingdom; for it is requiſite that gentlemen ſhould have an inſight into ſea affairs; ſeeing they are commonly employ'd in his majeſty's ſhips in time of ſervice.

It is well known to other nations as to us, that *England* of late years has undertaken greater enterprizes, and atchiev'd greater victories by ſea, than ever any of our forefathers have done. And that theſe famous memoirs of ours may remain to poſterity, it is fit that gentlemen who live in this age, but eſpecially ſuch as have been actors in expeditions themſelves, ſhould contribute towards the maintenance of a lecture of navigation; which act of theirs will remain for a monument to thoſe that are the founders of it: ſo ſhall they deſerve well of ſucceeding ages, and their noble deeds will ever live freſh in memory of thoſe that ſhall come after them.

A Compariſon betwixt our ancient and known Trades, and thoſe now in being, ſince the late Diſcovery of New Worlds; with ſomething relating to the Hollanders *and Fiſhing, Particulars being referred to the Sixth Book.*

I WOULD have our hopeful fiſhing, now intended, compared and parallel'd with ſuch actions of ours, as of late years have been atchieved with everlaſting honour and renown to our nation, as ſhall appear by that which follows, as well in the diſcovery of unknown countries, as in new plantations, and other fought trades, not heretofore known nor dream'd of by our forefathers; and yet the ambition of that mungrel and unmannerly nation of *Holland* ſeeks to leſſen our praiſes: they cannot really challenge any thing of themſelves, but that we gave them light of; as ſhall appear in the ſixth book following.

I confeſs that ſuch *Engliſh* as have been the actors, authors, and abettors of our brave enterprizes, have obliged the whole commonwealth to them; firſt, by the adventure of their lives, to ſeek out the ſecrets of commerce. Secondly, by the expence of their eſtates, till they brought it to perfection. And, laſtly, by their labour, pains, and endeavour, to advance our navigation to that it was in former times; and yet if all theſe be examined and compared to our fiſhing, it will come ſhort to the happineſs our kingdom will reap by it.

If we enter into the original of our *Engliſh* trafficks, and the continuance of them, till the diſcovery of new countries, that gave us a greater ſcope to ſearch out the bowels of the earth, you would think it ſtrange our nation could flouriſh in ſo high a meaſure as it did, in compariſon of the preſent times: for I find, that in ſailing to the ſouthward, we exceed not the bounds of the grand *Canaries*, which voyage in former times was held a greater wonder and ſtranger than now about the world: neither was the art of navigation ſo common, or ſo perfectly known, till of late years, that by our travels we have attained to it; for I remember my ſelf the ignorance of a prime maſter, who, going to the *Canaries*, returned home without ſeeing any of the ſeven iſlands, for want of skill to direct him.

And to prove what I have ſaid, That our traffick to the *Canaries* ſtretches no further to the ſouth, this following ſhall clear the doubt, (*viz.*) That upon all treaties with *Spain*, ſince the diſcovery of the *Indies*, we were not prohibited by name the trade of the *Indies*; only we are tied to our antient and accuſtomed trafficks with *Spain*, which we cannot drive further to the ſouthward than the grand *Canaries*, nor of right by that article of peace can require it.

Our ancient and uſual trades, before the new diſcovery, was to all the dominions and iſlands of the kings of *Spain*, of *France*, of *Portugal*, the *Seventeen Provinces*, the ſeveral parts of *Germany*, *Denmark*, *Norway*, *Sweden*, the *Baltick Sea* and *Iſland*: theſe were the limits and bounds of our *Engliſh* commerce, before the latter end of *Henry* VII. when we came acquainted with *America*, *Africk* and *Aſia*.

It is marvellous if we conſider what *England* is now, to that it was in former ages; what wealth is returned into this kingdom, in reſpect of times paſt; what increaſe is made of his majeſty's rents and revenues, in compariſon of his progenitors; what an increaſe there is of ſhips in number and goodneſs; what dread and fear all other nations apprehend of our greatneſs by ſea; and what rumours are ſpread abroad in all the quarters of the world to make us famous. It is admirable if we call theſe things to mind.

And to come to the particulars of augmentation of our trades, of our plantations, and of our diſcoveries, becauſe every man ſhall have his due therein, I will begin

gin with *Newfoundland*, lying upon the main continent of *America*, which the king of *Spain* challenges as firſt diſcoverer; but as we acknowledge the king of *Spain* the firſt light of the weſt and ſouth-weſt parts of *America*, ſo we and all the world muſt confeſs, that we were the firſt that took poſſeſſion for the crown of *England* of the north part thereof, and not above two years difference betwixt the one and the other.

And as the *Spaniards* have from that day and year held their poſſeſſion in the weſt, ſo have we done the like in the north; and though there is no reſpect, in compariſon of the wealth, betwixt the countries, yet *England* may boaſt, that the diſcovery, from the year aforeſaid, to this very day, hath afforded the ſubjects annually one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds, and increaſed the number of many a good ſhip and mariners, as our weſtern parts can witneſs by their fiſhing in *Newfoundland*.

Neither can *Spain* challenge a more natural right than we to its diſcovery; for in that caſe we are both alike: if we deal truly with others, and not deprive them of their right, it is *Italy* that muſt aſſ...ne the diſcovery to itſelf, as well in the one part of *America*, as in the other.

Genoa, and *Chriſtopher Columbus* by name, muſt carry away the praiſe of it from *Spain*; for *Spain* had not that voyage in agitation, or thought of it till *Columbus*, not only propoſed, but accompliſhed it. The like may be ſaid by *Sebaſtian Cabot*, a *Venetian*, who by his earneſt interceſſion to *Henry* VII. drew him to the diſcovery of *Newfoundland*, and called it by the name of *Bacallao*, an *Indian* name for fiſh, for the abundance of fiſh he found upon that coaſt.

And ſpeaking of plantations, I will begin with *Newfoundland* itſelf, which lay uninhabited, and the country unthought on to produce profit, till my lord *Baltamore*, and ſome merchants of *Briſtol* undertook it. It may be they were the rather drawn to it by the plenty of fiſh, not once doubting of the ſoil, becauſe they had no proof of the winters habitation; and they might think that a freſh and green ſhew of a hopeful ſummer to the eye, ſuch as *England* yields, would ſend forth the like winter, and the like effect in winter; but by trial it failed, and proved a chargeable adventure, and the decay of my lord's eſtate. He returned for *England*, where once more he reſolved to try his fortunes in a new plantation in *Florida*; but in the mean time, and in the year 1632. he died.

Let not this colony of *Newfoundland* eclipſe my lord's judgment, or the adventurers with him. The chiefeſt exceptions againſt it, is the coldneſs of the climate, and the like might have been ſaid of *England*, upon the firſt plantation of it; for they lie both in one parallel. *Newfoundland* affords in view plenty of wood, graſs, water, and other hopes of commodities, till time and experience gave light to the contrary; and at the firſt, therefore, not to be diſproved, till a winter had made known the condition of the ſoil.

They had another help to their plantation, in that they were in no danger of ſavage enemies, which all *Engliſh* colonies are ſubject to, and have taſted the miſchief of; but, above the reſt, if the land had proved ſuitable to their hopes, and worthy of inhabiting, they might have planted and ſupplied it, at leſs than half the charge and expence of other colonies where the *Engliſh* are ſeated; for that there reſort yearly one hundred and fifty ſhips to the fiſhing in *Newfoundland*, which ſhips go not half freighted, and not above fifteen or ſixteen days ſailing with a reaſonable wind, that would be glad at a ſmall rate to carry any proviſions for the advancement of the plantation.

And ſeeing I have begun with *America*, I will take it in my way, not having relation to the years of the firſt plantation, but the neighbourhood to one another, and to the places where they are ſeated: and the next, according to the latitude, is *New England*, whoſe ſea affords excellent and choice fiſh; whither divers ſhips of *England* yearly reſort, to take and diſperſe it into ſeveral countries in *Europe*: the land, by mens endeavours, will be made to produce ſundry commodities, as a book that is publiſhed can witneſs; but for want of time, for yet it is but a child, and lately born and inhabited, little can be ſaid of it, more than a miſtruſt of the good ſucceſs thereof, through the numerous and irreligious people that poſſeſs it, being refractory to the church-government of *England*. From thence running ſouth, we arrive at *Virginia*, a place evil choſen for ſeat, ſoil, air, or any thing elſe to give encouragement for a plantation; yet ſeeing it was begun, and that the undertakers would not ſeem unconſtant, to change their firſt reſolutions, they have ſince 1602. continued a footing in it, with coſtly adventure, though hitherto it produced little more than tobacco. But this nothing leſſens the worthineſs of the undertakers, whoſe end is the general good of the commonwealth.

Not far from thence, to the ſouthward of it, in the year 1585. a colony was ſent to ſettle in *Norambega*, by the procurement of Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, a man much favoured and graced by the queen in thoſe days; and the man choſen for the conduction of his ſhips thither, was Sir *Richard Green-*

Greenville, who upon his arrival was to leave the government to Mr. *Ralph Lane*; and though the ſituation, the climate, and the natural ſoil, and the proof of the commodities the country yields, was able to give encouragement for the proſecution of it, yet for want of means, and willing minds, which is the bane of all undertakings, it failed, and produced nothing but tobacco, which has brought a greater miſchief to this kingdom than the profit would have countervailed, though it had proved ſucceſsful.

Later than all theſe, and, indeed, which is now in the infancy, is a plantation in *Florida*, and near to an ancient colony of the *French*, who through ill government were in the end forced to quit it. He that can judge of things muſt confeſs, That of all other plantations, this gives the greateſt hope and comfort, by proof that hath been made of it, and the temper, and the heighth it lieth in, if it be carefully followed, and ſufficiently ſupplied. One danger muſt be eſchewed, which other nations have found the ſmart of; which is the untamedneſs of the wild *Indians*, who are cruel to themſelves, and worſe to ſtrangers, as both the *French* and *Spaniards* have taſted. God ſend them fortune that live there, to their deſires, ſo they make not *England* ſtill unfortunate with tobacco.

Eaſt-north-eaſt from *Florida* lies the iſland of *Bermudas*, inhabited and peopled by our nation; whoſe extent can yield no greater profit than the circuit of the ground can promiſe, being but thirty miles in compaſs; by means whereof the planters are forced to till and manure their grounds in that exceſſive manner, that in a little time it will not be able to ſuſtain their people, but force them to find another habitation; which will move the leſs pity, becauſe they ſeek only to plant for tobacco, a thing ſo noiſome and loathſome to this kingdom.

This iſland at the beginning was diſcovered by the *Portugueſe* nation, and inhabited by them, till they found little profit accrued from it, and then they abandoned it, and left behind them ſuch food, eſpecially hogs, as they could not carry with them; and thus it lay waſte for many years, with a general opinion to be inhabited with ſpirits, which made all men ſhun the ſight of it at their return out of the *Indies*: though this error was eaſily ſalved; for I knew, above fifty years ſince, one captain *Ruſſel*, a *Frenchman*, ſhipwrecked upon that iſland; and with great induſtry of his people, for few of his men were loſt, they patched up a boat out of the materials of the periſhed ſhip, that carry'd them to *Newfoundland*, where they found relief and paſſage into their own country.

I knew likewiſe in the year 1592. another *French* ſhip wrecked upon the ſame iſland, in which an *Engliſhman*, one *Henry May*, was paſſenger, he having belonged to one of the ſhips captain *Ryman* had, when he was drowned returning from the *Indies*. This *May*, and ſome few men of this *French* ſhip were preſerved, and made ſhift, as the others did, to get to *Newfoundland*.

This plantation of *Bermudas* was not purpoſely undertaken by us, but accidentally fallen upon by the like ſhipwreck in Sir *Thomas Gates* and Sir *George Summers*'s paſſage to *Virginia*, whither they were bound; and being delighted with the pleaſures of that iſland, which was ſo well ſtored with hogs, they ſeated their colony remaining in it; ſince then they found a reaſonable quantity of amber-greaſe floating out of the ſea; and not without reaſon; for the coaſt of *Florida*, oppoſite to it, abounds in amber-greaſe.

The next, and more to the weſtward from thence, are the iſlands of *Barbadoes* and *St. Chriſtopher's*; and whereas the *Canary Iſlands* were formerly called the *Fortunate Iſlands*, ſo would we have theſe iſlands called the contrary, *(viz.)* the *Unfortunate Iſlands*, in that they produce nothing but ſtinking tobacco; which, if we judge wiſely, diſcovers the miſchief it does: but it has ſuch a bewitching power over the takers, that all the ill which comes of it, they interpret as good to their bodies, and have no more power to leave it, than drunkards when they are muzzled in it.

The next, and upon the next continent is *Guiana*, and the river of *Amazons*, where there have been many colonies ſettled by our nation in that ſpacious country; yet I could never hear of any commodities that roſe by it, or not ſo much in value, as two miles of ground in *England* would afford; and yet I muſt rightly ſay of that evil tobacco, this plantation ſends the beſt, if the ſtrength of tobacco be ſo accounted. The benefit of this plantation is, That the ſavages are more civil and tractable than in other parts of *America*; and that the climate and ſoil gives hope of good to come of it: but where the *Dutch* have had footing, and quitted it, takes away my belief of it.

Further to the ſouthward of this coaſt the *Engliſh* never ſate down with a reſolution to plant; and yet there are many ſhips that have made ſundry voyages, ſome to trade, others with letters of repriſal, as well upon the coaſt of *Braſil*, as through the *Streights* of *Magellan*, who have after coaſted to *Chile*, *Peru*, *Panama*, *New Spain*, and cape *California*, and took their leave of *America*, and the weſtermoſt

cape *Mendoſina*, the fartheſt land diſcover'd.

Our Trade to Africk *and* Aſia.

The next addition of our new trade, is upon the continent of *Africk*, as far ſouth as the cape of *Good Hope*, and then eaſtward to the cape of *Guardafuſa*, which is the ſea circuit of *Africk*; from thence we will paſs over to *Aſia*, till we arrive at the *Molucco Iſlands*, and the continent of *China*, to all which places we are now no ſtrangers, by our late and large navigation.

The firſt country and the nigheſt to us, where we ſettled a new trade, not frequented by our forefathers, was *Barbary*, under the king thereof, called *Mulley Abaleck*, in 1577. who gave the *Engliſh* large and fair conditions, as appears by the privileges extant; and from that year to this very day we have enjoy'd the ſame; and ſo prevail'd with ſucceeding kings, that we have beaten the *Portugueſe* out of that trade, who at firſt laboured to do the like to us.

In our time of wars with *Spain*, our ſhips of repriſal have received great comfort and relief of the two ports or roads in *Barbary*, which, upon neceſſity of victuals, water, and other wants, they have ſupply'd us withal, and taken from us ſuch goods, by way of traffick, as we have made ſale of; but with that craft, ſubtilty, and danger of betraying us, that he who knows them well, would no further truſt them, then neceſſity would compel him. The *Barbarians* had ſo much honour and civil honeſty, that if a *Spaniard* and *Engliſhman* were in their ports together, they would forbid the meddling with one another, being enemies; ſo great a regard they had to the king's royalty: as otherwiſe, if they were never ſo little way off at ſea, and one of them taken by the other, if he that took, would bring her taken into the port again, they would hold her prize to him, and give money for her.

I remember the like caſe in my ſelf, *Anno* 1587. that coming into the road of *Sallee*, I found a ſhip of *Catalonia*, a ſubject to the king of *Spain*, there trading; and the *Engliſh* merchants on ſhore fearing I would make an attempt upon her, beſought me not to offer violence in harbour upon her, aſſuring me, if I did, the king would take occaſion to confiſcate all the *Engliſh* goods in his country, and to impriſon, and, perhaps, put to death the merchants: whereupon I forbore to attempt her.

The weſtern parts of *Barbary* have two open roads, *Safin* and *Santa Cruz*; out of which the ſhips that ride there put to ſea, when they find, by the bellow of it, the wind likely to endanger them with a weſterly gale.

Our *Engliſh* ſhips riding there have often been forced to put to ſea, for their ſafety; and many times before their return they have met and taken ſeveral *Spaniſh* prizes; which have been more beneficial to them, than their merchantable voyage has proved.

And to conclude with the trade of *Barbary*, I muſt ſay, That though the *Engliſh* in time of war have often brought the ſubjects of the king of *Spain* priſoners into the ports, and though the *Moors* did more value buying the men than merchandize, yet how leud ſoever the *Engliſhmen* were, or what neceſſity ſoever they were driven to, it was never known they made ſale of one chriſtian.

The next bordering country to *Barbary*, is *Guinea*; unhealthy, through extremity of heat, and infection of the air, for which there are many reaſons alledged, and antidotes invented to avoid the contagion thereof: but all in vain; for the putrifaction of the air is occaſioned by the huge and monſtrous beaſts that country abounds in, which when they die, by reaſon of the exceſſive heat, caſt ſuch an intolerable ſtench, that infects and putrifies both air and earth, to the deſtruction of mankind.

The diſcovery of *Guinea*, and the ſovereignty thereof, was given to Don *Alonſo* V. king of *Portugal*, in 1471. which he enjoyed peaceably, and without interruption or challenge by any nation, till the year 1481. The voyage was intended by certain *Engliſh*, and the negroes themſelves as willing to accept of their neighbourhood, with offer to give them a proportion of land, there to live and inhabit; but this deſign was fruſtrated, and proceeded not, at the inſtance and requeſt of the king of *Portugal*, Don *John* II. to *Edward* IV. king of *England*. And ſince that time, to this very day, a footing in *Guinea* was never attempted or deſired; which muſt be conceived to be out of the unwholeſomeneſs of the climate and the air.

But though we were not reſident in *Guinea*, by any place in the country we poſſeſſed, yet have we continued a yearly traffick to ſundry parts of that coaſt on this ſide the equinoctial, ever ſince the year 1553, till this preſent 1632. and many corporations and patents granted by queen *Elizabeth* to her ſubjects of *Exeter*, and other the weſtern parts.

Another benefit we have made of that country, is the relief it has given us in our longer voyages, as to *Braſil* and the *South Sea*; for all ſhips of ours, that have paſſed the *Streights* of *Megallan*, found ſuccour and re-

refreſhing at the port of *Sierra Leona*, where, at this day, we have a certain trade.

From the port of *Senega* in *Guinea*, we have made ſeveral attempts to diſcover *Tombukatoo* and *Gago*, two places within the inward parts of *Africa*, which afford the greateſt quantity, and the pureſt and the beſt gold in the world; and from whence the king of *Morocco* or *Barbary* is furniſhed with all his gold, by his caravans he ſends thither in great peril; for many times they are ſwallow'd up in an ocean of ſands.

From this part of *Guinea*, or rather from the cape of *Lopez Gonſalez*, till you come to the cape of *Good Hope*, no chriſtians have traded with the negroes, but the *Portugueſe* themſelves; in which courſe is ſeated *Angola* and *Congo*, which is inhabited by baniſhed men ſent out of *Portugal* for offences there committed; a place of that infection, as that it is fit only for men of that condition; and from thoſe places they furniſhed the *Weſt Indies* and *Braſil* with numbers of negro ſlaves, who work in their mines and ſugar-works.

As *Sierra Leona* has been a relief to our nation in our long navigation, as I have declared, ſo is the bay of *Saldania*, within three leagues of the cape of *Good Hope*, a ſuccour to our ſhips of the *Eaſt Indies*; for thither they reſort in their going and coming from thence, though it yields no benefit but victuals and water, for which they truck with the moſt wild, ravenous, and irreligious negroes in the world.

From the cape of *Good Hope* there are two paſſages or navigations to the *Eaſt Indies*; the one by the way the *Portugueſe* ſail, keeping the *Africk* ſhore, on the left-hand or larboard-ſide; which courſe we likewiſe take with our ſhips that trade to *Cambaya*, a country ſubject to the great mogul; and in going there they ſometimes touch at the iſland of *Socotora*, upon the mouth of the *Red Sea*, and where *St. Thomas* was ſhipwrecked. This iſland yields our merchants the beſt *Alloes Secatrina* in the world; and not far from thence it affords them as good commodities as the fleet of *Mecca* could ſend out; which I forbear to ſpeak of.

And of late, by that track, we have found the trade of *Ormus*; which iſland we gave the *Perſians* aſſiſtance to take from the *Portugueſe*; though I do not commend that act, in joining with turks againſt chriſtians.

Surat and *Cambaya*, in that coaſt, affords us good and commodious traffick, though the *Portugueſe* ſeek to impeach us: but beſides the going and coming home of our ſhips, as alſo of other parts of the *Indies* where they remain, they are freighted, or elſe freight themſelves, from port to port, to their exceeding great profit and gain.

The other navigation from the cape of *Good Hope*, is to the ſouthward of the iſland of *Madagaſcar* or *St. Lawrence*, but not frequented by the *Portugueſe*, but upon great neceſſity, when they are forced to it in great penury, not being able to recover *Goa*, or other part of the *Indies*, as in my former book I have related: but to us that reſort to *Bantam* and the *Molucco's*, or other parts of the *Indies* thereabouts, it is far the nearer, and much the ſafer; for we ſail in a more open ſea than the *Portugueſe* do to *Goa*, where they meet with many rocks and ſhelves.

When our ſhips arrive at the ſettled ports, there trade is certain, and their return ſo uſual, that there needs no repetition thereof: but our people not being contented till they had diſcovered ſuch countries and places, as fame made report of, from hence they made an attempt upon the diſcovery of *China*, *Japan*, and the fartheſt remote places of the world, being led to it by the rumour of the magnificency and wealth of them.

But it proved like many other reports, rather ſhadows than ſubſtance; for though the people of *China* deſerve more praiſe than others, for excellency of arts, and ingenious inventions, yet it is far ſhort of the wealth that is ſaid to be in it to our weſtern parts of *Europe*.

This diſcovery hath reſolv'd us of the ſtate of thoſe parts, which we ſo long deſired to know, ſince we heard the fame of them, which made queen *Elizabeth* often ſend her letters to ſuch princes as dwelt thereabouts, and deviſed how to convey them; and have anſwer of them. So deſirous ſhe was to underſtand the conditions of thoſe parts, and imploy'd ſome of her own ſubjects by the way of the gulph of *Perſia*, thinking to find the conveniency from out the *Eaſt Indies*; but ſtill failed by the ſiniſter practices of the *Italians*, who incenſed the *Portugueſe* that they came for ſpies, and cauſed them to be apprehended and impriſoned, where they endured great affliction before they returned into their native country.

What I have ſaid is ſufficient to prove that our new and latter diſcovered trades have far exceeded our ancient and long accuſtomed commerces, before the year 1586. not only in value of wealth, but in diſtance, whither they reſorted for them. And it is made apparent, that no part of *Africk*, *America*, or *Aſia*, that any nation has traded to, but we have done the like: and that whereas in ſome places they have ſought to impeach and reſtrain our trades, yet we have forced them to it, and brought them

them to our own conditions. And this ſhall ſuffice for the ſouthern and weſtern parts of the world.

Our Trade to other Parts nearer to us.

Now I will once more come nearer home, and put my ſelf into the trade of the *Streights*, being more pleaſant, gainful, and leſs dangerous or laborious, than the reſt I have treated of. My firſt voyage ſhall be into the *Mediterranean Sea*, unworthy of the name of a ſea, by reaſon of its ſtreightneſs, in compariſon of the great and ſpacious ocean.

This ſea being anciently known to us, but not frequented, for theſe reaſons: former times did not afford ſhipping ſufficient to follow it. Secondly, ſuch goods and merchandize as theſe countries yielded, were received from hand to hand, and we ſerved by veſſels of their own. Thirdly, we could not paſs without great peril and danger of the turks, who ſurpriſed and impriſoned us; whereupon the *Venetians* engroſſed the whole trade upon thoſe ſeas, and furniſhed us with the rich merchandize of *Turky*, *Perſia*, and *India*, at what rate they pleaſed themſelves: and yet this was not all; for they laboured to make us ſtrangers to the *Great Turk*, the *Egyptians*, and bordering countries, and brought them to that ignorance of our nation, that they thought *England* to be a town in the kingdom of *London*.

The *Venetians* ſent yearly their *Argoſers* to *Southampton*; which town enjoy'd a charter from the kings of this land, which was wreſted out of their hands by the earl of *Leiceſter*, to the utter decay of that town: and the *Argoſers* ſince then have become ſtrangers in *England*; the laſt whereof took her leave with an unfortunate end, which my eyes were witneſs to, in the month of *October*, 1587.

This goodly ſhip of one thouſand one hundred tons, being richly laden with the accuſtomed commodities they uſe to ſerve the kingdom with; and being come as high in the channel as the *Iſle of Wight*, which land the *Engliſh* pilot viſibly made: this pilot, called *Foſter*, for his excellent skill, was not long before redeemed out of the *Turkiſh* captivity by the *Venetians*, to ſerve in this voyage.

Upon this good land-fall, the pilot put the paſſengers in hope, many of them being of great account and eſteem, the next morning to harbour them; for night growing on, he would not hazard to put in with the ſhore that evening; but the gentlemen being impatient of delays, and the land appearing to them, they thought themſelves free from all danger, which is the common ignorance of many that know not the ſeas. But to be ſhort, they compelled the pilot by force to put in at the *Needles*, the weſtermoſt part of the *Iſle of Wight*. When the poor man, neither with perſuaſions nor tears, could prevail, he did his beſt to enter the channel of the *Needles*; but ſuch was the greatneſs of the waves, and the unweildineſs of the ſhip, not anſwering her helm, that ſhe ſtruck upon the *Shingles*, where ſhe, her goods, and company, except ſeven poor creatures, periſhed.

The ſea betwixt the iſland and the main land was enriched by her loſs, with ſeveral ſorts of merchandize. What was ſaved was not worth ſpeaking of. I had the fortune to light on two buts of muskadine floating on the ſea; for then was I riding at *Cowes*, in the firſt ſhip I ever went captain of. I found theſe two buts of muskadine a great help to us in our voyage, when we were reduced to extremity for want of victuals.

About this time our merchants of *London* began to take into conſideration theſe great and ineſtimable riches brought into the land by the *Venetians* and *French*, who abſolutely enjoyed the trade of *Turky*; and the great part of that wealth, which came out of *Perſia* and *India*, was retailed from them to us. They deviſed how ſuch commodities might come to our hands by a more direct way, than to be ſerved as we were at ſecond-hand; and therefore reſolved to make an overture by favour of the queen, and her letters to the great turk, for an immediate traffick from *England* to *Turkey*, and his dominions, and ſo home again, with ſhips of her ſubjects, without being beholding to others.

Theſe letters were ſent by her majeſty, and received with great humanity and courteſy by the grand ſeignior, as appears by his letters yet extent. He could not give more reſpect and honour to her majeſty, than by ſhewing a willingneſs to embrace her gracious propoſitions of trade: and in concluſion, articles were agreed on, and a grant of great privileges and immunities by her majeſty's ſubjects, which have ſince continued, and been peaceably enjoyed.

We may reckon from this time the decay of the *Venetian* ſtate in matters of trade; for *Argoſers*, which were wont to viſit us, are now unknown to us, and we poſſeſs the wealth they were wont to reap. The commodities of *Perſia* and the *Eaſt Indies* are brought by our ſelves, in our own veſſels, directly out of *Turky*; where we have obtained as great a freedom as we can deſire: ſuch places as the *Venetians* were wont to take freight in their ſhips, to tranſport from port to port, we now abſolutely enjoy that privilege; for all ſtrangers are more deſirous

ſirous to put their goods into *Engliſh* bottoms than theirs.

Whereas we were wont to be ſerved with great part of our ſpices from them, and they, by the way of the red ſea, out of the *Indies*; now the paſſage is better known to us than to the *Turks* themſelves, by the cape of *Good Hope*; and inſtead of receiving *India* commodities from them, we ſupply as well them as the *Turks* with the ſame out of *England*. And laſtly, the terror of the *Turks* galleys, to impeach our trades in the *Streights*, is now taken away, by the privileges obtained from the grand ſeignior; and we may hold our ſhips in as great ſecurity as themſelves: and moreover we may boldly ſay, we have ſuſtained leſs loſs by the pirates of *Algiers* than they have done; which pirates of late years have been the ſcourge of the chriſtian trade.

In our time *Venice* flouriſhed in ſhips and gallys, above all other ports or parts of the *Streights*, though there were a competition betwixt them and the ſtate of *Genoa*: and it is not unworthy of note, that the firſt uſe that was made of ordnance and ſmall-ſhot, after the invention of it in *Europe*, was in a naval battle between the *Venetians* and the *Genoeſe*.

This ſhall ſuffice for our ſouthern, weſtern, and eaſtern trades, or within the *Streights*, as high as *Conſtantinople*, *Egypt*, or other places, under the juriſdiction of the grand ſeignior. I will now return to the north, and run through its frozen climes, as I have already done through the ſouth, and its parching heat.

Sebaſtian Cabott, a man before ſpoken of, having a ſharp, acute, and ſolid brain, apply'd himſelf to the imitation of *Columbus*; who by his late and happy diſcoveries had enriched the world with wealth, and himſelf with reputation.

Cabott being carry'd that way of honour, out of a chriſtian reſpect, to reduce the world to a perfect knowledge of God; or out of a hope of riches, it being the natural diſeaſe of mankind; or out of ambition, to make himſelf equal in fame with *Columbus*; or out of a deſire to perform what he had long thought of, which was to ſail round the globe of the world; which of theſe was his deſign, I cannot ſay, but charitably will conceive the beſt.

Whatever it was, I find an extraordinary and hearty deſire in him to enrich the *Engliſh* nation, by adventuring his life in ſundry attempts, to diſcover what he had long before conceived upon reaſonable grounds, and effect what he had ſo wiſely projected, as appeared by ſetting afoot the northern diſcoveries. There wanted no thankfulneſs in thoſe days, either in king or country, to do him honour; and for requital of his travels, both in body and mind, he was choſen governor of the merchant-adventurers, for the diſcovery of new regions, dominions, iſlands, and other places unknown in the reign of king *Edward* VI. and a penſion aſſigned him.

He gave the only information and inſtruction to the new-begun voyage and diſcovery of Sir *Hugh Willoughby* in 1553. which, though it proved unhappy to Sir *Hugh* himſelf, his ſhip and company periſhing with cold in the port of *Arſina* in *Lapland*, yet his third ſhip recovered the harbour of *St. Nicholas* in *Ruſſia*, where he ſettled a rich and commodious trade, proſecuted to this day by the merchants incorporated, and called *The* Ruſſia *Company*.

The *Engliſh* not thus ceaſing, but as men travelling, who arrive at a port or city where they had never been, would be inquiſitive to know and learn the ſtate of the country and its neighbourhood, without reſting till they had ſatisfied their curioſity; ſo our *Engliſh* merchants finding the *Caſpian Sea* famous by report, yet unknown to us, and its bounds one way upon *Muſcovia*, they deviſ'd, though the journey was long, troubleſome, and dangerous, to arrive at that ſea, by the approbation and conſent of the king of *Ruſſia*; and from thence to make trial, whither the ſaid ſea would conduct them.

This was no ſooner conjectured than effected; and our merchants furniſhed themſelves out of *England* with carpenters, mariners, and other neceſſaries, to build a ſhip for ſuch a voyage. This ſhip was twenty ſeven tons burden, and the firſt that ever wore the *Engliſh* colours upon thoſe ſeas; from *Ruſſia* they arrived in *Perſia*, not once, but often, as appears by Mr. *Jenkinſon*'s relation. Thus was *Perſia*, and all the countries adjacent diſcovered by us; firſt, to the northward, as far as *Ruſſia*; after to the *Caſpian Sea*; neither of them both being known to our forefathers.

The *Engliſh* did not thus reſt; but as they were led to thoſe unknown ſeas by a kind of fate, ſo they ſuppoſed the ſame ſea did not end thereabouts, but had a paſſage farther to the eaſtward; which, perhaps, being diſcovered, might lead to *Japan* and *China*; and thereupon, for the ſhortening of the diſcovery, they ſent a ſmall ſhip at the ſpring, that wintered at *Comoro*, eighty leagues from *St. Nicholas*, which ſet ſail from thence to find out the conjectured paſſage: this bark uſed its endeavour, ſo that no blame could be laid upon the maſter or the company; ſhe paſſed to the eaſtward of the *Waggats*, where ſhe was interrupted by extremity of ice and ſnow, and forced to return from whence ſhe departed.

This did nothing diſmay the hopeful enterprize of the merchants, but once more they made an attempt with two pinnaces directly from *England*; the maſters whereof (*Pett* and *Jackman*) with the ſame inſtructions of the other bark, wherein *Stephen Burrows* was, to find out the end of the eaſtern ſea; but being likewiſe encountered with the extremity of weather, the one returned, the other periſhed, though both of them did their parts very ſufficiently.

Being now hopeleſs by their often repulſes they found in the north-eaſt paſſages, yet they would not let die what they had in agitation, for finding the *South Sea*, as the *ſummum bonum* of all other voyages; for from the ſouth-weſt part of *America*, which bounds upon that ſea, is ſent forth the greateſt quantity and maſs of gold and ſilver the earth affords: whereupon they left this attempt to the eaſtward, and made trial of that to the weſtward; for they imagined that all great and large ſeas have a correſpondence with one another, if it could be found.

The firſt man that made the enterprize, as well upon the country of *Baccalaos*, which he found and named ſo, as alſo in his offer to look out a paſſage that way, was *Sebaſtian Cabott*, aforementioned; but failing of the paſſage, he hit upon the land; but by reaſon of the vehement cold at that time of the year upon that coaſt, he ſtood to the ſouthward, and from thence into *England*, taking poſſeſſion of the country for the crown of *England* along the coaſt he went.

This voyage and many more to thoſe parts, was ſet out by the city of *Briſtol*, which to this day continues its fiſhing at *Newfoundland*: but for the diſcovery of the north-weſt paſſage, the man that moſt laboured and waded in it, was Sir *Martin Forbiſher* in three attempts: the firſt in 1576. the ſecond in 1577. the third in 1578. After this, and in the year 1585, and 1586. Mr. *John Davis* undertook the diſcovery, but failed, as many others have ſince done; which is no wonder; for he that will read a diſcourſe of the north-weſt paſſage in this book, ſhall be ſatisfy'd, it is a vain and hopeleſs thing; and ſo has captain *Fox*, that was employ'd upon it in 1631. at his return, confeſſed to me, for ſuch reaſons as I ſhew'd him before his going.

Now to come to my own obſervations: I am of opinion, that next to the diſcovery of *America*, and the wealth thereof, which it ſends into *Spain*, the *Spaniards* have greateſt cauſe to give God thanks, that the attempts of the north-weſt have failed; for thereby they enjoy the abſolute benefit of the *South Sea*, and the incomparable wealth therein, without moleſtation, fear, or diſturbance of any other nation; whereas if the paſſage had been known, no chriſtian prince but would have ſtrove to have had a part with them; and now it is in vain by any great attempt to prejudice the *Spaniards*, but by the *Streights* of *Magellan*, which is the only known way thither. It is as vain for any enemy to poſſeſs and inhabit ſome of the towns there planted, in reſpect of the diſtance and danger to be ſeconded and ſupplied out of *Europe*; And, laſtly, any ſuccour out of the *Eaſt Indies* will fruſtrate any expectation of good, the winds blowing continually contrary to arrive from thence. I refer the reader to what I have ſaid before of other diſcoveries that failed, and particularly to that, than which nothing can be ſaid more to the honour of the diſcoverer Sir *Francis Drake*, in whoſe voyage about the world, may be ſeen what he did and attempted; and, therefore, I ſhall not repeat it here. But to proceed:

Comparing what I have ſaid of our former diſcoveries, our labourious plantations, and our new-found trades, with our preſent intended fiſhing, which of them will yield greateſt wealth, ſtrength, and eaſe, I have made appear in my ſixth book; and therefore I preſent you that now live and are in being with it, to judge which is good and beſt; for though it is true what is done, deſerves the name of good and immortal praiſe; ſo that which is now in hope to be done does far ſurpaſs the former, and is to be atchieved with leſs difficulty, leſs peril, and leſs loſs, than the others that have made our nation ſo worthily famous.

When the contents of the ſixth book ſhall be maturely conſidered, the laborious induſtry of the *Hollanders* will plainly appear; how they have raiſed themſelves, and their [illegible]-erected commonwealth to an equality with princes. Now ſhall it reſt a little to diſtinguiſh of their good deeds and bad; for fortune and fame gotten by craft, are commonly of no continuance, but loſt with ſhame.

What is due to them in praiſe of their virtues, I will not rob them of; for I hold it a ſin to belye the wicked. They are frugal in expence, the benefit whereof themſelves and country find: they are induſtrious, as their actions abroad and at home demonſtrate; they are juſt in contracts, making a conſcience in the little religion they have to defraud a man: they labour to find out the ſecrets of lands uninhabited, and countries undiſcovered; they are inventors of arts, which to their praiſe they enrich the world with: they are willing without excuſe to contribute to any good for their ſtate, not ſtanding ſo much upon privileges or petitions of right, as to neglect any occaſion of advantage to benefit the commonwealth: they are laborious and painful of body,

body, not admitting a beggar in their provinces; and willing to relieve and comfort one another in ſtrange countries; they are enemies to the expence of law, and the griping of lawyers, and end moſt of their controverſies by arbitration of friends; their expence in drinking is ſaved and mitigated by their miſery in eating; for out of their exceſſive covetouſneſs, they almoſt ſtarve their bellies, and by their unmeaſurable frugality they ſcarce clouth their bodies; for it is ſuppoſed, that their people, in one of their beſt cities, ſpend not in apparel the value of a prince's coat in a year.

But all theſe virtues are drowned with a covetous ingratitude, which has friendſhip with no body, but for intereſt; and no marvel, for popular ſtates are no longer thankful than they receive benefits. There is nothing of ſhorter life among them, than the memory of pleaſures and favours paſt; they are ſo careleſs to give ſatisfaction for the evils they do, that if we demand it at their hands, it is as much as to ſpeak of valour to a faint heart, or charity to a mercileſs man, or a courteſy to a churliſh diſpoſition; it will prove but telling a tale to him that is aſleep. The definition of philoſophers in matters of friendſhip is as follows: *A friend is long ſought for, ſcarce to be found, and hard to keep: a friend is always ready to comfort in adverſity, to help in neceſſity, to bear with one's infirmity, and to reprove one's error gently.*

But the *Hollanders* are otherwiſe in their friendſhip: they are like an ill bird that lays an ill egg, an ill tree that bringeth forth ill fruit, or a young cub that grows crafty like his dam; they do patriciſe, and follow the ſteps of their predeceſſors, that make riches their heaven: and whereas it is held no hurt to know evil, but to do it, thoſe people are very perfect artiſts in their trades, as well in doing, as in knowing evil.

But to ſpeak the truth, their natural evil has been nouriſhed and made worſe by us; for if we had not connived at them and their actions, to our prejudice, they had wanted power to have executed their ingratitude; therefore in reaſon it had behoved us to conſider what we gave, before we gave; to whom we gave, or how we gave; for ſtates ought to be governed by wiſdom, and not by popular affection or paſſion: wiſe men ſhould not meaſure things by outward appearance, but by diſcretion and reaſon; or elſe they behold their actions in a falſe glaſs.

But let us now at laſt ſeek to avoid that evil we have done, in making the *Hollanders* too great for us to tolerate, leſt we feel the effect of repentance. It is not the meaneſt point of wiſdom to doubt and miſtruſt the worſt; for doubts beget underſtanding, and thereby prevention.

As in natural bodies, the longer one lives in health, ſickneſs is the more dangerous when it comes; ſo it is with us and the *Hollanders*, the longer we have lived in a mutual and unſeparable peace; now that they have over-wrought us with cunning, and made us feeble by the ſtrength they had ſucked from us, it will behove us to recover our antient vigour and valour, and be no longer deluded with falſe pretences, as ſafety to us and the commonwealth: let us ſeek to follow the old rule, in ſeeking to quench the fire in our neighbour's houſe, though it be our enemy, leſt it ſhould flame into our own; for it is an eaſier thing to meet a danger aboard, than to repulſe it at home.

In this book I have ſaid little to prove what I have promiſed in our intended fiſhing, but refer the reader to my ſixth and laſt book, dedicated to his majeſty. And ſeeing I have made a relation of all diſcoveries and plantations of chriſtian people; I will end that ſubject with a plantation of the *French*, for diſcoverers they cannot be termed, which is the next that follows:

Certain Plantations of the French *Nation.*

THOUGH we cannot call the *French* diſcoverers of countries, becauſe they never ſought to find out any new worlds or paſſages that were not found to their hands; yet ſince the firſt diſcovery of other worlds, they have been always ready to infeſt them with piracy, and ſuch voyages: for their going to *Peru* has been no other than to ſpoil and rob other nations.

And yet I muſt give them their due in what they have deſerved; for though they cannot be called *Diſcoverers*, as I have ſaid, yet they may worthily be counted in the number of planters, as well in the north part of *America*, as in the ſouth beyond the line, and upon the continent of *Braſil*.

To the northward they have inhabited the river of *Canada*, where they have found a rich commodious trade of furrs, till the *Engliſh* ſupplanted them in the late wars betwixt us and *France*. The next place they had footing in, they themſelves called it *New France*. The third habitation they made was in *Florida*. And the fourth, as I have ſaid, was to the ſouthward of the line, and upon the continent of *Braſil*; all which I will particularly handle.

But

But before I treat of them, I will lay a blemiſh and tax upon their nation; for ſome of their authors ſtick not to aſſume to themſelves the names of diſcoverers of ſuch places wherein they were but planters; herein they do manifeſt injury to the *Engliſh*, *Spaniards*, and *Portugueſe*; for all nations do juſtly attribute to them the finding of thoſe countries, as I have formerly declared and proved; the one by *Sebaſtian Cabott*, the other by *Pedro Alvares Cabral* in his voyage to the *Eaſt-Indies* in 1500. being the ſecond that was gone after the firſt diſcovery. And now I will proceed to their plantations, and ſucceſs in them.

The firſt undertaken voyage to *Canada*, (for I will begin with the north part of *America*,) was enterprized by *John Veraſana* a *Florentine*, in 1524. employed by *Francis* I. king of *France*, which *Veraſana* is ſaid to diſcover from the fiftieth to the twenty eighth degree of the north latitude: but it is to be diſproved in fact; for all the extent of land betwixt thoſe degrees was long before diſcovered by *Sebaſtian Cabott*, in the right of *England*, as I have often repeated.

The next that undertook this colony was *James Carter* of *St. Mallows*, in 1534. with three ſhips, wherein that winter twenty five of his men periſhed with cold: but, however, the king proſecuted the voyage both in the year 1540. and 1542. and the *French* have ever ſince had a yearly traffick upon that coaſt for furs, as alſo in fiſhing, inſomuch as it is written, that one *Sevales* made forty two voyages in perſon into thoſe parts.

The next habitation the *French* undertook was in the year 1603. into the country named (though improperly) *New France*, which truly and properly belongs to *England*, as I have ſaid before; for if the firſt diſcoverers be not allowed owners of the land they diſcover, by a law amongſt chriſtians, we, and all others, have as much right to the *Indies* as the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe* themſelves.

In the year 1603. *Henry* IV. king of *France*, the 8th of *November*, granted a patent to Monſieur *Le Mante*, for a plantation of thoſe northern parts of *America*: this voyage was begun the 5th of *March* the ſame year by *Samuel Champlayne* of *Borage*, who inhabited it unjuſtly, and gave it the name of *New France*.

This *Champlayne* was a painful, induſtrious, and a laborious undertaker: he paſſed many dangers, wonderful travels, adventures, and treacheries often practis'd againſt him, as well by his own people, as the uncivil ſavages; and to ſecond this enterprize, Monſieur *Mante*, the patentee, went thither himſelf in perſon in 1604. with the like ſucceſs, as all planters in thoſe northern parts have found, (*viz.*) variable hopes and fortunes, to little purpoſe, as appears by divers voyages made to the ſuccour and relief of that plantation.

The *Engliſh* in *Virginia* hearing that the *French* were become incroaching neighbours to them, and in a country that did properly, and of right, anciently belong to the crown of *England*, as ſeveral patents made it appear, which the queen granted to Sir *Humphry Gilbert* and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, knights; and thoſe *Engliſh* fearing, that in time this intruſion of the *French* might beget a cuſtom, and that preſcription and poſſeſſion might make a cavil in the *French* to inſiſt upon a right; therefore the governor and council in *Virginia*, in the year 1624. adviſed and undertook to find out what the country produced, as alſo to be better informed concerning the *French* plantation, which they were only told of by certain *Indians*.

After ſome time ſpent in coaſting along that ſhore, at laſt they arrived at the port and fort where the *French* had made their habitation, and finding in the ſame harbour a ſhip of *France* belonging to the planters, the *Engliſh*, ſuddenly, and at unawares, ſurpriz'd her, without the loſs of a man on either ſide, except one *French* jeſuit, who was ſlain even as he was ready to give fire to a piece of ordnance againſt the *Engliſh*.

The *French* in the port being diſmay'd by the loſs and diſaſter of their bark, the *Engliſh* landed with great celerity; whereupon the *French* deſired a parley, and time to conſider of their ſurrender; but this requeſt would not be granted; and therefore they ſecretly convey'd themſelves preſently out of the fort, and in a hidden manner eſcaped, and left it to the poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, to whom it properly belonged.

The *French* governor of that colony being expelled, and wandering up and down without a houſe to put his head in, ſent to treat with the *Engliſh* commander, offering to become a ſubject to the king of *England*, and to hold his poſſeſſion of him and his crown, pretending to diſcover many ſecrets of mines, and other riches, not known to any but himſelf.

But the *Engliſh* commander's end being only to hold their right in that country, and having no authority to connive or permit any nations living there, but his majeſty's born ſubjects, he refuſed all propoſitions of accommodation, and return'd to *Virginia*, from whence he went, and carried with him another jeſuit, companion to him ſlain, and ſent him into *England*, where he received good entertainment: the reſt of the *French* travelled to *Newfoundland*, where

where they found paſſage for their country.

Now let me ſpeak like a chriſtian, and with a heart of pity, to ſee ſo great and good a work, as the converſion of ſouls from infidelity and paganiſm, ſhould be diverted and deſtroy'd by a vain word of ambition; for hitherto the country is not brought to that perfection, as to produce any thing that may make it worthy of fame, or a ground for an ambitious man to work upon: for if the quarrel betwixt thoſe two countries be conſidered, it is like two dogs that ſhould ſnarl and fight for the picture of a deer, or any other beaſt; for there is little more ſubſtance as yet to be expected in this wide, vaſt, and deſolate country that can afford land ſufficient to both the nations, if content would pleaſe them.

I will therefore wiſh and pray with my heart, that all princes would put to their helping hands in the planting and eſtabliſhing the chriſtian religion in all remote and barbarous countries, and that with one conſent they would ſettle a national law within themſelves, and to have it generally received by agreement, to prohibit violence to any plantations where colonies are ſeated for the propagation of the chriſtian faith: as alſo, that they would add and conſent to the like privileges to all poor labouring fiſhermen fiſhing upon the ſeas, that no diſturbance may be offered them; their pains and danger well deſerve it for themſelves, and no leſs in reſpect of the general food, every man reaps good by.

The *French* had a colony in *Florida* more ancient, and countenanced by *Chaſtillon*, the admiral of *France*, *Anno* 1562. a great upholder of the *Hugonot* ſect. He ſent for governor monſieur *Lannear*, and *John Rigall*, who arrived in *Florida* in thirty degrees, and there erected a pillar with the *French* arms. At firſt they were friendly entertained by the ſavages; but ſoon after, according to the nature of the *French*, who cannot long agree in love together, there happened quarrels amongſt them; for the commanders ſhewed ſuch cruelty and inſolency, that one of the captains was ſlain; and, rather than a great part of them would endure what they did, they put themſelves in great adventure into a ſmall pinnace to go to their country; but endured that neceſſity of victuals, that they were driven to eat one of their company, and had famiſhed if they had not been reliev'd by an *Engliſh* bark at ſea.

This colony was not relieved according to promiſe, becauſe of the civil war in *France*; but that ceaſing, *Lannear* was ſent once more, in 1564. but there enſued ſuch murders, ſuch mutinies, ſuch killing, running away, and betraying one another, as it is wonderful to read; and amongſt the reſt there was one *Francis Jean*, who, by great accident, got into the *Havana*, and made known to the *Spaniards* the *French* plantations and weakneſs; whereupon the *Spaniards* ſent ſome to ſupplant and weaken them, who uſed execution upon moſt of them, and poſſeſſed their fort. Such as ſurvived were put to moſt lamentable famine, and, indeed, had periſhed if Sir *John Hawkins*, at his return out of the *Indies*, had not been brought thither by a *Frenchman*, who left them a bark and ſome relief.

In the fourth voyage of the *French* to *Florida*, they requited the *Spaniards* as they had done to them before, and hang'd and deſtroy'd to the number of four hundred. After this ſlaughter they returned to *Rochel*, expecting great reward from the king for that ſervice; but the *Spaniſh* ambaſſador prevailed ſo far, that the commander durſt not appear, but hid himſelf.

Peter Malindes the *Spaniſh* general, when he exerciſed his cruelty upon the *French* writ over their heads, *I do not this as to* Frenchmen, *but to* Lutherans *and* Hereticks; the *French* commanders ſerved the *Spaniards* the like ſauce, and writ over their heads, *Not as to* Spaniards, *but to traitors, robbers, and murderers.* The *French* after this quitted the country and fort of *Florida*, and never ſince have had any footing in it.

Laſtly, for the *French* planting in *Braſil*, it has been with the like ſucceſs as in the northern parts of *America*. The firſt that undertook it was *Levius*; and the cauſe for which he undertook it was to plant and ſettle the now-reform'd religion, as they term'd it: he had an approbation of it by *John Calvin* their ſect-maſter, who much encouraged the action: but it fell out that in time, one ſect increaſing out of another, as commonly hereſies do, inſtead of amity, they lived in a contention, and never ceas'd wrangling and jangling upon the interpretation of the goſpel, till it was decided by the piſtol: for murders, mutinies, and all other miſchiefs enſued upon it; ſo that in the end, *Levius* confeſſed it to be a work of God, as the author of peace, and the hater of diviſions; whereupon he abandoned that ſect, and reconciled himſelf to the church of *Rome*, in which religion he lived and died, as himſelf expreſſed in writing.

Thevetts, and after him *Stadius*, were two of the next that followed this plantation; and to make an end of the tragical habitation, *Diego Flores de Valdes*, in his return from the *Streights* of *Magellan*, as you have heard, in the year 1582. coaſted the *Braſilian* ſhore, till at laſt he came to an harbour called *Paraiba*, where he found five *French* ſhips, three whereof he burnt, and the reſt he took, and

inhabited the fort with his *Spaniards:* the *Frenchmen* ran into the mountains, where they lived in company with the ſavages..

But for a concluſion of theſe plantations, as well by us as the *French*, and to avoid prolixity, I will briefly deſcribe the nature of the rude, wild, and ſavage people of *America*; who are not to be inticed with ſweetneſs and good uſage, nor to be maſter'd by force and cruelty. Generally their religion is alike, though they adore ſeveral creatures for God; and every nation has a ſundry opinion and practice in their ceremonies; but their ſupreme God of all is the devil, the enemy of mankind.

The ſoil and temper of many plantations exceeds us in temperature, and planted, manured, and husbanded at the charge of a prince's purſe, no doubt but they may be brought to perfection; for the bane of all colonies is private mens undertakings, that are impatient of delays; for if it yield not an expectation of private gain, they are willing rather to loſe their firſt adventure, than to ſhoot a ſecond arrow to find the former ſhot: and moreover, factions ariſe amongſt people that are not governed by a prince's direct authority; envy reigns amongſt them, to ſee ſome advanced above themſelves, and are ready to caſt aſperſions upon their rulers, and to tax them with deceit and fraud, whether they deſerve it, or not.

I obſerve in all the *Engliſh* and *French* plantations, the hopes are alike; ſometimes they feed themſelves with the hope of a paſſage into the *South Sea*; other times with the riches of mines, and the commodities they produce, and make large relations to perſuade people to perſevere in it.

But the concluſion is mutinies, murders, ſeditious deſperate adventures, want of victuals, and other calamities, more ſtrange than ancient hiſtories can acquaint us with.

If the charge beſtowed upon ſuch vain hopes were valued with the gain they have reaped, it were not worth a purſe to put it in; and for ours in *England* it would be conſumed in ſmoke: for our ſtaple commodity which it ſends out, is ſtinking barbarous tobacco; for from the barbarous ſavages it is derived; a brave original for civil men to learn and imitate.

The *French* herein far exceed us; for by their induſtry, and laborious endeavours, they have attained to a rich and profitable traffick of coſtly furrs, which makes our ſhame the greater, when we conſider how eaſily they have effected it, and how profitably they perſevered in it, whilſt we are ſucking of ſmoke, that brings with it many inconveniencies, as time has made it too plain to us.

Advice how to plant the Iſland of St. Lawrence, *the greateſt Iſland in the World, and reckoned a Port of* Africk.

HAVING handled at large the diſcoveries and plantations the chriſtian nations have laboured in, and by their induſtrious pains have brought to good perfection, I will now at laſt ſay ſomething of the likelineſs of a country, that in all probability may produce good; I will only collect ſome reaſons, and refer the reſt to the examination and conſideration of thoſe that are well inclined to the honourable undertaking and proceeding of new plantations.

There are two particular things to be required in a colony: the one I have already ſpoke of, which is, That it be the act of a prince and his purſe to bear the charge; but if that be wanting, and the action be put upon private mens expence, there are three things to be conſidered upon ſuch an enterprize; the one, is the length and diſtance from home; the ſecond, how to ſupply it with leaſt charge and moſt conveniency; and the third, for hiring of veſſels for tranſportation of men and materials, the condition of which ſhips muſt be according to the place they inhabit, and the enemies they are to fear.

This being done, the next conſideration is the climate, the nature of the ſoil, and what profit it will yield at preſent; as alſo what hope of future; the nature of the people, and whether they may be made capable of reaſon, and be reduced from their barbarous incivility.

Of all the places I can think of, for conveniency and profit within the bounds of *America*, *Africk*, or *Aſia*, out of my experience and ſtudy, is the iſland of *St. Lawrence*, antiently called *Madagaſcar*, five hundred leagues from the cape of *Good Hope*, the greateſt iſland in the world, and the place of all others I principally commend; for our planting will be in fourteen degrees of ſouth latitude, where our *Engliſh* are now no ſtrangers; for commonly they refreſh themſelves, and find ſuccour in their voyages to the *Eaſt Indies*.

There is nothing that I obſerve to further a plantation but this will yield: Firſt, the winds are certain, at the time of the year, to carry us directly thither, without ſtriking ſail: and though it be farther diſtant from *England*, than *Virginia*, or that part of

of *America*, yet I hold it will be often ſooner gone to than *Virginia*, where the winds and weather are both uncertain in going and coming. Secondly, whereas the charge is great to hire ſhips purpoſely to tranſport men and proviſions to *America*, where the numbers are many, they are ſubject to ſickneſs, and other diſaſters of the ſea; I do make account that it may be ſo ordered and contrived, that every ſhip trading to the *Eaſt Indies* may be hired conveniently to carry twenty planters, without annoying or peſtering the ſhips, being ſpacious, and of great burden; and this will prove leſs charge to the undertakers, than to hire them purpoſely for *Virginia*.

And if we examine the nature and condition of the country, and the people that inhabit it, with the experience we have of our *Engliſhmen* that reſort thither, we ſhall find the climate ſingular for health, and the ground fruitful to produce wealth, as the great and extraordinary oxen the place affords, can witneſs. This alone exceeds all the hope *America* can at preſent yield us: for our increaſe of cattle upon that continent muſt be raiſed by ſuch beaſts as we carry'd out of *England*, which muſt be done with great charge, trouble, and long time before they be brought to perfection.

The cattle we ſhall there find, will bring us a certain commodity of hides; and as we ſhall ſeek to increaſe them, ſo will our gain and profit increaſe the more.

What other benefit we ſhall make by this plantation, time and our own endeavours will make it appear: for the two barks which I wiſhed to be kept there for intelligence from other places, I would wiſh that the one ſhould diſcover the ſouth part of the iſland, and the other on the north ſide; and to make their rendezvous at the ſame place from whence they departed; ſo ſhall we diſcover the very heart of the whole iſland; and no doubt but we ſhall diſcover variety of gainful things, unthought of by us as yet. I have known of my own experience, and by examination of divers *Portugueſe*, with whom I have ſpoken, that the *Moors* who live and inhabit the main continent of *Africk*, over againſt it, have a ſingular trade with the people of *St. Lawrence* for elephants teeth, ambergreaſe, &c. all which we ſhould enjoy with eaſe, when we are ſettled, and perfectly known to them.

Beſides the plenty of beef it will yield us for food, there is other delicate meat to be found, as muttons, but with hairy ſkins, hens, and other ſorts of fowls; oranges and lemons, and other kind of rare fruits there naturally growing; which *America* will not yield us, unleſs we plant them; which will prove a work of many years, and in the end fail of the excellency of the others in reſpect of the climate. The ſea and the rivers will afford plenty of fiſh of all kinds; and for the preſent we ſhall not want a ſufficient quantity of maiz and caſſado for bread, till we ſow our *Engliſh* corn of all ſorts.

And for the people in that part of the iſland, it is known to all that have been there, that they have behaved themſelves lovingly and reſpectfully to one another, and no leſs to ſtrangers. By their civil behaviour and labour they draw their cattle to a tameneſs, as with us; which ſhews they are naturally civil, which is not uſual amongſt ſuch people: and to prove it the more, as well in that as in their other courſes, they are *Mahometans* in profeſſion of religion; and though it be as falſe as falſehood may be to truth, yet by that religion they are taught more civiller converſation and humane behaviour, than the *Indians* or infidels are inſtructed in, who acknowledge ſeveral creatures for gods; ſome the ſun, ſome the moon, and ſome ſeveral beaſts and creatures of the earth: but I make account with our familiarity, love, and good uſage, we ſhall entice their children, with conſent of parents, to bring them for *England*, where they ſhall have good education and breeding, anſwerable to our own; and this will be the method to work our good in our plantations of that country; and the only means to propagate chriſtian religion in remote parts.

Having a plantation or ſettled dwelling in the iſland of *St. Lawrence*, we ſhall make our navigation to the *Eaſt Indies* much more pleaſant, ſhort, and profitable, by uſing and ſettling a magazine of commodities betwixt us and the *Indies*. Firſt, by their receiving our commodities, and returning thoſe we receive from thence, by the ſame ſhips we employ; for part of one fleet, may be ſent from *St. Lawrence* to the *Indies*, and return the commodities thoſe countries afford to *St. Lawrence*, which our ſhips ſhall there receive, and bring them directly for *England*; ſo that all our ſhips ſhall be continually going and coming, and every twelve months have a return from thence; which now is more than double the time.

I deſire that this project to *St. Lawrence* may be compared with thoſe our nation has undertaken to *America*, and the reaſons duly conſidered, without partiality; and being ſo ſatisfied, that they would follow them with a general conſent, and ſo ſettle their plantations, that there may be a neighbourhood from one to another; for being, as they are, thus divided, they can give no help or ſuccour, but muſt ſtand upon their own ſtrength, what attempt ſoever

ſhall

ſhall be made upon them by an enemy; beſides many other reaſons one may produce, that would much avail them: for what ſuccour can *Newfoundland*, which is the furtheſt part north, give the iſland of *Providence*, the furtheſt part ſouth, or any other places betwixt them that we inhabit, as namely, *New England*, *Virginia*, cape *Florida*, the *Barbadoes*, *St. Chriſtopher's*, *Tortuga*, and the iſland of *Providence*, if you examine the diſtance from one to another, and how the currents and winds ſet upon theſe coaſts.

As the iſland of *Providence* is the laſt I name, ſo it is the greateſt in fame by the perſons that countenance it, and by the purſes that maintain it; and becauſe you ſhall know the difference betwixt that iſland and *St. Lawrence*, I will here make a deſcription of the iſland, and refer it to your own judgment.

The Nature of the Iſland Catalena, *or of* Providence, *as called by us.*

AMONGST many ridiculous and vain plantations we have had footing in ſeveral places of *America*, as appears in this book, there is one ſmall iſland, whoſe name we have changed from *Catalena* to the iſland of *Providence*; becauſe ſome pretend to foreſee it may damnify the *Spaniſh* nation, if they ſhall hereafter give us occaſion of war.

This iſland of *Providence* is ſeated upon the coaſt of *Terra firma*, one hundred leagues north from *Carthagena*, eighty leagues north and by weſt from *Nombre de Dios*, and from the headland of *Gratias a Dios*, thirty five leagues. This iſland for the greatneſs of it, may be termed rather a rock than an iſland, not exceeding ten or eleven miles in length, and five in breadth; a ſmall proportion of land to promiſe either victuals for ſuſtenance, or commodities worthy of labour to countervail the tenth part of charge that has been beſtowed on it.

For it is like a barren and uncultivated ground, that of itſelf can ſend forth nothing, if pains and labour do not make it capable to afford nouriſhment; even ſo this leaſt and worſt of iſlands can promiſe no more than the ill ground I compare it unto; but our undertakers think by the ſituation of it, that it will advantage us much againſt *Spain*, the impregnableneſs of it by nature conſidered, which we have helped by art.

The iſland has theſe particular benefits in it: A port containing eighteen foot in depth, with good ground to ride in; it is environed with huge and high rocks and cliffs, and made impregnable againſt landing the harbour on weſtermoſt ſide of the iſland, which makes it a ſafe riding, by reaſon of the perpetual eaſterly wind that blows off the ſhore. There's only one place to land in; for that excepted, it is encompaſſed about with ſuch rocks, that a boat cannot come near the ſhore. If a ſhip put but one mile to leeward of the harbour, ſhe cannot recover it again by reaſon of the current; unleſs ſhe put for *Hiſpaniola*, and diſembogue betwixt it and *Cuba*, at leaſt three or four hundred leagues, backwards and forwards; neither can they directly go from thence to *Cuba*, by reaſon of the ſhoals and flats in their neareſt courſe. Therefore a ſhip muſt ſtand over for the main land thirty five leagues from *Providence*, and paſs through a channel, not half a mile in breadth, and yet four leagues in length.

The wind and current ſets to the weſtward from *Providence*, till within twelve or fourteen leagues of the ſhore; and then the current ſets to the ſouthward, though the wind keeps its continual courſe from the eaſt; and were it not for the change of the current, it were impoſſible for to fetch *Nombre de Dios*, *Porto Bello*, or *Carthagena*. Our *Engliſh* ſhips have a great advantage of the *Spaniards*, by reaſon of their faſtneſs by a wind, which the others cannot beat it up, becauſe of their leewardneſs.

Every fourteen weeks, the climate wherein the iſland is ſeated, produces an harveſt of corn, peaſe, potatoes, and other roots and herbs: the potatoes make a delicate kind of drink, both pleaſant and wholeſome. The ſea affords ſuch great abundance of fiſh, that two boats and ten fiſhermen will be able to feed one thouſand perſons every day.

There are two other iſlands not above ſixteen leagues from *Providence*, the one call'd *St. Andrew*, the other the *Moſquito*, not inhabited. Theſe two iſlands afford great quantity of tortoiſes, which will be a great relief to the iſland of *Providence*: they are not to be dwelt upon, becauſe they cannot be made defenſible; and *St. Andrew's* is full of rocks and ſhoals, and dangerous to come near, by any that do not perfectly know it; neither has it an harbour, though in the weſtermoſt part of it one may anchor in ſafety. And thus much for the deſcription of the iſland, as namely, the height, the ſeat, the diſtance, the temperature, and diſtance from other places. Though there is cauſe for me to write more particularly of this iſland, yet will I not here inſert it, but ſpeak more amply of it in my fifth book; to which I refer you.

The End of the Fourth Book.

TO

TO THE PROJECTORS OF This AGE.

IF I could think of a more proper word than *Project*, to entitle this enſuing book, I would do it; for the name of projects, and the inventors of them, are grown ſo hateful and contemptible, that all honeſt men abhor and deteſt them.

There are no burthens, which the ſharpneſs of lewd brains can invent to vex the commonwealth with, but they ſtile by the name of projects, when indeed the name *Promoter* were more proper, as people fitter to be loathed than cheriſhed in a well-govern'd kingdom. Such men are a curſe to the country that breeds them, to their friends and parents that nouriſhed them, and to God himſelf that created them; for there is no man, directly or indirectly, but finds himſelf hindered or injured by them; their courſes incite God to puniſh, and men to abhor them. A father of the church ſaith, *It is a greater ſin to project, and lay unlawful things on the poor, than a merit to relieve them.* A favourite to *Alexander the Great*, whom we may rather term a projector, adviſed him, after his great expence in war, and wealth decay'd, to lay taxes upon his ſubjects: but *Alexander* anſwered, *That gardiner did ill who ploughed up the herbs and roots of his garden:* for the king is like a gardiner; roots, trees, and herbs, like the kingdom. A flatterer told *Antiochus*, *That all things a king did were lawful. Yea*, he ſaid, *to barbarous kings; but not to him that reſpects juſtice.*

St. *Lewis*, king of *France*, was angry with one that adviſed him to lay new taxes upon his ſubjects, ſaying, *That God puniſhed ſuch examples in kings.* This king well deſerved the name he bore, who had more reſpect to his ſubjects than to his profit.

A king of *Perſia* being deſired by his favourite, to grant him an unjuſt ſuit, he told him, *No: but that he would give him the value of the thing he requeſted, becauſe it would not make him poor*; but ſaid, *I will not do what you deſire, becauſe it is unjuſt.* Projectors ſhould have as little employment under this king, as they have reputation amongſt honeſt men.

Though *Auguſtus Cæſar* did not by name diſlike the condition of theſe people that vex the commonwealth; yet in his precepts given to the governors of his provinces, he intimated a deteſtation of them, when he told them, *I do not ſend you to rule, that you ſhould envy the innocent, or be a hangman to offenders; but that with one hand you ſhould be an helper to the good, and encourage the evil to amend; that you be a tutor to the fatherleſs, a pleader for widows, a ſtaff to the blind, and a father to all.*

I have heard of a judge in our time, who by his audacity, and forced authority and impudence, was able to pervert and wreſt laws to his appetite and liking: this wicked judge had got a popular applauſe and eſteem amongſt the ignorant multitude, and by his friends was commended to king *James* of *Great Britain*, for a good miniſter to his ſtate. The king anſwered, *Yea, if I would become a tyrant.* Intimating, that the judge who miſconſtrues laws, were a fit ſervant for ſuch, and not for upright kings. *Solon* was ſuch an enemy to the projectors, that he eſtabliſhed a law, *That whoſoever propoſed any thing to the prejudice of the commonwealth ſhould die.* He alſo decreed, *That it ſhould be lawful to revenge an injury that ſhould be offered to one another, that every man might have a feeling of the party injured.*

The difference betwixt the projectors of our age, and the projects I tender in the enſuing diſcourſe, is this, They pretend evil under the colour of good; they ſet a fair countenance on a foul face; they ſmile on thoſe whoſe throats they would cut; they do, like *Scipio*, and all other rebels, pretend reformation, and taking away the abuſe of the common-wealth, when themſelves are abuſers of it.

In my projects I have no other end but the common good of the kingdom; I neither expect or deſire gain; I ſet up no new deviſed taxes or tolls; I invent no impoſitions, nor raiſe contributions; I force no man to undertake or compel people to adventure; but I perſwade like a philoſopher, who adviſed four things to be conſidered, before the taking of any important thing in hand; *To examine the beginning, to conſider the middle, to approve the end, and to conſult with the wiſe.*

If any of my propoſitions prove profitable to the ſtate, and acceptable to the ſubject, I have obtained my wiſh: if not, I deſire they may die, without any more appearing in the world.

BOOK

BOOK V.

Containing divers Projects and Stratagems, tender'd for the Good of the Kingdom, &c.

The firſt Project ſhall be for the Safety of his Majeſty's Navy; and the Conveniency and Inconveniency in keeping it at Chatham *or* Portſmouth.

AS there is no man that builds a houſe, but at the firſt groundwork of his building will be ſure to make his foundation firm and ſtaple, (for on the ſtrength thereof all the reſt of the building muſt depend,) even ſo it is with kings and princes; for that king who means to live in ſafety, and to avoid dangers at home, or from abroad, muſt firſt ſeek to make his ſtate firm and ſure, as well in defence upon an invaſion, as before he enterprize any action of offence upon his enemy, or elſe his building is upon glaſs and ice, and will ſuddenly fall for want of a ſettled foundation.

Therefore, like a careful builder that will provide to encounter a danger, in my enſuing projects I will firſt lay down a means and remedy how to ſecure this kingdom againſt the attempts of our neighbours, if in time they become our enemies, before there ſhall be cauſe of hoſtility, or before we make any enterprize upon them in a warlike manner. And the firſt thing I will handle, as the greateſt importance to the kingdom, is the ſafety of his majeſty's navy, and the conveniency or inconveniency in keeping them at *Chatham* or *Portſmouth*, as I have ſaid before.

The Conveniency of Chatham.

1. *Chatham* is ſo ſafe and ſecure a port for the ſhips to ride in, that his majeſty's navy may better ride with a hawſer at *Chatham*, than with a cable at *Portſmouth*.

2. The reaſon of the long continuance of the navy at *Chatham*, is the conveniency of docks, and all other places, for the conveniency of ſhips; and conſidering that the officers of the navy are there ſeated with their whole families, it would breed a great innovation and change to bring them to *Portſmouth*.

3. The nearneſs from *Chatham* to *London*, from whence they may be ſupplied with all things they ſhall ſtand in need of, for that *London* is the ſtorehouſe of all *England*: it is neceſſary therefore that the navy ſhould be kept at *Chatham*, rather than at *Portſmouth*.

4. *Woolwich*, *Blackwall*, *Deptford*, *Limehouſe*, and *Ratcliffe*, yield more docks for the building and repairing of ſhips, than all other places of *England*.

5. All *England* cannot furniſh ſailors like to *London*, and the *Newcaſtle* trade, which once in three weeks repairs to the port of *London*.

6. No part of *England* can victual a navy ſo conveniently, ſpeedily, and at ſo ſmall a charge as *London*; all the corn for bread, beer, butter, and cheeſe, &c. is brought by water from the adjacent countries thereabouts. And for beef, pork, and bacon, *London* is placed in the center, far more conveniently than *Portſmouth*, which has never a river to bring commodities from other ſhires; nor the country of *Hampſhire* ſo fruitful as to furniſh it.

7. Our trade to the *Eaſtland* returns their commodities to *London*, which furniſhes us with all materials belonging to ſhipping, as, namely, cables, cordage, pitch, tar, roſin, maſts, yards, &c. which cannot be done at *Portſmouth*, the place yielding nothing that creates a trade.

8. The water at *Chatham* flows ſufficiently every ſpring tide to grave the greateſt ſhips; and it is a doubt whether it can be made to heighten ſo much in *Portſmouth*, as to do the like.

9. No wind or weather can endanger the coming home of an anchor in *Chatham*, and the

the river affords ſufficient ſpace for every ſhip to ride, without annoying one another: as to the contrary, a ſtorm, with a wind from the north-eaſt to the ſouth-ſouth-eaſt, will ſtretch the cables of the ſhips in *Portſmouth*; and if any of their anchors come home, they cannot avoid boarding one another, to their exceeding great damage and danger, the channel being ſo narrow.

10. A navy lying in the harbour of *Portſmouth*, the ſafety of them depends upon the town of *Portſmouth*; and if *Portſmouth* ſhould be ſurprized, or taken at any time, the whole navy falls into the enemy's hands.

11. Not a cable, anchor, maſt, yard, barrel of powder, or any other thing that belongs to the furniſhing a fleet, but muſt be brought from *London* or *Chatham* to *Portſmouth*, with an exceeding great charge, and no leſs delay and danger, conſidering the uncertainty of winds, the peril to be intercepted by enemies, and the hazard of ſhipwreck.

12. The exceſſive charge in ſending down carpenters, cawkers, and other ſeveral workmen belonging to ſhips, with impreſs of mariners, will amount to an extraordinary great expence. All which will be eaſed by being at *Chatham*.

The Exceptions to the Navy lying at Chatham.

1. The ſeveral winds to carry them to *Portſmouth*.

2. The hazard of the ſhoals and ſands in going thither.

3. The diſtance from *Chatham* thither, if the *French* ſhould attempt any thing upon us.

4. And ſome there are that adviſe part of the ſhips to be kept at *Portſmouth*, and the other part at *Chatham*.

Whoſoever ſhall alledge theſe reaſons, muſt diſtinguiſh of the ſervice in hand, whether it be offenſive or defenſive, or againſt *Spain*, *France*, *Holland*, or any part of the eaſt country.

If *Holland* or the *Eaſtland* become our enemies, then doth *Chatham* lie moſt with advantage to annoy them, if they attempt any part of our north coaſt, or *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Eſſex*, and *Kent*, which are places of moſt peril, conſidering their nearneſs to the city of *London*.

If we have wars with *France*, there is little advantage gotten betwixt *Chatham* and *Portſmouth*; for being at the *Downs* at *Dover*, we ſhall be over-againſt *France*, and nearer to the *Iſle of Wight* than *Breſt* is, or any part of *Brittany*, where I ſuppoſe the fleet of *France* will be made ready; and for the two navies, *Engliſh* and *French* meeting at ſea, no place or time can be aſſign'd them, ſhips being in continual action, and ſailing one day on one coaſt, and another day on another.

And whereas the ſeveral winds are objected as an impediment to our navy at *Chatham*, you muſt know that an eaſterly wind keeps in a fleet at *Chatham*; and ſo it doth the *French*, if they be in any part of *Brittany*: and our ſhips alſo, if they ſhould be at *Portſmouth*, though they ſhould be in the *Channel*, yet with that eaſterly wind, they cannot go to the eaſtward; ſo that you ſee an eaſterly wind brings an equal inconveniency, as well to the one, as to the other.

And whereas from *Chatham* we muſt have two winds to bring us into the *Channel*, or to *Portſmouth*, the one ſoutherly or weſterly to carry us to the *Downs*, the other northerly or eaſterly to bring us to *Portſmouth* in three tides; with fair weather, from the *Downs*, we ſhall be able to fetch *Portſmouth* howſoever the wind is; in which traverſe we ſhall be as likely to meet a fleet of *France*, as in any other part of the *Channel*.

To anſwer the objection of ſands and ſhoals to endanger us in our coming about from *Chatham*, we ſee that by the care and skill of pilots, no memory or record can tell of a ſhip of his majeſty's ſo loſt, as out of *Portſmouth* it is freſh in old mens mouths, and the ribs of the ſhip I have often ſeen, called the *Great Henry*, a ſhip-royal of king *Henry* VIII. there periſhed.

I likewiſe remember in the days of queen *Elizabeth*, and in the year 1586. that the *Revenge*, (after taken by the *Spaniards*,) was as near deſtruction, coming out of the harbour of *Portſmouth*.

And to ſatisfy the adviſers that wiſh part of the navy to be kept at *Chatham*, and the other at *Portſmouth*, this I ſay, That an army on land, or a navy at ſea, which ſhall be divided, is eaſier to be cut off before they meet, than if they were met together in a main battle, eſpecially in ſo narrow a ſea as ours, where fleets cannot paſs without encountering one another.

Moreover, if the *French* ſhould anchor with a number of ſhips ſufficient to encounter with either of our two fleets divided, either at *St. Hellen's-Point* in the *Iſle of Wight*, or the *Downs*, or *Gorend*, it were impoſſible for our fleet to paſs unſeen or unmet withal; by which means they may cut them off before they meet.

But, as I have ſaid, the country muſt be conſidered with whom we have war; for if we have war with *Spain*, neither *Portſmouth* nor *Chatham* is ſo convenient as *Plimouth*; for in the winter, which is the time that ſhips muſt keep harbour, they ſhall have ſpace ſufficient to make proviſion againſt the

ſpring

ſpring, and eaſe a great charge in carrying the ſhips from *Plimouth* to *Chatham*, and after from *Chatham* to *Plimouth*; which we cannot allow leſs than two months, if not more: and moreover, from *Plimouth* we ſhall put to ſea with our ſhips nimble and clean, ſooner, and better manned and victualled, than either from *Portſmouth* or *Chatham*.

Therefore I conclude, in compariſon betwixt *Chatham* and *Portſmouth*, *Chatham* is the beſt and ſafeſt place; and wiſh that our whole navy may be kept at *Chatham*, and not make any continual reſidence but there only, conſidering the former reaſons. Never hurt befel any of them that made their being there, either by weather or attempt of enemy; and yet I muſt confeſs, they are not altogether ſo ſafe and ſecure from the aſſault of a fleet that ſhall be brought from the eaſtward with an eaſterly wind; and therefore it behoves us to be cautious and wary of it, as follows:

In the ſtratagems contained in my third book, I adviſed a general to provide to withſtand an enterprize to be made upon ſhips in harbour, where they are uſually moored with two cables, to which directions I refer you; but with leave, ſomewhat I will ſay of the ſtate of our navy at *Chatham*, and the danger that may befal us from *Holland*, if they become enemies to us, as alſo ſhew the way of prevention.

Holland, by reaſon of their abundance of ſhipping, the number of ſoldiers quartered in all the parts of their country, and their daily and ſpeedy uſe in gathering their forces together for preſent ſervice, as they often do, will give us the leſs ſuſpicion if they ſhould intend any ſudden ſtratagem upon us; and the firſt thing that they will attend, is the opportunity of a ſettled eaſterly wind, to bring their ſhips, without ſtriking ſail, as high as *Graveſend*, and there ſuddenly put eight or ten thouſand men on the *Kentiſh* ſhore, to march to *Upnor Caſtle*, four or five miles from thence; where they ſhall find no reſiſtance, the caſtle being both weak and weakly provided; and having it, they have an entrance to the river, where the ſhips ride.

The ſhips having done ſo much as belongs to them, in landing their men, they will, no doubt, repair preſently to *Upnor*, which is the place they will principally ſhoot at; and the caſtle being taken before their coming, their paſſage is made for them to ſurprize our navy, which they will find unprovided of men, more than the ordinary ſhip-keepers; their ordnance commonly aſhore, and without powder or ſhot; for unleſs there be imployment of ſhips to ſea, the ammunition is always kept in the *Tower of London*, and too late at that time to be ſupplied from thence, if this deviliſh deſign ſhould prevail; I proteſt the very thought of it makes me tremble, and wiſh it may be prevented.

And for prevention, it will behove us to ſeek how by art and ſkill to raiſe works and fortifications, both by land and water, for the guard and ſtrength of *Upnor Caſtle*; and to order and appoint that a certain number of trained ſoldiers, thereabouts dwelling, upon every allarm repair thither with their arms, which will prevent any ſudden ſurprize; and in the mean time we ſhall have leaſure to draw a greater army together, than they will be able to withſtand.

And ſo much as concerns the defence of the river, by booming, and making ſconces upon it, I have ſaid ſufficiently in my former ſtratagems; but ſeeing this is a matter of ſo great import as the ſafety of our navy, and by conſequence the ſecurity of our kingdom, I adviſe and wiſh that the ordnance, or greateſt part of them, be continually kept aboard the ſhips, both mounted and fitted with all kind of ammunition belonging to them: that as in the caſe of *Upnor Caſtle*, the trained ſoldiers of the country, have order to repair on board the navy with their arms: that the ſhips themſelves be warpp'd and towed as low as the innermoſt boom, and there to moor themſelves a head and a ſtern to welcome an enemy with their whole broad-ſides. And if all theſe fail, (as God forbid,) then the ſhips to ſink themſelves at an anchor, to avoid falling into the hands of an enemy; which ſhips are eaſily after to be weigh'd without hurt or detriment.

Having left a remedy, as you have heard, for the ſecuring our navy, my next project ſhall be to hinder *French* attempts upon us, they being a nation of moſt danger, by reaſon of their nearneſs and greatneſs, and eſpecially if they be aſſiſted with the help of *Holland* with ſhipping, as no doubt, but in matter of ſtate *France* will labour to gain *Holland* from us, and to ſettle it with a firm league and friendſhip with them, to redeem their loſs of *Scotland*, who for many hundred years made their dependency upon that kingdom; and if *Scotland* prove honeſt to *England*, they may fear by our conjunction, of foes we are become friends, and that *Scotchmen* may as well turn their ſwords upon their breaſts, as they have done heretofore upon ours.

A Project to prevent the French *landing in* England, *if they become our Enemies.*

WE in *England* look upon *France* to be a ſtrong and potent country; the people in it to be both warlike and valourous: but it lying upon a main continent, and ours an iſland, divided with a ſea, we think we may eaſily offend them, and not be offended by them.

This opinion is generally received; and, indeed, not to be confuted, but by ſuch as underſtand the ſea better than the ordinary ſort of men: but for the explaining it, if ever there happen a war betwixt *France* and us, I will truly ſet down the danger that may redound to us by *France*, and the means how to prevent it, as I have already done, or will do, if a war happen betwixt *Spain*, or *Holland*, and us.

The general poſition is, That *France* is no way to compare with us for number and ſtrength of ſhipping; and by conſequence, we are to fear no danger from thence, upon any attempt they ſhall make.

In anſwer hereof, it is true, if the meeting and encountring a fleet at ſea were certain, the ſtrongeſt are likely to prevail againſt the other. But I have formerly ſhewed, that there are three principal things to be required in a ſea-action: the firſt is providence, to learn the deſign of an enemy, to prevent him: the ſecond is ſecrecy, to keep the enemy from intelligence: and the third, is how to work for advantage of wind and weather.

If the *French* intend to invade us, we may eaſily conjecture, by their preparation by land and ſea, and the drawing down their army to their port-towns; but where they mean to attempt us, if they keep their deſign ſecret, it will be hard to diſcover; and the chief reaſon we are to conceive, is according to the place where they keep their rendezvous, the obſervation of winds to bring them from thence to ſeize our coaſt, and the weakneſs of our harbours, where we may conceive they think to land.

If there were no more difficulty than the vulgar and common conceit, it were probable not to be in the power of *France* to hurt us; but ſpeaking like a ſeaman, for that ſea actions muſt be governed by the winds, thus much I muſt let you know, That a ſoutherly wind, which brings them for our coaſt, keeps our ſhips in harbour that we cannot budge; ſo that they ſhall neither fear our force by ſea, nor our ſhips be able to impeach them, unleſs by chance and accident they arrive in the ſame harbour our ſhips retire to; ſo you ſee it is neither the number or ſtrength of fleets, that can withſtand them, if they obſerve the advantage of a ſoutherly wind.

This is a peril that every man conceives not; for if *France* can of themſelves afford a quantity of veſſels, to tranſport an army, or by hiring ſhips abroad, or compelling ſtrangers to ſerve that come into their ports to trade; it is not much material whether they be of ſtrength, or no; for with a ſoutherly wind they ſhall not fear any force to meet them at ſea.

There was never ſore, but God provides a ſalve; and this fearful hazard muſt be cured by prevention: (as thus,) Our fleet muſt divide into three ſquadrons; and being at ſea, and forced to ſeek the ſhore, every ſquadron be appointed a particular harbour to repair to; by which means every port on the ſouth coaſt ſhall be defended and guarded by our ſhips; which will be a force ſufficient to withſtand the ſtrength of *France* by ſea, if they be not aſſiſted by *Holland*.

The ports being thus guarded, they are prevented of landing; for an invador is not ſo mad, as not to provide a harbour for his ſecurity; and no road or bay with an outwardly wind, is able, without great danger, to give him conveniency of riding or landing, the ſea and ſiege will be ſo great.

But it may be objected, That though this ſerve for the ſouthern coaſt, yet the north part of *England*, *Scotland* and *Wales* lies open to their landing. The anſwer to this is, That if our three ſquadrons be divided, the one to make good the *Downs*, another the weſt country, no fleet can paſs betwixt *Dover* and *Calais*, but they of the *Downs* ſhall have a view of them; and the ſame wind the others have, will ſerve them to follow, and to prevent their landing: the weſtern ſquadron will do the like upon any attempt that ſhall be made upon *Milford Haven*, *Wales*, or any of that part of *England*.

But our ſureſt courſe will be with ſome ſhips to beleaguer their harbours of rendezvous in *France* a good diſtance from the ſhore, for fear of embaying: we muſt conſider that ſuch winds as ſerve to bring them for *England*, make a ſecure road upon that coaſt to ride in; and ſuch winds as are dangerous to keep that ſhore, make it impoſſible for the *French* to put out of harbour; as I will ſhew more particularly, when I treat of the way to prevent the *French* and *Hollanders* meeting.

Thus you may perceive, that an invaſion out of *France* into *England* or *Scotland*, is to be prevented. But his majeſty has another

other kingdom of more danger, the conditions of the people, and the openneſs of the harbours conſidered; and that is *Ireland*, which I will a little handle.

Ireland, as it is an iſland, is in the caſe of *England*, though more dangerous, in reſpect the people are more rebellious, and divided from *England*, that cannot be with celerity relieved, if an enemy do land: beſides, the *Iriſh* nation and their natures do not ſo well ſimbolize with the *French*, as with the *Spaniards*; or if they did, the *French* have leſs advantage to invade that kingdom than the others; for ſo much as the ſame wind that carries a fleet out of *France* into *Ireland*, the ſame wind ſerves us to follow them out of *England*.

But ſeeing I am upon this ſubject, I will let you know the difference betwixt the danger of a *French* invaſion and a *Spaniſh* into *Ireland*. You muſt conſider that a ſouth-weſt wind that brings a fleet from *Spain* into *Ireland*, is not only againſt us to go into *Ireland*, but keeps our ſhips in harbour, that we cannot put to ſea: by which occaſion the *Spaniards* may land in deſpight of us.

Moreover, if with that wind they land to the northward of *Ireland*, though it be no further than to the river of *Shannon*, we muſt have not only a north-eaſt wind to carry us to *Miſen-Head*, or cape *Clear*, but when we are at either of the two places, we muſt have a contrary wind to carry us in purſuit of them that land to the northwards, which is a ſoutherly wind; and how this is like to happen, and what danger may befal us in the mean ſpace, is a main point of conſideration: and therefore it fell out very luckily to us, that in the *Spaniards* laſt expedition to *Ireland*, they landed at *Kinſale*, to which place one wind carry'd us directly out of *England*, to give a relief to our army, and to prevent a ſecond ſupply from *Spain*.

If they had landed further to the northward of *Miſen-Head*, we ſhould have had, as I have ſaid, two contrary winds; beſides, they would have come to them, where they ſhould have found ſuccour and relief, far from our army by land, where our march had almoſt been impoſſible, conſidering the ſeaſon of the year, and the weak help that the country would have yielded us.

My advice therefore is, When an enemy is feared in *Ireland*, that there be a care to keep our fleet at ſea off of *Miſen-Head*, as a place to take advantage of all winds; and that the beacons be well watched on ſhore, with directions to the watcher, that they give notice to our fleet at ſea, to diſtinguiſh the enemies landing to the northward or to the eaſtward of that place; for our ſhips lying open of the cape of *Miſen-Head*, they will be able inſtantly to follow them, whether they ſhall go to the northward or eaſtward.

But this caution I give, that no occaſion but neceſſity compel the fleet to ſeek a harbour: for I have ſhewed before the inconvenience of it; and the difficulty to get them in again; that in the mean time an enemy may work his miſchief.

How to prevent the French *and the* Hollanders *meeting to reſcue one another, if they become Enemies to* England.

CONſidering how things ſtand, or may hereafter ſtand betwixt *France* and *Holland*, to the prejudice of *England*, (for that every ſtate changes with time and advantage to themſelves and commonwealth,) it will not be amiſs, for prevention of evil that may happen to this kingdom, to follow the practice of a skilful phyſician, in the cure of his patient, to give him cordials to avoid the diſeaſe, rather than afterwards, when it has ſeized upon him, to go about with phyſick to recover him; and according to this example, it will be better for us before-hand to withſtand the peril, than ſeek to ſhun it when it is too late.

The dangers are of two kinds: the one by an increaſe of ſhips in *France*, that may in time prove prejudicial to the ſtate; for it is perillous to have neighbourhood with danger: the other is, the aſſiſtance they may find in foreign parts by ſea, and above all other nations, the *Hollanders*, who are neareſt able to equal us in ſhipping.

The fear of an invaſion out of *France*, our anceſtors never much dreaded; for our ſhips were ſtill the walls and bulwarks of our defence, and ever made that nation recoil with diſhonour and loſs, as our hiſtories do at large declare; and rather than the *French* ambitious thoughts ſhould now aſpire to greatneſs of ſhipping, it were far better, happier, and ſafer for us, to proclaim an everlaſting war againſt them, than by a ſuffering peace, they ſhould attain to a ſtrength by ſea; for princes in matters of moſt importance ought to govern by rules of ſtate, and to be directed by precedents of times.

We will not oppoſe the *French* greatneſs amongſt themſelves at home, when it ſhall have no relation to us abroad: But if *France* will not be contented with what they have been, but labour to be greater than we think fit they ſhould be, wiſdom bids us provide for the beſt; which we cannot better do, than to abate the pride and power

power in the beginning; for it is an old ſaying, That peace and power are incompatible, and live not long together; and the ſtrongeſt pillar of peace, is to take away the occaſion that may breed a war.

But in caſe, according to my propoſition, that *France*, out of matters of ſtate, ſhall ſeek to give aſſiſtance to *Holland*, and we to impeach it at ſea, this that follows ſhall direct thoſe that have the command of ſo great and weighty a charge as the government of our ſeas.

Our fleet, conſiſting of a number of ſhips, muſt be divided into three ſquadrons, and appoint three ſeveral places for their rendezvous, (*viz.*) the *Downs*, the iſle of *Wight*, and *Guernſey*, all of them oppoſite to the harbours in *France*, betwixt *Calais* in *Picardy*, and *Uſhant* in *Britany*.

Our ſquadrons are to work according to winds; for that wind which is dangerous for us to keep the *French* coaſt, is impoſſible for their ſhips to put out of harbour, as I have formerly ſhewed; and therefore we need not put our ſelves to hazard, but upon a juſt occaſion, when the wind ſhall ſerve them.

Although ſome of their ports are better than others, yet there is none of them in the diſtance aforeſaid, but are bad harbours, and dry from half tide to half tide, that a ſhip cannot get either in or out, but by favour of a whole tide.

And it is moreover to be conſidered, that there is no wind that will carry a ſhip out of thoſe harbours of *France* into *Holland* or *Zealand*, but a ſoutherly or weſterly wind; for though they may put out to ſea with an eaſterly wind, yet being at ſea, they cannot recover the places aforeſaid, and therefore had better keep the harbours, and avoid the danger of meeting us at ſea: and beſides, that ſuch winds as aforeſaid will carry them out of harbour into *Holland*, we ſhall be as ready to take the advantage of them from our own coaſt, as themſelves can be from theirs; conſidering what time they muſt have to embark their men and proviſions, and obſerve their tides for going forth of their ports. The *Downs* lie conveniently to guard *Calais*, *Bullen*, *St. Vallery*, and *Havre-de-Grace*; the iſle of *Wight* will have an eye over *Diepe*, *Sherbrook*, and all the creeks to the *Hagg*; the iſlands of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey* will do the like to *St. Maloes*, which is a port of greateſt importance on that coaſt.

But the places of greateſt weight, are *Breſt*, *Blavet*, and ſome other harbours for the entertainment of their beſt and greateſt ſhips, which lie eaſt and ſouth-eaſt from *Uſhant*, and not within the channel oppoſite to *England*.

But thoſe *French* ſhips that ſhall there remain, muſt have two contrary winds to bring them into our channel; the one to get about *Uſhant*; and that being done, the other is to ſail into *Holland*, in which courſe they muſt paſs our three ſquadrons aforeſaid, and will find it impoſſible to eſcape us.

Havre-de-Grace, which is the ſecond good harbour next to *St. Maloes*, lying betwixt *Calais* and *Uſhant*, is in the ſame ſtate of *Breſt* and *Blavet*, which muſt have two contrary winds to carry them to *Holland*; though they be nearer to *Holland* by many leagues, yet they ſhall run the ſame hazard and peril of *Breſt*, as I have declared.

Thus you ſee how eaſy a thing it is to prevent the *French* and *Hollanders* meeting, if a diſcreet and underſtanding commander have the rule of things, and knows what belongs to it.

For the better information of thoſe that ſhall be employed, I will ſet down the ſtate and condition of every harbour in *France*.

The State of the Harbours in France.

THERE is a bank in the middle betwixt *Dover* and *Calais*, ſouth from *Dover*, and weſt and by ſouth from *Calais*, that has but four fathom at low water, and four leagues long.

The *Old-Man* is a good road for north-eaſt, eaſt or ſouth-eaſt wind, ſix or ſeven fathom deep.

St. John's road, nigh to it, is a good road for the ſame wind, and is fifteen or ſixteen fathom deep.

Bullen is a barred harbour, and dry at low water.

The river of *Somme*, where *St. Vallery* ſtands, if it were not for a bank that lies at the entrance thereof, were a good harbour.

From the *Old-Man* to *Diepe*, ſouth-ſouth-weſt, betwixt them lies the river of *Hen*; the town of *Treport* is upon it at low water dry.

Diepe at full ſea three fathom: there are three bouys to direct you at half flood: ſmall ſhips may go in at low water dry.

Feckban, four leagues, weſt-ſouth-weſt, a good harbour, two fathom at low water.

Havre-de-Grace, at high water, three fathom; and at low water one. There is no failing from hence up the river of *Seine* to *Roan*, without a pilot.

Caen is ſix leagues ſouth-weſt from *Sand-Head*, a barred harbour, and full of ſands going in.

Four leagues eaſtward lies the iſland of *St. Mark*, and to be ſailed about, but foul ground.

The

The bay of *Hegs* is a good road for north-north-eaſt winds, and, indeed, for all winds.

Cherbourg is a ſmall dry creek.

From thence is *Faux-Moberil*, a dry haven.

A league from hence is Cape *de Hague*: weſt, three leagues from this cape, lieth *Aldernay*, weſt-and-by-north, almoſt three leagues long, eaſt and weſt: the eaſt is good to ſail near the ſhoar, but the weſt is bad, and the ſouth ſide worſe.

From *Aldernay* to *Guernſey*, weſt-ſouth-weſt, eight leagues; the eaſt end of *Guernſey* is flat, the weſt ſtoopy. Beware of the iſland of *Aren*; it is full of rocks: betwixt the caſtle and the land it is a good road at ſix or ſeven fathom, and without the caſtle at twelve or thirteen fathom: it ebbs or flows here at ſix or ſeven fathom up and down. There is good anchoring round about the iſland.

From *Guernſey* to *St. Malo's* ſeven leagues ſouth-ſouth-eaſt, and to *Sacke*, eaſt-and-by-north, one league: you may anchor about it at twenty ſix or twenty ſeven fathom.

From *Guernſey* to *Jerſey*, ſouth-eaſt, eight leagues: There is good anchoring at *Guernſey* round about it; and yet there lie rocks to the weſt ſide: on the north ſide there is a good road for a north-weſt wind. *Cateline Bay*, on the eaſt ſide, is a very good road. You may go between *Jerſey* and the rocks, called *Pater-Noſter*, eleven fathom, and anchor at *Trinity Bay*.

From the weſt end of *Jerſey* to *St. Malo's*, ſouth-and-by-eaſt, eight or nine leagues. In the way there are rocks called the *Monks*.

The courſe from the *Hagg* to *St. Malo's* by *Grand Ville*, *Mount St. Michael*, and *Cancall*, is full of rocks and ſands.

The iſland near *St. Malo's*, called *Zezembre*, a ſhip may go round about it ſafely.

The tides hereabouts riſe and fall ſeven fathom. There is no entrance but for ſmall ſhips into *St. Malo's*.

About five leagues weſt from thence lieth a great ſandy bay, where one may ride ſix or ſeven fathom at all winds.

You may ride about the iſlands of *Briſack*, and a league and a half from hence are the iſlands of *Pickle*, iſlands which you may ſail about; as alſo the ſeven iſlands, at four fathom, as likewiſe *Greeveland*.

The haven of *St. John's de Dieu*, three leagues from *Morlaix*, is a barred harbour; from whence you may go to *Morlaix* through the rocks, and anchor in five fathom water.

All havens thereabouts are barred, but *Roſco*, which is deep water, and has many good ſhips belonging to it. It is the *Bas* that makes *Roſco* ſo good a harbour.

Breſt is the beſt harbour in all *France*, and *Blavet* the next: *Odegerne* is a good harbour; the bank before it is five or ſix fathom deep on both ſides; there is three fathom within at low water.

Weſt Penmark is a good harbour, three fathom at low water. *Bindett* is a dangerous harbour for rocks.

There is good anchoring about the iſland of *Mutton* and *Groye*.

Blavet is an excellent harbour, four fathom at low water,

Morbeau is a good harbour, but forceable tides, eight or nine fathom; within the eaſt ſide is a bold ſhore.

Behind the weſt point of *Croiſick* there is a good road, at five, ſix, or ſeven fathom, and ſafe as in a harbour.

The river of *Nancy* is a good harbour, ſeven or eigh fathom water; but you muſt have a pilot.

The iſland *Heyes* has no good road; but the beſt is a ſouth-weſt, or weſt-ſouth-weſt wind.

St. Martin's twelve leagues, eaſt-ſouth-eaſt from *Heyes*.

From *St. Martin's* to *St. John de Luz*, is fifty four leagues, and never a harbour in the way, but *Bourdeaux*, worthy to be accounted, being all of them barred harbours.

A Project how to war upon Holland, *if they give Occaſion.*

IF the *Hollanders* ſhall neglect our favours and friendſhips, or become obſtinate, perverſe, and inſolent, and ſo proud withal as to diſdain us, I have not that miſtruſt of the force of *England*, but that it will prove the revenge, and puniſh their unthankfulneſs, as well by what I have ſaid in the precedent project, as by this that follows; for as in natural bodies, the longer they live in health, ſickneſs is the more dangerous when it aſſails them, ſo it will prove in an unſucceſsful war of the *Hollanders*, who have ſo long ſailed with a proſperous and fortunate gale, when at laſt they taſte of the perverſeneſs of fortune.

What can they value themſelves upon, (to ſpeak truly,) but *England* deſerves the honour of it? We were the firſt that gave them life; and it is ſuch a life, if they would conſider it, that if we feed them not, they faint and famiſh. Let them remember an old obſervation of ſtate, *That he who entertains an army of ſtrangers, takes a wolf by the ear*; for as it is dangerous to detain them, ſo it is more perillous to let them go. And if his majeſty at any time call home his

ſubjects from their ſervice, that have been the wolves to their enemies, they will ſoon become ſilly ſheep for others to prey upon; for things eaſily and unlawfully gotten, are ſooneſt loſt and conſumed, if they be not ſupported.

If *England* at any time excepts againſt their ill uſage, and calls them to account for injuries, they will find that we are the ſtronger, and able to give them laws, and they the weaker to accept of the leſs evil; for where can they trade but they ſhall find interruption by us, laying aſide their paſſage through our ſeas? that without our leave and harbours, they cannot ſubſiſt in their navigations? But now to my purpoſe, to what I have in hand.

I will imitate the marquis of *Santa Cruz*, a man eminent in *Spain* for his experience, employment, and good ſucceſs in ſea actions, who upon the breach of peace with *England* in 1585. preſented to the king his maſter a relation how his territories ſhould be defended, and the *Engliſh* annoy'd.

And as an imitator of the marquis, I adviſe, ſeeing we know not how ſoon matters of unkindneſs may burſt out betwixt *Holland* and us, that in the mean time we inform ourſelves of the true ſtate of their provinces by ſea; and that there be a choice made of two ſufficient ſeamen to be ſent in a ſecret manner into the *Low Countries*, to take a view of their ſhipping, as namely, the number of veſſels, their ordnance, and quality of them; to enquire of their ſhips abroad, and the conditions of them at large; of their number of mariners, and to diſtinguiſh betwixt the fiſhermen and ſailors; to enquire of the decay of their trades, if their men and ſhips be employ'd in warfare; to obſerve how a war with *England* will reliſh with the multitude, and where and how they think moſt to annoy us; for theſe things are neceſſary to be known from an enemy.

The next muſt be to ſupply and guard our forts and caſtles on the ſea coaſt; for it is a main and important thing to keep the *Hollanders* from the ſuccour of our harbours; and if they be forced to keep the ſea in foul weather, with contrary winds and long nights, the length and narrowneſs of our channels, the clifts of *England* and *France* will be enriched with their wrecks.

Such towns ſeated oppoſite to *Holland* and *Zealand*, ought to be extraordinarily guarded and fortified, but eſpecially *Sandwich*, *Harwich*, and *Yarmouth*, in reſpect of their harbours and roads to entertain fleets, their natural ſituation for ſtrength, and the number of people there reſident that are defcended from *Holland*.

But how all theſe places ſhould be guarded and defended by ſhipping that are ſo far diſtant and remote from one another, there reſts the difficulty.

In this caſe we muſt work according to the winds; for all ſea actions are guided by it. And ſuppoſe the *Hollanders* with an eaſterly wind direct their courſe for *Harwich*, *Yarmouth*, or other northern parts of *England* or *Scotland*; and that our ſhips with that wind lie in the *Downs*, which is our ordinary rendezvous, this northerly or north-eaſt wind is full in our teeth to purſue them.

Or by keeping the ſea with our ſhips, our meeting is as uncertain, the ſea being wide and ſpacious; and if we be taken with a hard gale of wind, and put to leeward, whilſt we ſeek to fetch it up again, they ſhall have time and leiſure to land where they liſt, as I can inſtance in this caſe many precedents.

And therefore, inſtead of the *Downs*, I conclude *Yarmouth* to be the only road for the rendezvous and ſeat of our ſhipping; for there we ſhall be ready upon all occaſions to ſet ſail, what wind ſoever ſhall bring an enemy from *Hollana*, though it were into the river of *Thames*, or the northern parts, having the leaſt warning, which we cannot fail of with fire-beacons, or pinnaces to be kept at ſea. And as the advantage of an invader is to work with the advantage of the wind, ſo muſt the defendant ſeek as well to prevent them by the ſame advantage of wind.

The next thing I would wiſh to be put in execution, which rather ſhould be the firſt, as of moſt importance, as I have already declared, is, the guard of his majeſty's ſhips in harbour at *Chatham*; for the proſperity and welfare of *England* conſiſts in their ſafety: and if *Holland* ſhould prove an enemy, now that *Flushing* is in their poſſeſſion, and within fourteen or fifteen hours ſail from *Chatham*, gives them a brave opportunity.

I think good to give this caution, That an attempt upon the navy is more perillous for an enemy to the eaſtward of us, as *Holland*, *Denmark*, *Sweeden*, and *Germany*, than from the ſouthward, as *France*, *Spain*, or the *Streights*; for ſhips from the eaſtward are able to come directly with one wind from the countries aforeſaid, as thoſe from the ſouthward muſt have two contrary winds, the one at ſouth-weſt, to bring them to the *Downs*, and after, an eaſterly wind, to carry them to *Chatham*, which perhaps will not happen in an age.

And it is not unworthy conſideration, how fatal thoſe eaſterly countries have been to this kingdom, firſt by the *Saxons*, and after by the *Daniſh* conqueſt.

My next advice is, that we ſtrive by all means poſſible to poſſeſs ourſelves of the town

town of *Fluſhing*, being of more importance to our ſtate than any town of *Europe*, as I will declare in my next project: firſt, we ſhall be ſtrengthened with as many ſhips as belong to *Middleburgh* and *Fluſhing*: ſecondly, it will draw all the reſt of *Zealand* into our ſubjection, the principal harbour being *Fluſhing*: thirdly, it will be a bridle to *Holland*; for they can no more maintain their navigations to the ſouthward, than a ſubject to live under a king, and diſobey his laws; for we having *Fluſhing*, and guarding the *Downs* in *Kent*, all ſuccours and ſafety for their ſhips upon that coaſt is taken from them.

Now to proceed to the *Hollanders* encountering us at ſea; for that it muſt come to, not once but often, if wars ever happen betwixt us.

They will in reaſon labour to put their fortune upon the firſt battle at ſea, becauſe their ſtate cannot maintain a long and lingering war with us: ſecondly, their ſhips and mariners, by which they live to ſupport their ſtate, their revenues being contributions raiſed out of trade, neceſſarily muſt fail, when their ſhips and men are converted to any other uſe than merchandize; but eſpecially when the ſame ſhips and men muſt be maintained out of this kind of revenue, that was wont to bring in gain.

Thirdly, the victory firſt gotten redoubles the courage of the victor; it aſtoniſhes and diſheartens the vanquiſhed; it ſhakes the fidelity of ſubjects, many whereof are too much inclin'd to the *Holland* faction; it gets the reputation, and gains friends and alliances abroad, who commonly ſway with good ſucceſs: and therefore, I wiſh we never preſent them, at the firſt encounter, with leſs force than to determine the quarrel.

The benefit the *Hollanders* ſhall make upon our coaſt, is, the uſe of our roads, though we debar them our harbours; which roads are open, ſpacious, undefenſible, and will ſuccour them in all winds and weathers, as namely, the *Iſle of Wight*, *Portland*, *Torbay*, &c.

And to prevent them herein, muſt be to divide our fleet into three ſquadrons, as I have often ſaid before; and being ſo divided, no ſhip can eſcape us; for though they ſhall paſs one ſquadron in the night unſeen, or in a fog, they cannot avoid falling into the lap of one of the other two: And we ſhall make our *Eaſt-India* voyage no farther than our own channel; for their ſhips muſt paſs it going and coming.

I will not omit to put in execution a ſtratagem when our fleet ſhall be thus divided, *viz.* to place along the ſea-ſhores fires like beacons from the cape of *Cornwall*, to to the *North-Foreland* in *Kent*, with a care they be well watched and guarded; that when a fleet ſhall be deſcry'd at ſea, or ſhips arrive in the road aforeſaid, the beacons next adjoining to be fired, and like a running poſt, one fire to take it of another, that in a little ſpace an eaſterly ſquadron ſhall have notice what happeneth to the weſtward, and the weſt to the eaſt; ſo that howſoever the wind is, one of the ſquadrons ſhall come round upon the other, and upon the ſhips in the roads aforeſaid.

But perhaps ſome will ſay, That if ſo few ſhips as thoſe of *Dunkirk* did ſo great a ſpoil to us in time of war, what can we expect but deſtruction from the *Hollanders*, that have an hundred veſſels to one of the others in thoſe days.

To which I anſwer, That though the *Dunkirkers* took many ſhips in the queen's time, yet they never leſſened ours nor the *Hollander*'s numbers; for by reaſon their habours were not to be entered at all hours and tides, but only at a half-flood, they uſed to take out the maſters and merchants as pledges to perform ſuch conditions as they agreed upon for releaſing the ſhip and goods. And at that time they ſtood in that danger of our ſhips, and the *Hollanders* who guarded the coaſts, that they durſt not keep their prizes longer than they had made this contract aforeſaid.

But with us it will be otherwiſe; for all ſuch ſhips as we take, we ſhall be able to enjoy without danger or fear, our coaſts and harbours being nigh us, our ports capable at all times and tides to receive us. And I dare boldly affirm, that if his majeſty will give free liberty to his ſubjects to take and ſpoil as many *Hollanders* as they can in their trades at ſea, in a little ſpace they will be able of themſelves, without his majeſty's help or aſſiſtance, to take or deſtroy the better part of their veſſels within their provinces.

For let us compare them with the pirates of *Algiers* and *Tunis*, who till of late years, that they were inſtructed by *Chriſtians*, were ignorant in what belonged to ſhips or mariners: and if we conſidered in what little ſpace they increaſed to the number they are now of, being all of them ſhips of *Chriſtians*, and not one of their own, it is to be marvelled, and our caſe to be compared with it.

For if we fit, furniſh, and man ſuch ſhips as we ſhall take from the *Hollanders*, and imploy them againſt the *Hollanders* themſelves, the natural inclination of our men at ſea conſidered, the ſmall expence in rigging, victualling, and furniſhing them; the little diſtance they ſhall ſail both outward and homeward, and the continual ſupplies from land they ſhall receive, for one ſhip the pirates

of

of *Algiers* have taken, as aforeſaid, we ſhall become owners of forty, and make one of them the deſtruction of another, without farther help, either at home or abroad.

For ſecuring our *Newcaſtle* trade, it muſt be to fortify our ſhips with ordnance, to go in fleets, and to ſail near the ſhore, that if they be chaced, or in danger of taking, to run on land. The countries upon the ſea-coaſt muſt be commanded to keep a good watch in the day-time, and to be ready to reſcue any ſhips that ſhall be ſo diſtreſſed.

And becauſe I have named the ſhips of *Newcaſtle*, I will ſay ſomething of them, and compare them with the ſhips of *Holland*, which ſome of my countrymen ſo much magnify, and hold ſo terrible, that they are frighted with the name of them, and deſire to fright others.

What I ſhall ſay may perhaps be wondered at, and my judgment by ſome taxed; but, if well conſidered, it will not ſeem ſo great an error, as upon the firſt apprehenſion.

I will compute two hundred ſail of ſhips, betwixt two and three hundred tuns in burden, belonging to the trade of *Newcaſtle*, veſſels for their ſtrength in building, for their ſpaciouſneſs within board, for the decks to place their ordnance, and all other conveniency to make men of war, I dare ſay *Holland* has not the like.

If theſe ſhips be fortified with *Engliſh* ordnance, which *Holland* affords not, but with grief I may ſay, is ſupplied from us; and if one hundred of our trained ſoldiers be put on board every one of them, which we may do of our own nation, and which *Holland* cannot do, unleſs they diſſolve their land-army, and put themſelves into the mercy of the enemy, I will be bold to ſay, that theſe ſhips alone will be able to encounter the whole force of the *Netherlands*, and, as I have computed but two hundred ſhips, by a project contained in this book, we ſhall double the number of two hundred, and, by conſequence, be as ſtrong again.

Though this trade ſeems to be but of ſmall account, in reſpect of the groſſneſs of the commodity, that it is amongſt our ſelves, and in the kingdom, and that the ſhips return from *London* unladen, yet we may account it of moſt importance and conſequence to the ſtate of *England*, conſidering the multitude of mariners it breeds, and the readineſs of them for his majeſty's ſervice, when he has ſudden occaſion to uſe them; for every three weeks theſe ſhips never fail to make their repair into the river of *Thames*, if they be not hindered by wind; as all other trades but this is out of the kingdom, and upon their voyages in ſummer, that if his majeſty have need to furniſh but two of his ſhips to ſea, there will not be found mariners ſufficient to man them, if it be not for the *Newcaſtle* trade. Leaving this, I will once more return to our annoying the *Hollanders*.

And if we go further from home to ſeek out the *Hollanders*, yea, as far as the *Eaſt Indies*, a place that has puffed them up with pride, and has bred a heart of diſdain againſt us, more for the number of their ſhips that reſort thither, and the length of their navigation, than for any profit they find there. The next voyage we undertake ſhall be to ſeek them in their return from thence, in a deſolate and uninhabited iſland, called *Mauricius*, after the name of the laſt prince of *Orange*, lying in the courſe betwixt thoſe places of the *Indies* they trade to, and the cape of *Good Hope*. This iſland affords them great comfort and refreſhing, which makes their navigation much the eaſier and commodious; and as the meeting of ſhips is more certain in a harbour than at ſea, ſo is ours the more ſure to find and take them there.

If it happen that the *Hollanders* fail falling in with that iſland, which muſt proceed more out of negligence than will; for they are to expect a great ſuccour in their way home by that iſland, then they to repair to *Saldanna* bay, near the cape of *Good Hope*; or miſſing that, then to the iſland of *Santa Hellena*, well known to us, and long frequented by the *Portugueſe*; for no other places can ſuccour their unſufferable wants.

And though we ſhould fail to meet them in any of theſe places aforeſaid, nevertheleſs they cannot account themſelves ſafe at home, when they remember the long diſtance they have to ſail, and the dangers they are to paſs through our channel, if we become their enemies, unleſs they avoid us, by going into the north part of *Scotland*, which in my fiſhing project I have handled.

There are many other ways to offend the *Hollanders*, which I forbear to ſpeak of, referring them to my breaſt, till there be occaſion; and I will proſecute my deſign upon the iſland of *Wakerland*.

A Project how to get Poſſeſſion of the Iſland of Wakerland, *if the King of* England *will compound with the Natives.*

IN my former project I wiſh'd, as a matter of greateſt importance to our ſtate, to ſeek and get the poſſeſſion of the iſland of *Wakerland*, wherein *Fluſhing* is ſeated; the reaſons whereof I have in ſome kind declared; and now ſhall follow the manner how to compaſs it with conſent and liking of the inhabitants, if they will accept and hearken to reaſon, before we attempt them with violence or force: for it is a maxim, *He that is maſter of the ſea, ſhall be able both to take and defend* Fluſhing, *or moſt iſlands.*

The firſt thing we muſt put in execution, we muſt have a book printed and divulged in the name of ſome perſon, pretending to be born there; and adviſing the inhabitants of the iſland to hearken to his reaſons, being moved to write out of a natural affection he bears his country.

His firſt reaſon is for them to conſider the end for which they have ſo long fought, *(viz.)* their religion, their liberty, their ſecurity, and their commodity, and have not as yet attained them, nor like to do, ſo long as the king of *Spain* is made able to ſubſiſt in that war.

The ſecond conſideration, is how to compaſs theſe four ends by a more gentle, and eaſy courſe than by war, which may be effected if they will judiciouſly weigh the enſuing reaſons.

The book muſt make it appear, what diſcourteſies and oppreſſions *Holland* impoſes continually on them; which indeed is unſufferable; but that both their ſecurity depends upon their mutual agreement, becauſe of the third that is enemy to them both.

To wiſh them to conſider, That though their payment in the iſland of *Wakerland* do equal *Holland* in their proportion, and that their men of war of *Zealand* are eſteemed and known to be more warlike, and to have done braver exploits than the *Hollanders* by ſea, yet notwithſtanding what ſervice is done, either by land or ſea, is all attributed to *Holland*; for *Zealand* and *Wakerland* is not once mentioned; and therefore to adviſe them to divide themſelves from *Holland*, that their worths and virtues may appear to the world.

The way to attain to happineſs muſt be by the countenance and aſſiſtance of ſome powerful neighbour prince to rely upon; and *England*, above the reſt, would be able to obtain that for them, in a peaceable manner, which with the loſs of their blood, they could not enjoy in ſeventy or eighty years of war: and if the enſuing conditions may be yielded to, by the king of *England*, they may boldly ſheath up their ſwords, and never have cauſe hereafter to draw them again.

The Conditions on which the Inhabitants are to contract with the King of England.

The beginning of all mens actions muſt tend to the ſervice of God, every one according to his private conſcience; and no other king in theſe parts of the world, but the king of *England*, does maintain the religion by them profeſſed; and for the better proof thereof, his majeſty's father, of famous memory, ſhewed himſelf a principal pillar, and the abſolute cauſe to ſettle the true religion in their provinces; as it appeared by the council of *Dort*, againſt the innovation of the *Armenians*; which ſect *Wakerland* was never known to favour or embrace: nor will his majeſty aſſume the nomination of their elders, or preachers, or meddle with their church-diſcipline, but refer it to themſelves.

Whereas they are over-charged with contributions and exciſes, in the government they now live under, they may condition with his majeſty, to eaſe them the moiety of what they now pay, and the other moiety be reſerved for defence againſt an enemy; or in fortifications or maintenance of garriſons; all which ſoldiers to be *Engliſh*, as people that are no ſtrangers to them in acquaintance or conditions, as they have made proof when they lived together, without any kind of diſcourteſies.

Foraſmuch as many times they appeal to the general ſtates, reſiding in the *Hague*, or upon occaſion they are often called thither, to their great expence and diſcontent they ſhall be eaſed of that trouble and charge, and determine all queſtions, and ſettle their affairs, amongſt themſelves, by authority from his majeſty, without having relation to any other provinces: this will prove a greater freedom and liberty than they could all this while compaſs by the ſword, or can otherwiſe do by any way they can think of.

His majeſty by this grant, and other immunities he may give, without innovation or infringing their ancient laws and cuſtoms, will make them freer than ever they have been; and his protection will be ſo ſtrong a defence to them, that no prince or nation dare offer to injure them, either at home or abroad.

It is apparent what benefit they ſhall reap by theſe privileges: Firſt, in eaſing them of the moiety of their exciſes; but moſt eſpecially, if his majeſty will be drawn to grant them the privilege of his ſubjects in their cuſtoms within his own dominions, and to have a freedom of their ſhips to take freights within his majeſty's ports, which the laws of the land prohibit to any but his own ſubjects; this will be much greater to their advantage and profit, than ever they ſhall attain to by living under the government they now do.

Perhaps his majeſty may be drawn to conſent to the remove of the *Engliſh* ſtaple from *Delph* to *Middleborough*, where it had long continued heretofore, to the commodity of the whole iſland, as themſelves beſt know.

In yielding their obedience to his majeſty, is no new precedent amongſt themſelves; for in the year 1424. after *Holland*, *Frizeland* and *Zealand*, with the iſland of *Wakerland*, had continued in the line of *Theri* of *Aquitain*, the ſpace of ſix hundred years, *Jacoline*, widow and heireſs of theſe provinces, reſigned them to *Philip* I. duke of *Burgundy*; by which reſignation theſe three ſtates became joined to *Flanders*, and the reſt of the provinces, and ſtill continues in the line of *Philip*.

If theſe people may enjoy their religion quietly, their liberties freely, their ſecurity peaceably, their commerce, trade, and wealth plentifully, and have the honour to be ſubject to ſo mighty a king; no man can juſtly pity them, if by refuſing it they fall into the hands of enemies.

And if their pride and obſtinacy refuſe this ſolid advice of a friend, as the ſtate of *England* now ſtands, that by our permiſſion the *Hollanders* are grown to ſo great a ſtrength by ſea, it behoves us to ſeek a remedy for our ſafeties; which cannot be better done, than by poſſeſſing the iſland of *Wakerland*, which does more concern us than any plot of ground elſewhere.

And if we be put by force to enjoy it, there is no more to be ſaid than I have often repeated; That ſo long as we are ſtronger by ſea, that we keep our ports guarded and armed, and prohibit their entrance into them, not only all *Wakerland*, but *Holland* and *Zealand*, will be at our devotion as aforeſaid, as may appear by the project that went before.

Of the Harbours of Holland, Zealand, *and* Flanders, *in order, if we have Wars, to take Advantage of them.*

THE *Texel* has three channels, whereof the *Spaniard*'s, or the king's, is the beſt: when you are within, there is a good road under the iſland of *Texel*; and from thence you go up to *Amſterdam*, and all places within the *Zurick Sea*.

To the northward of the *Texel* lies the *Vlie*, a good channel, but narrow; for ſhips that come out of the *Zurick Sea*, there are two channels going out of the *Vlie*.

From the *Texel* to the *Maeſe*, S. S. W. twenty four leagues, the *Maeſe* goes into the *Brill*, and has three channels, whereof one is better than the reſt, and has ſixteen foot at a full ſea: within the *Brill* the channel carries them to *Skedam*, *Roterdam*, *Delph Haven*, and other places thereabouts. The old *Maeſe* carries them up to *Dort*.

From the *Maeſe*, or the *Brill*, up to *Goree*, two leagues S. W. The *Goree* hath eighteen foot at low water; and ſo you may go up at *Helvoet-Sluice*, where you may ride with the greateſt ſhip of *Holland*.

From *Goree* to the iſland of *Wakerland*, ſix leagues S. W. The iſland of *Scowden* is betwixt them; and *Bruers-Haven* is in that iſland.

Fluſhing is the beſt harbour in all *Zealand*, and lies in the iſland of *Wakerland*; the channel has four fathom, at the water going in.

From *Fluſhing* to *Graveling*, twenty four leagues W. S. W. theſe harbours following lie betwixt them, and all upon the coaſt of *Flanders*, (*viz.*) *Oſtend*, twelve leagues; from thence to *Newport*, three leagues; from thence to *Dunkirk* five leagues; from thence to *Graveling*, four leagues. *Mardike* lies betwixt the two laſt, and is the beſt harbour upon all that coaſt, as it is now made.

From the *Texel* to the *Foreland* in *England*, S. W. forty ſeven leagues.

From the *Texel* to *Yarmouth*, W. thirty two leagues; from the *Maeſe* to *Harwich*, W. a little ſouthерly, twenty nine leagues; from the *Maeſe*, or *Goree*, S. W. and by W. thirty ſix leagues; from *Fluſhing* to the *Foreland*, W. twenty four leagues.

A Project

A Project how to make War upon Spain, *written in the Queen's Time, and preſented to Sir* Robert Cecil, *by her Majeſty's Appointment.*

THE continual annoyance our ſmall ſhips of war have for many years offered the *Spaniards* upon their own coaſts, makes them of late more provident than before they were, by drawing home their ſhips in fleets, that were wont to come ſtraggling; as may appear by the *Weſt Indies* trade, whoſe ſhips ſtrove to be firſt at home, to take the better market; but now they uſe to repair to the *Havana*, where they attend the coming of the plate fleet; into which ſhips they put their ſilver, gold, and things of value; and are wafted themſelves by the ſame fleet; by which means few of the *India* ſhips, have been of late years taken into *England*.

The *Portugueſe* trade is more general than the *Spaniards*; as namely into the *Eaſt Indies*, *Braſil*, *St. Thome*, *Caſtle de la Mina*, and other parts of *Guinea*; from the two latter they uſe to ſend their gold brigantines to *St. Thome*, and tranſport it into *Portugal* with the fleet, which returns in *September*, both into *Braſil* and hither; they freight the boats of *Holland*, and the eaſt country that are of good force, which defend themſelves, and their leſſer ſhips in their company from the *Engliſh*.

Theſe fleets of later years have avoided touching at the *Tercera* iſlands, which were wont to afford them relief and ſuccour, becauſe they were continually haunted by the *Engliſh*; and ſuch armada's as were wont to be ſent to thoſe iſlands, now keep off the headlands on their own coaſt, as the ſureſt means to defend them; for whoſoever ſeeks a coaſt, will firſt fall with a headland or cape.

How to employ our Fleets againſt Spain.

The laſt ſummer's good fortune that *Holland* and we both had, in taking each of us a carrack, may encourage us both to employ our ſea forces againſt *Spain*, being a means to work us both ſecurity, and for *Holland* to proſecute their wars with more advantage: and if by one conſent we agree together, we muſt reſolve upon the imployment of two ſeveral fleets; the number, the time, and manner how to employ them, with the hopes of what we are to make by hem, are as follows:

The carracks outward: the plate fleet homeward.

The *Firm Land* and *New Spain* fleets outward.

The carracks and *New Spain* fleet homeward.

The carracks departure from *Lisbon* is certain; for if they exceed the 15th of *April*, they are commonly forced back, not being able to double *Abrohos* ſhoals on the coaſt of *Braſil* in the eighteenth degree.

And, as I have ſaid before, that the meeting of a ſhip or fleet is more certain upon a headland, nigh a port whither they are bound, than in an open ſea, where they may eſcape by night, by fog, by being to leeward, or many other caſualties; therefore, beſides the groſs fleet that ſhould make good the coaſt of *Spain*, it were fit the enemy were buſied in both his *Indies*; and how to offend him in his *Eaſt Indies*, I have ſet down in this book; to which I refer you. Our ſecond and moſt material hope, is upon the plate fleet, whoſe coming home is uncertain; though for the ſpace of four or five years paſt, they have obſerved the months of *March* and *April*: the ports whither they reſort are *St. Lucar* or *Cadiz*; the likelieſt place of meeting them is cape *St. Mary's*, the headland they commonly make before they put into *St. Lucar*.

The greateſt doubt of meeting this fleet, is the intelligence they may receive out of *Spain*; conſidering the ſmall diſtance betwixt them and the *Indies*, and the certainty of the winds, whereby they may give warning to their fleet to winter there, if they ſee cauſe; and therefore the ſubtleſt and ſecureſt courſe to prevent them, is to ſend two or three pinnaces, excellent choice ſailors, to lie before the *Havana*, to attend the coming out of their fleet, and after to purſue them aſtern, till they bring them into the heighth they mean to hail in; which done, one of the three pinnaces may repair with all ſpeed to our fleet, where they ſhall have directions to find them, and give relation in what ſtate, and in what heighth they left them: the other two pinnaces are not to leave company of the fleet, unleſs the fleet alter its heighth; which, if they do, one of the two pinnaces is to follow the ſame directions the other did, with this caution, That if they find themſelves in danger of being taken, they throw their inſtructions over-board.

The third and laſt hope of our fleet is the ſhips of *Terra Firma*, or the *Firm Land*, which go for the next year's plate, and are commonly to depart from *Spain*, at the coming home of the other fleet: the place to meet them is eighteen or twenty leagues from *Cape Canteen* in *Barbary*. We may know by the wind, within a point or two, how they will ſteer, as alſo the time of their departure

departure from *St. Lucar* by the moon; for they muſt obſerve the ſpring-tides to come over the bar: we may likewiſe provide to have intelligence by the way of *Mamora* or *Salley*, two towns in *Barbary*, oppoſite to that part of *Spain*.

If we ſhould prove ſo unhappy as to miſs this fleet, if her majeſty will purpoſe this ſquadron to the *Indies*, they will not fail meeting with them at the northermoſt part of *Dominica*, where they uſe to water; or being departed from thence, their courſe is certain to cape *de Vela*; and after to *Nombre de Dios*, where commonly they take in their treaſure, and where they may be eaſily ſurprized.

I will ſuppoſe our ſecond fleet to be at ſea, upon return of our firſt, who have theſe ſeveral hopes likewiſe: the carracks and *New Spain* fleet homeward; and the *New Spain* fleet outward. If her majeſty will reſolve to keep a continual fleet, as is propoſed, few of theſe ſhips can poſſibly eſcape us, either going or coming, ſeeing we know the courſe they ſail, the ſeaſon of the year they muſt needs paſs, and the harbours whither they are bound.

The *New Spain* fleet outward, is to depart from the ſame part, through the ſame ſeas, and in the ſame courſe, the *Terra Firma* or *Firm Land* fleet doth; only they differ in the time of the year; for they exceed not their midſummer-day to ſet ſail from *Spain*, becauſe of their ſafe getting to the port of *St. John de Ulva*, before the entrance of the northerly winds, which are perillous upon that coaſt.

Their watering-place is *Guadalupe*, where a ſmall ſtrength were able ſuddenly to ſurprize them; their men and ſhips being out of order and farme, by their rummaging them, and doing other works about them when they come to water; and their force conſiſting but of two galleons of war, the one admiral, the other vice-admiral.

The Security to our State.

Theſe undertakings being followed according to the deſigns ſet down, and taking that good ſucceſs that is hoped for, are one great means to breed ſecurity to our ſtate; the enemy being impoveriſhed, and we enriched.

Our only ſecurity muſt be to cut off *Spain*'s forces by ſea, ſeeing their means of invaſion and ſtrength of defence depends upon their ſhipping: how this ſervice may be affected, and the benefit that will ariſe by it, is here briefly handled.

Firſt, and principally, we muſt keep employed two main fleets upon the coaſt of *Spain* eight months in the year, that is, from *March* to *November*; every fleet to conſiſt of forty five ſhips, to be divided into three ſquadrons; one to lie off the rock to intercept all traders of *Lisbon*; the ſecond at the *South Cape*, to ſtop all intercourſe to *St. Lucar* and *Cadiz*, and to and from the *Indies*; the third to the iſlands, leſt they ſhould there ſtop, and put their goods aſhore, having intelligence of our being upon the coaſt of *Spain*.

Our fleet being thus divided, no army at ſea can be prepared, or at leaſt gathered to a head, but we ſhall intercept them; we ſhall not only debar the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe* their own trade, but all nations to them; they will not be able to feed without our permiſſion; nor no nation can be brought to greater extremity than they will be.

Perhaps the number of theſe ſhips will exceed the proportion her majeſty is willing to employ; but if *Holland* will be drawn from the trade of *Spain*, and join with us, the number may be eaſily raiſed by them, and our maritime towns in *England*, ſo that her majeſty needs employ but ſix ſhips of her own in each fleet, to ſerve for admiral and vice-admiral of every ſquadron.

It is not the meaneſt miſchief we ſhall do the king of *Spain*, if we war thus upon him to force him to keep his ſhores ſtill armed and guarded, to the infinite vexation, charge and diſcontent of his ſubjects; for no time or place can ſecure them, ſo long as they ſee or know us to be upon the coaſt.

The terror is ſo great they conceive of her majeſty's ſhips, that few of them preſenting themſelves in view, do commonly divert their actions, as may appear by theſe brief obſervations following.

In the year 1587. Sir *Francis Drake* with twenty five ſhips prevented an expedition for *England* that ſummer, which they attempted the next year, 1588. becauſe they were not moleſted, as in the year before.

Our action to *Portugal* following ſo ſuddenly upon the overthrow of 1588. made the king of *Spain* ſo far unable to offend, that if it had been proſecuted with judgment, he had been in ill circumſtances to have defended it, or his other kingdoms.

From that time till 1599. he grew great by ſea, becauſe he was not buſied by us, as before, as it appeared by the fleet that took the *Revenge*; which navy it is very likely had been employ'd againſt *England*, if it had not been diverted by my lord *Thomas Howard* in 1592.

And for four years together he employ'd his ſhips to the iſlands, for the guard of his merchants, which made him have no leiſure to think of *England*. The expedition to *Cadiz* in 1596. did not only fruſtrate

ſtrate the intended action againſt *England*, but deſtroy'd many of his ſhips and proviſions that ſhould have been imploy'd in that ſervice.

In 1597. he meant a ſecond revenge upon *England*, but was prevented by the expedition of my lord of *Eſſex* to the iſlands; which action, if it had been well carried, and that my lord would have believed good advice, it had ruined the king of *Spain*.

The next year, that gave cauſe of fear to the queen, was 1599. the king of *Spain* having a whole year, by our ſufferance, to make his proviſions, and brought his ſhips and armies down to the *Groyne*; which put the queen to a more chargeable defenſive war, than the value of an offenſive fleet would have been maintained upon his coaſt.

This great expedition was diverted by the fleet of *Holland*, which the *Adelantado* purſued to the iſlands.

The year that followed was 1600. which gave hope of peace; for nothing was attempted on either ſide till the year 1601. that he invaded *Ireland*, but with ill ſucceſs, as you have heard.

The laſt ſummer, 1602. he was braved by her majeſty's ſhips in the mouth of his harbours, with the loſs of a carrack, ſo that he was not able to proſecute his affairs againſt *Ireland*; for no ſooner was Sir *Richard Lewſon* returned, but I was ſent again upon that coaſt, as you have heard, who kept the king's forces ſo imploy'd, that he betook himſelf only to the guard of his ſhores.

The ſequel of all theſe actions being duly conſidered, we may be confident, that whilſt we buſy the *Spaniards* at home, they dare not think of invading *England* or *Ireland*; for by their abſence, the fleet of their *Indies* may be indangered; and in their attempts they have as little hope of prevailing.

Thus have I ventured to deliver to your honour, ſo much as you deſired at my hand; and ſo much as I think is convenient for our preſent actions.

How to work for intelligence out of *Spain*, I have ſhewed in my firſt book; but will proceed to the ſtate of the harbours in *Spain*, for us to take advantage of.

Of the Harbours in Biſcay.

From cape *Machichaca* to cape *de Pennas*, lies the coaſt of *Biſcay*.

From cape *Machichaca* to *Bilboa* thirteen leagues, S. S. W. *Barmea* is in the way; a barred haven.

Placentia, W. from it; a barr'd haven.

Bilboa, a good harbour; but in it there is a ſand, called *la Barſe*.

Caſtro, five leagues from *Bilboa*; no ſafeguard for ſhips but with a S. W. wind.

From *Caſtro* to *Lavedo*, ſix leagues, W. a good harbour for great ſhips.

From *Bilboa* to *St. Antonio*, W. and by N. nine or ten leagues.

From *St. Antonio* to cape *Keſgo*, W. three leagues.

From cape *Keſgo* to *St. Andre*, five leagues, W. and by S. a good harbour.

Betwixt *St. Andre* and cape *Pennas*, thirty ſeven or thirty eight leagues, W. and theſe havens betwixt them:

The haven of *St. Martin*, W. five leagues from *St. Andre*; a barred harbour.

St. Vincent, five leagues, a barred haven, from *St. Martin*.

To *Chares* three leagues, in a barred harbour.

Roi Sella —— five or ſix leagues; a barred harbour.

From thence to *Villa Vicioga* two leagues; a barred harbour.

From thence to *Sanſon*, ſeven leagues; betwixt it and a little iſland, there is a good road.

In the weſt ſide of *Sanſon* is likewiſe a good road.

Orion, where fiſhermen lay their nets.

Torres, a good road for a S. W. wind.

The cape *Pennas*, three leagues.

From cape *Machichaca* to cape *Pennas*, ſixty eight leagues.

But coming from *St. John de Luce* in *France*, *Fuenterabia*, four leagues; from thence a good road for a N. W. wind.

Paſſage is the next, a good harbour, at ſeven fathom.

St. Sebaſtian, three leagues W. from it; a good harbour, five, ſix, or ſeven fathom before the town.

From hence to cape *Machichaca* thirteen leagues.

It is good anchoring in all the bays upon the coaſt of *Biſcay* twenty fathom.

The Coaſt of Galicia.

From cape *Pennas* three leagues S. S. W. to *Aviles* a good harbour, and a good road without, ſeven or eight fathom within the harbour.

From *Aviles* to *Ribadeo*, three leagues, S. W. and by W. a good harbour, three fathom water.

N. W. from *Ribadeo* eight leagues, cape *Brilo*; and within *Vivera*, a good harbour, one may go about the iſland of *St. Cyprian*.

From *Vivera* to *Ortegall* nine leagues, W. N. W.

St. Mark's, in the way, a good road, at ſeven or eight fathom without; ſafe for a S. W. and a W. wind all the coaſt along.

A good road under *Ortegall* for a N. W. wind, and a S. W. wind.

To cape *Prior*, S. W. eleven leagues; betwixt them is the haven of *Sequera*, a good harbour, ten fathom within.

Three leagues from cape *Prior* lieth *Ferrol*, an excellent harbour at twelve fathom.

S. and S. and by W. to the *Groyne*, three leagues, a good harbour.

It is foul about the iſland of *Cizarke*.

Queres is a good harbour for great ſhips.

From *Cizarke*, to *Mongie* S. W. and by W. thirteen leagues.

Cocobayno hath eight or nine fathom.

Rio Roxo, full of rocks; but being in a good harbour.

Ponte Vedra, eight or nine fathom; in ſome places forty fathom deep.

You may anchor under the iſland of *Bayonne*, ten, eleven, or twelve fathom.

Vigo, a good harbour, ten or twelve fathom before the town.

Bayonne, five fathom; but a blind rock before the town.

Portugal.

Viana, a barred haven, a narrow channel, but a good road without.

Villa de Conde, a barred harbour.

Metelema, two fathom full ſea.

Porto, two channels; the ſouth is the beſt, but alters ſometimes before the town, ten or twelve fathom.

Aveiro, two fathom; but within four or five fathom.

Peniche, a barred haven: the iſlands *Berlengas* off at ſea, a good road, at ten fathom.

Lisbon has two great channels going in, before you come to *Belem* caſtle.

Cezimbre is a good road, fifteen or ſixteen fathom.

Setural has three fathom and a half at half-flood.

Cape *St. Vincent*, a good road for a northerly wind.

Algarva.

Lagos, *Villa-Nova*, and *Faro*, all barred and ſmall havens.

Tavila, a crooked, dry haven, and alters every year.

Andaluzia.

Ayamonte parts *Portugal* and *Spain*, and is one of the beſt havens in all the *Condado*, three fathom half-flood.

Lepe, or *St. Michael's*, not to be entred without a pilot, the channel alters ſo.

Palos, or *Saltes*, ſix fathom within, at the bar three and a half at half-flood.

St. Lucar has a great bar, but deep within for any ſhip.

Cadiz, a brave bay at eight, ten, twelve, or fifteen fathom: from thence to the *Streights* mouth eleven leagues.

Barbary.

Oppoſite to this part of *Spain* lies *Barbary*, though the king of *Spain* has moſt harbours in it, as namely, *Oran*, *Ceuta*, *Tangier*, *Alaracke*, *Mamora*, *Aſamor*, and *Marzagoa*. The *Moors* have only *Salley* on the north, and *Safin* and *Santa Cruz* on the weſt.

Arzila, the north channel, good ſhips may enter.

Alarache, the river crooked, but a good road without, at fifteen or ſixteen fathom.

Mamora, two fathom at entrance, but a good harbour within.

Salley, a barred harbour all that coaſt; a good road at fourteen or fifteen fathom.

Marzagoa muſt have a pilot to bring in a ſhip.

To cape *Cantyn* thirteen leagues, only a cape to ride under.

Safin, a good road, ten, eleven, or twelve fathom.

The iſland of *Magadore*, a good road for ſmall ſhipping.

Santa Cruz, ſuch a road as *Safin*.

A Project how to increaſe two hundred Sail of Ships.

LEAVING the voyages uſually gone into foreign countries by our nation, the next I will undertake, ſhall be to ſail to *Newcaſtle*, which we may properly call our *North Indies*, becauſe of the commodity and ſtrength that ariſeth to the kingdom by it, as ſhall appear by what follows.

The chief trade we have now-a-days to increaſe mariners and ſhipping, is our trade to *Newcaſtle*: there are yearly ſet to work in that trade two hundred ſail of ſhips, which ſhips and mariners are once in three weeks in the port of *London*, ready for his majeſty's ſervice, if there happen any ſudden occaſion.

All other trades are out of the kingdom, and upon their voyages in the ſummer-time, ſo that if his majeſty has occaſion but to furniſh two of his ſhips with men, the kingdom cannot afford them at that time of the year, if it were not for the trade of *Newcaſtle*.

The

The courſe how to effect this project muſt be by increaſing this trade, whereby more ſhips may be ſet to work, (as thus,) to prohibit all ſtrangers to fetch coals at *Newcaſtle*; and for us to make our ſtaple at *London* or *Woolwich* for all ſtrangers to fetch their coals from thence, after we have with our own ſhips brought them thither; for whereas there are two hundred ſail of ſtrangers ſhips ſet to work to the trade of *Newcaſtle*, the ſame number of ſhips would be increaſed, if his majeſty's ſubjects had the bringing of them for *London* or *Woolwich*.

I will now prove it to be rather beneficial than hurtful to ſtrangers.

1. The ſtranger will be able to perform this voyage in ten or twelve days to *London*, when many times he is five or ſix weeks to *Newcaſtle*; ſo that he ſhall make three returns for one.

2. Whereas the ſtranger carries only ballaſt in his ſhip to *Newcaſtle*, becauſe that country cannot vent ſuch merchandize as they would otherwiſe carry, they need not come empty to *London*; for that *London* will take off all ſuch commodities as they bring, to the increaſe of his majeſty's cuſtoms.

3. Whereas moſt of the ſtrangers that come to *London*, go away in their ballaſt, by which means they carry out of the kingdom ſuch moneys as they receive for freight, if the ſtaple of coals be ſettled in *London*, they will be glad to imploy their moneys in coals, which will be profitable to them; and we keep our moneys in *England*, which is now carried away.

4. The bar going into *Newcaſtle*, and there lying on ground with their ſhips, conſumes and weakens them, having their weight of coals on board; I mean the ſtrangers ſhips, that are not built with the ſtrength that ours are. As in *London* their ſhips will ride and float, and take in their coals out of one ſhip into another, which will lengthen their ſhips four years in the ordinary age of ſhips; ſo that they will gain the third part of a ſhip in changing their ports.

5. They ſhall not be ſubject to the ſpoil of pirates, as hath been of late years to *Newcaſtle*; for pirates never reſort into the narrow ſeas, becauſe his majeſty's ſhips are continually there.

The Stranger cannot except againſt this, becauſe the like is uſed in other Countries.

1. The *Venetians* have a law, That no ſtrangers ſhall take in goods into their ſhips, in any of their ports, before their own ſhips be laden; or elſe they will take the lading out of other ſhips to lade themſelves.

2. In *France* there is a penalty, That our *Engliſhmen* may not bring ſalt for their own ſpending; if they do, it is forfeiture of ſhip and goods.

3. In *Calais* they will not ſuffer any paſſenger to go for *England* in other veſſels than their own.

4. In *Dunkirk* they have lately taken up the *Venetian* law.

5. In *Holland* they will not ſuffer any ſhip of another town to take in goods from one town to another, but they muſt tranſport it in a ſhip of their own town; as for example, a ſhip of *Fluſhing* to go to *Rotterdam*, to carry to *Fluſhing*; but it muſt be ſent in a ſhip of their own town: and this they do, becauſe they will make an equality in ſetting their ſhips and men to work.

6. The *Biſcainers* have the ſame privilege over all other *Spaniards* the *Venetians* have over ſtrangers; and the reaſon is, becauſe *Biſcay* affords all the beſt mariners in the kingdom of *Spain*; and to encourage them to ſea, this privilege is granted them.

Now I have ſtrengthened this kingdom with defenſive forces to withſtand the power of an invaſion, and ſhewed the means how to invade our neighbouring enemies, if they become ſo, I will not contain myſelf in the temperate zone, but ſeek what projects may be produced in the torrid zone, where the ſun has ſuch a ſcorching power, that the philoſophers thought it was unhabitable; and I will take *Guinea* in my way to the *Eaſt Indies*, it being the place from whence they were firſt diſcovered.

A Project in the Days of Queen Elizabeth *for the ſettling her Subjects in* Guinea; *ſhewing of what Convenience it would be. Writ in the Year* 1597.

THE neglecting the opportunity in times paſt, by refuſing the offer made by *Columbus* to *Henry* VII. for the diſcovery of the *Weſt Indies*, which *Spain* then accepted of, has made *Spain*, which was one of the moſt inferior kingdoms in all *Europe*, now become the mightieſt in wealth, greatneſs, and eſteem; and to think to leſſen them in thoſe parts where they are grown ſo mighty, is now too late, their footing is ſo ſtrongly ſettled in *America*, and eſpecially between the two tropicks, which naturally

ly affords gold and precious merchandizes; for in colder climates we can expect little gold, by what we have found in *Norrenbega*.

But many are erroneouſly carry'd away with an opinion of *Guiana*, and the plenty of gold in it, which makes them forward to ſettle an habitation in that country. The only reaſon I conceive men can have to induce them to it, is the climate, that may afford gold, but no proof of any hitherto found there; and I have given my reaſons of the unlikelineſs of finding any there in my fourth book.

My reaſons for diſapproving our planting in *Guiana* are theſe: firſt, it is in the continent of *America*, fronting upon the *Spaniards*, whom we ſhall find very ill neighbours to us. The ſecond is, the men we ſend muſt be by ſea, and that far off; and the number cannot be ſo great to cope with the *Spaniards* that are there already: and it will ſo much concern them, not to accept of our neighbourhood in thoſe parts, that they will rather imploy their whole forces to remove us, it concerning them ſo deeply, not to have any partakers with them in their *Indies*.

Thirdly, we ſhall enter upon a poor barbarous country; the people wild and rude, that can give us no aſſurance of their fidelity, being void of underſtanding. The proviſions we muſt live on, muſt be carried by us, the country having no ſtrength but by nature, no towns or houſes to lie in; and requires a long time and great charge to be furniſhed with victuals, fortifications, and buildings.

But leaving *Guiana* for the reaſons here given, I will a little handle the planting and inhabiting *Guinea*, and will prove it the moſt convenient place for us, now in time of war, to poſſeſs and keep.

The country is nearer to us than *Guiana*, the trade certain to the *Portugueſe* for gold, and other commodities, which *Guiana* affords not; our ſettling in it in times paſt was ſo much feared by the *Portugueſe* kings, that they fought by all means poſſible to divert us; and king *John* II. underſtanding of a preparation of a fleet in *England* for a voyage to *Guinea*, doubting it would prove prejudicial to him, ſent *Rui de Sonſa*, a principal man of his country, ambaſſador into *England*, to confirm the old league with *Edward* IV. and to acquaint him with the title he had to the ſeigniory of *Guinea*, deſiring him to lay aſide his fleet that was preparing for that coaſt under the command and conduct of *John Tynten*, as alſo not to ſuffer or permit any of his ſubjects to trade for *Guinea*.

The king was willing to yield to his requeſt, and deſirous to accept of his league; for in reſpect of his domeſtick troubles at home, he could not have leiſure to ſeek the enlargement of his kingdom abroad: thus for neceſſity take our country loſt the opportunity of trading and inhabiting part of *Guinea* in the days of *Edward* IV.

And ſince the year 1553. there was a voyage undertaken by the perſuaſion of *Antony Ames Pinteado*, who being a man of good regard with the king of *Portugal*, by falſe ſuggeſtions was caſt out of his favour, and forced to fly his country; and coming into *England*, he diſcovered to certain merchants the benefit and commodity of *Guinea*, he having lived there ſome years himſelf.

The king of *Portugal* hearing of this fleet, ſought by all means to take off *Pinteado:* firſt, by promiſe of great rewards to procure his return; which failing, his death was practis'd by ſome *Portugueſe* in *England*, which he having knowledge of, prevented.

Laſtly, the king thought to fruſtrate his deſigns, and arm'd a galleon to intercept him at ſea. This galleon met the *Engliſh*, but durſt not offer any violence.

The voyage was proceeded on with great hope of good to follow; but through the wilfulneſs of *Windham*, who had the command of it, a man both raſh and headſtrong, preferring his own ſtubborneſs before *Pinteado*'s experience, the voyage was overthrown; for after they grew rich by trade, *Pinteado* perſuaded their return for that year, alledging the danger of ſickneſs by their longer ſtay upon that coaſt: But *Windham* neglecting his council, in few days after there grew a moſt contagious ſickneſs amongſt them, that they both died, and many of their company, before they could recover home.

Doubtleſs if this voyage had been diſcreetly carry'd, as it was projected, it had returned great profit for the preſent, and had ſettled a continual trade into *Guinea* in a ſmall ſpace; for the negro kings offered them many immunities, and a place to dwell and fortify; and this happen'd at the beginning of the *Portugueſe* plantation, which in little time it would have been occaſion for us to have eaten them out of their trade, and given us opportunity to diſcover new lands and trades within the country, as the *Portugueſe* did from thence into the *Indies*.

Many more voyages have been attempted by the *Engliſh*, upon that coaſt, with profitable returns: but at the chief place, which is the *Caſtle de la Mina*, we could never attain to have a trade; but if her majeſty pleaſe, yet there is no time overpaſt, but that the country may be ſubdued, her ſubjects ſettled in it, and the trade maintain'd

tained with a yearly and certain benefit to her majeſty, as now it is to the king of *Spain*.

The place of importance for ſtrength and wealth is the *Caſtle de la Mina*, the taking whereof makes all the reſt of the country tributary of courſe, it being the only place defended by the *Portugueſe*, and where they have ſettled the chief trade of the whole country.

John Baptiſta de Revolaſco, at my being in *Portugal*, had the country of *Guinea* in farm from the king, no man having licence to trade thither but himſelf, whoſe courſe was not to ſeek the negroes in their own ports, and make the voyage long and uncertain, but he ſent his merchandize to *Caſtle de la Mina*, whither the negroes reſorted, as well from the inward part of the country, as from the ſea ſide, to utter their commodities; by which means he made *Mina* a continual mart, being always furniſhed with great quantity of gold.

The place being taken, the wealth in it will be great, the keeping it not chargeable, and the living in it ſecure, it being ſtrongly fortify'd to their hands, with helps that we ſhall add unto it: it yields plenty of victuals: the town is fairly built, the people civil, the country not unpleaſant; all theſe are ſufficient encouragements and motives for us to inhabit it.

Though many object the ſickneſs of that climate, by example of divers ſhips of ours that have felt it, yet the true cauſe has grown from want of experience: for there are divers obſervations to be followed by them that ſhall reſort there to live.

The firſt is the time of the year in going, which is in *September*: the ſecond, is the time of of ſtaying, which muſt not exceed *March*. And whilſt they abide there, they muſt keep and obſerve a certain diet; for there are three things principally to be avoided, (*viz.*) the unmeaſurable eating of fruits, the ſerene or dew that falls morning and evening, and the company of the negro women.

I have examined the voyages made thither by our *Engliſh* nation, and find the greateſt death of our men is in their return home, coming out of the hot countries into the cold; which proceeds principally from want of cloaths in the poor mariners; and this is ordinary in our ſhorter voyages: but ſuch as ſhall live in the country, no time of the year is to be reſpected for their health; for it is to be ſuppoſed that no man is ſo gluttonous as to over-eat himſelf, where he ſhall find ſo great a plenty, and ſo good a choice; for nothing breeds a ſurfeit ſo ſoon, as after a ſcarcity and want, to come to plentiful feeding, and want of government and diſcretion to temper themſelves in their diet.

Moreover, thoſe that live aſhore in *Guinea* ſhall have houſes to defend them from the ſerene, or other infection of the air. And in anſwer of the negro women, I think no *Engliſhman* ſo barbarous as to offer it.

By poſſeſſing the *Mina* it may give us a great encouragement of other diſcoveries; neither do I ſee any reaſon but from thence we may find a way by land to *Tombagoto* and *Gago*; that would afford as great plenty of gold to the queen, as *Peru* does to the king of *Spain*.

The king of *Morocco* has a trade to thoſe places; and the chief merchandize carried thither is ſalt: if we could get thither by land, I doubt not, but from thence, or near thereabouts, we ſhall find ſome river to fall into the ſea, that in time we may come at it by water; and then ſhall her majeſty become as great and rich in the eaſtern parts of the world, as the king of *Spain* is now in the weſtern.

Her majeſty having *Guinea*, may turn it to her beſt profit and commodity, as to plant ſuch things as the earth will bear, the ſoil affording as great plenty of merchandize as the *Weſt Indies*, (as for example,) *Guinea* and *Brazil* yield as good, and as great ſtore of ginger as the other doth; but the king of *Spain* commands that no ginger ſhall grow in either of them both, but ſuch as they preſerve for their own uſe, and call it green ginger; for if he would give leave to plant it in *Guinea*, the increaſe would be ſo great, that he would make it of no value in the *Weſt Indies*: likewiſe the *Weſt Indies*, *Guinea*, and *Braſil*, will yield a better grape, and a greater quantity of wine will be made there than in *Spain*; but the king will not grant it, nor permit the general planting of grapes. Thus does he politickly keep one country under another in their commodities, and bars the earth from bringing forth the increaſe for the uſe of man, as God has appointed.

There will be required for this voyage five hundred ſoldiers, and convenient ſhipping to tranſport them, with all things neceſſary for ſuch an action. The men that go muſt be choice in their abilities of body, and clear from ſickneſs and diſeaſes; for infected men carried from home, have been the overthrow of many enterprizes.

The greateſt force the *Portugueſe* preſume upon, is their number, and the valour of their negroes, whom they make believe, we deſire to conquer and kill; and that our quarrel is their defending them.

But to prevent this policy of theirs, we will carry negroes with us that ſpeak their lan-

language, and have lived in *Europe*, and ſeen the difference of our uſing of them, and of the *Portugueſe*; for in *Portugal* they buy and ſell them, as we do horſes, in markets.

When theſe things ſhall be known to the negroes, it will be a means, not only to deſire peace and friendſhip with us, but to animate and provoke them to riſe againſt their maſters.

In this journey there muſt be ſpecial care and choice in victualling, both for the goodneſs, quantity, and diverſity; for our ordinary victualling with ſalt meats breeds a putrefaction of blood in hot countries, and is one great cauſe of their ſickneſs in thoſe parts. The men that go, ought to have ſhift and change of apparel; for the nature of the ſerene is to rot any kind of garment.

Though this voyage was not undertaken in the reign of queen *Elizabeth*, which was the active age for ſuch enterprizes, and the time gave great advantage, by the weak proviſion the king of *Spain* had thereabouts, yet ſince the war ceaſed, by our laborious endeavours, we have attained to a profitable trade on that coaſt of *Guinea*.

I muſt confeſs I much laboured to put this voyage in execution at the time we were authoriz'd by a war with *Spain*, to juſtify our doings; and to ſhew my willingneſs the more, at my releaſe out of my impriſonment in *Spain*, in 1591. I procured a rutter of the coaſt of *Guinea*, that ſhewed the diſtance, the height, and courſe from port to port; the dangers, and how to ſhun them; the conditions of the people; the commodities the country affords, and what they deſire from us; which I think not fit to inſert in this book, for making the volume too ſpacious and great; but will proceed to a deſign of the *Weſt-Indies*, which was preſented by me, and promiſed by the queen to have it undertaken as I projected it.

A Project of a Voyage to the East Indies, *with a Deſign to have had Footing in the hithermoſt Part thereof.*

I Will proſecute my voyage from *Guinea* to the *Eaſt Indies* with my inſuing projects, as *Bartholomew Dios* proceeded in his diſcovery; and the firſt port I will arrive at, ſhall be *Moſambique*, a place of great importance and relief to the *Portugueſe*, both going and coming from the *Indies*.

If her majeſty will pleaſe really of herſelf, or by joining with her merchants, to undertake a voyage to the *Eaſt Indies*, it will prove a great annoyance to the king of *Spain* and his ſubjects, if the projects following be well undertaken and proſecuted.

The only good we are to expect of this *Eaſt India* attempt, muſt be the provident proceeding in our firſt voyage, as well to ſettle a certain and ſecure trade, as to have habitation in the country.

And therefore to go abruptly, and to offer them a trade, conſidering we are, or ſhall be diſgraced by the *Portugueſe*, and *Hollanders*, were a thing uncertain, and full of hazard; for though thoſe two nations love not one another, yet to bar us of our reſort thither, they would not ſtick to caſt many foul aſperſions on us.

For prevention whereof it were neceſſary her majeſty made choice of an able and well experienced gentleman, who, beſides the charge of the voyage, ſhould have the imployment of an ambaſſador.

His meſſage and letters ſhould import the greatneſs of her majeſty's ſtate, her power by land and ſea, her protection of the *Netherlands*, and the ſeveral diſgraces and overthrows ſhe has given the king of *Spain*, whereby it is to be ſuppoſed, that ſome of the *Portugueſe* his ſubjects, in their ſecret hate to our nation, not being able otherwiſe to revenge themſelves, have moſt unjuſtly ſcandalized our proceedings: therefore wiſhing them that they would receive what ſhe writes for a truth, coming from ſo mighty a prince, and to give no further credit to the *Portugueſe*, than as the behaviour of her ſubjects ſhall deſerve.

What preſents or obligations of friendſhip her majeſty ſhould ſend in ſign of her love, I will omit, only there muſt be care to win ſuch perſons as have moſt credit with the princes with whom you ſhall traffick. And the conditions and articles ſettled, we deſire that an ambaſſador may be ſent to her majeſty, with offer of pledges for his ſafe return.

The exceptions againſt this voyage, are, the great diſtance from *England*; the danger of the people, having no religion to engage themſelves by; the force of the *Portugueſe* by their long continuance there; and the commodities we muſt ſend, which are fine ſilver and oil, the one we may ill ſpare, the other our country doth not naturally yield.

The method to provide againſt theſe inconveniences, is, whilſt there is no ſuſpicion of us, to poſſeſs and keep ſome town of the *Portugueſe* neareſt us, it will prove a great refreſhing to us, and make the journey both ſhort and pleaſant. Secondly, we ſhall be the more reſpected by the people, when they ſee we have footing ſo near them. Thirdly,

ly, we ſhall weaken the *Portugueſe*, and prevent their carracks wintering at *Moſambique*, if they fail doubling the cape of *Good Hope*. The reaſon I prefer *Moſambique* before the reſt of the *Indies*, is the nearneſs to us, and where the carracks certainly water in their way to the *Indies*; and the time is ſo certainly known to us, that we ſhall undoubtedly intercept them.

The riches of the town are both gold and merchandize; for the governors and dwellers of *Moſambique* are allowed only the trade of *Sofala*, lying under that juriſdiction. The keeping of the town will be eaſy, the dwelling in it ſafe; for it is ſeated in a ſtrong and defenſible iſland; it has plenty of victuals, corn excepted; the town is fairly built, with many commodities to it, and in every point like the caſtle *de la Mina*, I have formerly deſcribed.

When we are maſters of the town, and have fortified it, and poſſeſſed our ſelves of the carracks, the enemy will be weakened, and unprovided of entertainment in their way to the *Indies*; for that it is the only place where they have refreſhment.

The *Portugueſe* uſe this place for their refuge and ſuccour, not for trade, but only what the governor drives with *Sofala*, as I have ſhewed; but we will make it our chief-eſt town of mart, and thereby our voyage ſhall be made ſhort and eaſy; for our ſhips that go thither, ſhall fetch away the goods that our ſhips bring from *Goa*, and other parts of the *Indies*; by means whereof, every twelve or thirteen months we ſhall have a certain return of our adventures.

The way of proceeding upon this expedition muſt be to ſend an extraordinary number of ſailors, beſides the ſoldiers; the ſailors to man the carracks, the ſoldiers to defend the town; they muſt depart from hence in *February*, and be at *Moſambique* by the laſt of *June*, which will be twenty days before the carracks arrival.

The money and goods taken in the four carracks, may amount well nigh to ſix thouſand ton in bulk, which may be there unladen and kept in ſtore-houſes, and vended into the *Indies* by our ſhips yearly; for they are ſuch commodities as will keep, and the return of them in truck will be more commodious than five times the bringing of them for *England*.

Our hope is no leſs in meeting their carracks in their return for *Portugal*, at the iſlands of *Santa Hellena*, where they never fail to water; and if we have the happineſs to enjoy them both going and coming, we ſhall be maſters of an ineſtimable wealth, and bring the *Portugueſe* dwellers in the *Eaſt Indies* to ſuch an extremity by it, that they muſt be forced either to revolt, or accept of our trade.

A Project and Reaſons againſt our Eaſt India *Voyage, fully anſwered before the Trade began.*

THE *Hollanders*, who are a people both apprehenſive and laborious in what they conceive or undertake, having light given them by the two voyages of Sir *Francis Drake* and Mr. *Cavendiſh*, what the *Eaſt Indies* and *South Sea* afforded in wealth; and being likewiſe ſeconded and encourag'd by the ſollicitation of ſome of their own nation, who put themſelves into the ſervice of the *Portugueſe* trading into the *Eaſt Indies*, and whilſt they were there, underſtood the depth and ſecrecy of it, revealing it at their return, were ſo far prevailed upon, as to ſpare no coſt to make trial where there was likelihood of profit; and accordingly began a trade into the furthermoſt part of the *Indies*, and have yearly ſince continued it with various ſucceſs.

Not long after, we, who are rather imitators than firſt enterprizers of things, where there is not a preſent return of profit, finding by the ſucceſs of the *Hollanders* that the voyage was worth our embracing, by the rumour of gain ſpread abroad, (though in this, as many other reports, fame proves as often falſe as true,) thought fit to venture ſomething upon it: and accordingly our *Engliſh* merchants gathered their joint-ſtocks together, and from thence-forward to this very day they have ſettled a trade in the *Eaſt Indies*; and what it has produced you ſhall underſtand at the end of this argument.

But foraſmuch as every innovation commonly finds oppoſition; from ſome out of partiality, and from others, as enemies to novelty; ſo this voyage, though at the firſt it carry'd a great name, and hope of profit by the word *India*, and example of *Holland*, yet was it writ againſt, and anſwered, as in the enſuing diſcourſe ſhall appear.

1. Object. *This voyage will be an occaſion of exhauſting our ſilver, which is already too much diminiſhed by the* Iriſh *wars, and by the* Hollanders *drawing of it and our gold over into the* Low Countries.

Anſw. I confeſs this is the ſtrongeſt reaſon of the ſeven, that are alledged; yet I think not but there may be means to draw out of other countries ſuch a quantity of ſilver, as would furniſh this voyage yearly; if there

there could be means to keep our own ſilver from tranſportation into the *Low Countries*: for it is to be feared, that the beſt part of ſilver the *Hollanders* ſend into the *Eaſt Indies*, is drawn out of *England*. But this objection is fully anſwered by the project of *Moſambique*.

2. Object. *It will be the decay of many a good mariner, in the climate there, and by the way being ſo untemperate, that either the one half, or a third part of our people cannot but periſh.*

Anſwer. This trade, in my opinion, will be ſo far from diminiſhing our ſeamen, that no voyage will or can breed better mariners; for long voyages make the skilfulleſt and beſt navigators. But whereas the unnatural heat is alledged for the cauſe of the death of men, we find by experience, that the greateſt infection and death of people is not whilſt they abide in the hot countries, but in the entring into the cold out of the hot, which comes principally for want of cloaths in poor mariners, as I have ſaid ſufficiently in my diſcourſe of *Guinea*.

3. Object. *It will be the decay of ſhipping; becauſe, unleſs they be ſheathed with lead, they prove ſo worm-eaten, that they are never after ſerviceable, except it be for one voyage only.*

Anſw. I cannot ſee how this can any way prove the decay of ſhipping, but rather the maintainance of greater ſhips than have been uſed among our merchants; for if they mean to maintain an yearly trade, they cannot have leſs than eight or nine ſhips of one thouſand or twelve hundred tons each; which, upon the occaſion of ſervice, are of greater ſtrength than the whole ſhipping of *London*; and where there are ſo many good ſhips ſet to work, it will be a maintenance both of ſhips and men; for as people die, double the number will be bred and harden'd by theſe voyages.

All this while we ſpeak by conjecture, not by experience; for what greater trial can there be, than of the *Portugueſe* ſhips, who make their voyages a year and half long; and yet moſt of them make twelve or thirteen voyages: after this proportion they continue much longer than ours; yea, I have known one carrack make twenty four voyages.

But if you allow that ſheathing them will continue them the longer, we may better do it in *England* than *Portugal*, becauſe our country affords it.

4. Object. *It will hinder the vent of cloth; for whereas now our merchants may put over their ſix months bills of debts, as well for ſpices as other merchandize, thereby to make the more ſpeedy return; our* Eaſt India *merchants will be able to afford them ſo cheap at our own doors, that our merchants and adventurers ſhall be forced to abſtain from bringing in of ſpices, and ſo want often times preſent commodities to make return of.*

Anſw. Here we ſpeak generally, that it will hinder the vent of cloth, becauſe the merchants may put over their ſix months bills for ſpices; but the ſpices being afforded better cheap at home, the merchant muſt be forced to leave off his trade, as though our chief vent of cloth were in exchange of ſpices: but I conceive that in moſt countries where they utter our cloth, merchants do not return ſpices; as into *Barbary*, *Italy*, *France*, &c. From ſome parts of the *Eaſt Country* we have ſome ſpices, but very little, which was wont to have come from *Turky* to *Venice*, and ſo diſperſed into the *Eaſt Countries*; but ſince our trade to *Turky* it has not been much.

What inconveniences can then grow of this trade, but to our *Turky* company? which, if they cannot have other commodities than ſpices, to exchange for our cloth, it were better for the commonwealth to diſſolve that trade, than that to the *Eaſt Indies* which is the ſpring-head from whence ſpices flow.

As we are now ſerved with ſpices, it is at the third hand, and at an unreaſonable rate, which enriches ſome private men only; but ſurely, if this trade to the *Eaſt Indies* were encouraged, and carry'd with equality, the commonwealth would be the better for it; inſomuch that all manner of ſpices would be far cheaper than now they are. If any find prejudice by this trade, it will be the *Turks* themſelves; when they ſhall ſee all *Europe* ſerved with *Indian* commodities, directly by ſea, their trade will be overthrown.

5. Object. *They will bring in ſuch quantities of ſpices as will lie too long upon their hands, and not to be vended in due time; as was ſeen by the pepper of the carrack, which notwithſtanding a general reſtraint againſt the bringing in of all other pepper, to the hindrance of many a merchant, yet it was a year before it could be made away.*

Anſw. Allow that our trade will decay in *Turky*, eſpecially for ſpices; and that we be ſerv'd with no other ſpices than ſhall be brought out of the *Eaſt Indies*, all caſualties excepted; for you muſt underſtand they will ſometime ſtay long for their lading; ſome of their ſhips, it is likely, may miſcarry, others not return juſtly at the time appointed; ſo that I make no doubt, but *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, will be able to take off a great part: if not, the *Eaſt Country* and *Ruſſia* will utter more than we can ſpare.

Whereas you refer yourſelf to the example of the carrack, it is thus to be anſwered: They that bought the ſpices of the queen in

in the carrack conditioned, That till they were vended, none ſhould be brought into *England*; by which reſtraint, and they having ingroſſed the whole quantity of the ſpices, before they made ſale of them they provided that the whole ſtore ſhould be ſpent within the realm; and then they forced every man to pay what they liſted, knowing we could not otherwiſe be ſupply'd: and this proceeded out of abuſe; for when the greateſt quantity of the carrack's ſpices was unſold, then were they at the greateſt rate: and to the contrary, if there had been no ſpices in *England* when the carrack came in, and that they had not been engroſſed by ſome few, no doubt but in a year they had been wholly vended.

6. Object. *The original of this voyage was ſecret malice of ſome againſt the* Turkiſh *company, and a greedy deſire of private gain; the effect whereof will be ſuch a moleſtation to our neighbours the* Hollanders, *and ſuch hatred we ſhall reap at their hands, as all our gain ſhall not be able to countervail this one inconvenience.*

Anſw. We are not to enter into the hatred or private grudges of men, but into the commodity or diſcommodity that will ariſe to our nation by this trade: if it be more profit to maintain traffick into the *Eaſt Indies* than into *Turky*, I ſee no reaſon that for the benefit of ſome private men of the *Turky* company, we ſhould nouriſh the one, and neglect the other; but methinks if there were no more reaſon of gain than out of ſpleen to ſome merchants of the *Turky* company, they ſhould not adventure ſo great a ſtock, without a hope of profit.

We ſee by experience what commodity the *Portugueſe* have made this hundred and odd years by that trade, and we conceive the *Hollanders* find a great commodity by it, which may give us ſatisfaction in it: neither do I ſee that the *Hollanders* have more advantage to perſevere in that voyage than we.

For offence to be given the *Hollanders*, I ſee not how in right and juſtice they can except againſt us; for they can challenge nothing of diſcovery, ſince of the two we gave them light thereof by the voyage of Sir *Francis Drake* and Mr. *Cavendiſh*, who had been there before there was ever mention of *Holland* or *Hollanders*.

Secondly, they are not ſubjects to them, with whom we ſhall traffick, but free princes of themſelves, that may make election and choice with whom they will entertain leagues.

Thirdly, we may with better reaſon, and we have better means to bar the *Hollanders* of traffick with *Turky*, *Barbary* and *Ruſſia*, than they to reſtrain us of this; for we were the firſt light-givers of thoſe trades.

And therefore, if all her majeſty's gracious reſpects to them ſhould in the end be recompenced with ingratitude, the world would confeſs their unworthineſs and evil requital of ſo many favours: but ſuppoſe they ſhould do their worſt againſt us, we know how to be even with them by many advantages we have over them, as before has been declared.

7. Object. *Laſtly, the money thus tranſported pays no cuſtom at all to her majeſty; nor are the merchants bound to return home ſo much treaſure in value or quantity, but only upon their bare words.*

Anſw. Though the money, upon the tranſportation of it, pay no cuſtom, yet the merchandize which is bought with that money pays a great and extraordinary cuſtom; and her majeſty's cuſtom will be increaſed by it: but to take away all exceptions to this point, the merchants offer to become bound to bring into the land ſo much ſilver as ſhall be tranſported in this voyage.

And ſeeing therefore the particular objections are anſwered, of exhauſting our treaſure, conſuming our mariners, deſtroying our ſhips, hindring the vent of our cloth, bringing in commodities not utterable in due time, that malice was not the cauſe of it, that in juſtice it cannot be prejudicial to the *Hollanders*, that it will be no decreaſing of cuſtoms, and the ſilver we ſend not to be our own; all theſe things being rightly weighed and conſidered, I refer my ſelf to the cenſure of any indifferent man, whether the objections be fully anſwered, or not.

What was written in the former diſcourſe, as well by the objector as the anſwerer, was but conjectural, till time and experience, which are the diſcoverers of truth, reſolve the queſtion doubted of.

But now having twenty and odd years trial, what this voyage to the *Eaſt Indies* has produced, a time ſufficient to judge of the conveniency or inconveniency to the ſtate, or the commodity or diſcommodity to the common wealth, and the profit or diſprofit to the adventurer, I will thereupon collect out of the reaſons aforeſaid, betwixt the objector and anſwerer, and how near their opinion ſorted to the truth, as alſo what errors, and by whoſe means they prov'd prejudicial to the ſubject.

The firſt objection of exhauſting our coin was anſwer'd, and confeſſed to be the ſtrongeſt argument of all the reſt: but a third perſon, whom I term the moderator, ſays, That if the company had provided, as they promiſed, and as they might eaſily

have done, to have brought the quantity of ſilver out of foreign parts, and have put it aſhore at *Dover*, for all people to behold, till their ſhips of the *Indies* had paſſed by, and then had imbarked it, this would have taken away all occaſion of repining by the ſubject, that their coin was tranſported out of the kingdom to uphold the *Eaſt India* trade; if this had been really done, without evaſion or cunning, the objection had been ſalved, and our moneys found no impediments to the voyage.

The ſecond, was the death of our men: and though this was anſwered fully, yet to confirm the opinion of the anſwerer, there cannot be a better proof than experience, that peoples bodies do as well agree with, and return from the *Indies* in health, as from ſhorter voyages; and that whoſoever has been there once, deſires to go thither again: ſome there are that have made ſix or ſeven voyages, and found no diſtemper or difference in their bodies; and if there were no greater objections than this of health, it were tolerable, and worthy to be encouraged.

To the third, that it will decay ſhipping, the anſwerer diſproves it very ſufficiently; but, indeed, the greateſt abuſe of the voyage ſhall now appear in the covetouſneſs and deſire of gain in our merchants, according to the nature of *Engliſhmen*, who ſtrive to be preſently rich, and have not patience to ſtay a time for it.

The bane of our *Eaſt India* voyage was, that they exceeded the proportion of eight or nine ſhips, treble to the number of thoſe that were projected: this was the decay of timber, which this kingdom will hereafter ſmart for; for the loſs of men and money, it will be regained in an age, when timber muſt be growing many ages.

This proportion of eight or nine ſhips would not have overcloy'd the trade, either there or here; nor have brought the commodities of the *Eaſt Indies* to ſo great a price as now they are there; neither would it have drawn ſo mighty ſtocks of money by the company to maintain it, whereby all the kingdom find themſelves aggrieved, imputing the want of money to this cauſe: thus it is apparent, that the voyage is not the cauſe of the inconveniency, but the ill ordering and managing of it by the merchants.

The fifth objection is imputed to malice againſt the *Turky* company, and the moleſtation we ſhall offer the *Hollanders*. The moderator alledges, that there are very few of the *Turky* merchants that are not admitted with their ſtocks into the *Eaſt India* company, and all queſtions accommodated; whereby their malice ceaſed: and to the point of the *Hollanders*, we ſee that it is not that trade alone, but all others in general they ſeek to deprave and deprive us of; and it is true, that it is trade that ſets their hearts againſt us, not only in our own traffick, but that of late we have debarred them of their trades, which before, out of cunning, they only ingroſſed and poſſeſſed; as namely, that of *Spain*, and the king of *Spain*'s dominions, whilſt they had ſubtilly engaged us in a war; but now that our peace debars them of it, and that we enjoy it our ſelves, theſe are the motives of their hates to us; and as for their love, it is to be valued according to the profit or uſe they can make of us, as in the next and laſt book I have at large declared.

This ſhall ſuffice for our *Eaſt India* trade; but I will ſtill have relation to the *Eaſt Indies*.

A Project how to intercept the Ships of Cambaya *that trade yearly into the* Red Sea.

THough the trade of the *Eaſt Indies* was firſt found out and proſecuted by the *Portugueſe*, and in theſe latter times frequented by us and the *Hollanders*, yet can we not ſay, but that the natives of theſe remote parts had uſe of navigation, commerce and traffick with one another, long before the reſort of the *Europeans* amongſt them; as is apparent by the continual intercourſe and trade, to this day, betwixt thoſe of *Surat*, ſubjects to the great *Mogul*, and *Ziden*, a part within the *Red Sea*, which is commonly called the fleet of *Mecca*.

The veſſels which paſs theſe ſeas we cannot properly call ſhips, becauſe their built is much differing from ſhips; they are neither able to brook the waves of a grown ſea, or of force to withſtand the power of an enemy: theſe veſſels are carry'd with a certain, ſettled, and conſtant wind, both outward and homeward, as I have declared, when I had occaſion to ſpeak of the nature of the winds, called the *Monſons*; yet, as ugly, and as unſhapely as theſe veſſels are to our eyes, they tranſport ineſtimable riches and wealth betwixt the places aforeſaid.

And whenſoever his majeſty ſhall pleaſe to prohibit the trade of his ſubjects to the *Eaſt Indies*, and that the merchants ſhall be weary of it, which will be according to their loſs or gain; for the nature of a covetous merchant is like an uſurer, that values and eſteems his own profit more than

than the conveniency or benefit of the ſtate: they are not ſatisfied with abundance; for the more they have, the more they deſire.

But leaving the paſſion and humour of ſuch men who are only for themſelves, let us enter into the true condition of this kingdom, and the way to benefit his majeſty, as well as his ſubjects have been benefited by the *Eaſt India* trade; and here I preſent a deſign to his majeſty, if he ſhall prohibit the trade of the *Eaſt Indies*, as I have ſaid before.

It is not like other ſea actions, that enemies are authoriz'd to take from one another in a broad and ocean ſea, where ſhips are hard to be met, or ſhall conteſt with force and ſtrength; or in ſuch weather as ſhall forbid ſhips boarding; or ſuch winds as ſhall make it difficult in fetching up a chace; or ſuch veſſels as ſhall make a doubt of the riches of their lading.

My project is to encounter the *Cambaya* fleet, in their return out of the *Red Sea*, in their courſe from thence to *Surat*: theſe veſſels are not freighted with merchandize of mean and baſe condition, but with the richeſt that *Egypt* and *Turky* can afford: their ſtrength not able to reſiſt their ſailing in a ſea, that never endured ſtorm; their winds and ſeaſons ſo certain, as ſome of our *Eaſt India* ſhips can put us out of doubt of, who have heretofore friendly viſited them.

The wealth in them, and the eaſe in taking them, being thus known, we are to think of the hurt and miſchief that may enſue upon it, and to ballance indifferently, whether it is to be embraced or rejected for conveniency ſake.

There are two ſort of people, and both infidels, that will find themſelves aggriev'd if this deſign be ſet on foot. The one is the *Grand Seignior*, into whoſe country they reſort, to barter their *Eaſt India* commodities, and make a return of merchandize there exchanged, to the great increaſe of cuſtoms, that accrue to the great turk by it.

The other is the great *Mogul*, king of *Cambaya*, but of late years known to us by the traffick of our merchants: they are the ſubjects of this king that trade into the *Red Sea*, who beſides his cuſtoms and other adventures in the voyage, will receive detriment by the loſs of his ſhips, which no doubt will exaſperate him.

Theſe are the conſiderations on which depends the conveniency or inconveniency to ground this voyage upon, Whether the forbearance of that trade by us, or the profit that will redound by it, will carry away the ſtronger force.

Two ſhips of his majeſty's, for countenance and ſtrength, will be ſufficient, with choice of victuals, and other proviſions for health; the reſt of the ſhips to be rated in tonnage, according to the proportion that may be judged to contain the goods taken in the ſhips aforeſaid.

A Project of the Genoeſe *to have brought the* Eaſt India *Commodities into* Muſcovy *by Land in* 1520.

AS commerce and trade draws a concourſe of people where commodity appears, and by conſequence acquaintance, and civility, knowledge of one another's cuſtoms and countries, and the ways and means to direct them thither; ſo did this trade of the *Eaſt Indies* moſt eſpecially, being ſo lately diſcovered, and yielding ſuch great wealth and riches, a thing not dreamed of, till time gave light thereof by the *Portugueſe* new diſcovery.

The way, and the neareſt way that could be thought of, to attain to the *Eaſt Indies*, was after attempted by ſeveral nations, ſometimes by the cape of *Good Hope*, other ſome by the *Streights* of *Magellan*, and then again from *New Spain*, and, laſtly, by the north-weſt paſſage; which ſhews a great willingneſs and deſire people had to ſearch out the ſecrets of thoſe countries, which they found ſo plentifully ſtored with all manner of riches.

And becauſe the *Genoeſe* were a people not much accuſtom'd to voyages in the ocean, wanting both ſhips, ſailors, and harbours, for ſuch navigations, yet becauſe they would not be accounted ſlothful or idle, and ſeeing it was an age of wit, in which every nation ſought to exceed one another, they in the year 1520. propoſed a journey by land from the *Eaſt Indies* to *Muſcovy* and *Ruſſia*, and one *Paul Centeraneo*, a merchant of *Genoa*, was imploy'd in it, and went with authority from that ſtate to *Baſilius*, then king of *Ruſſia*, with offer to bring that trade thither. He ſhewed the rivers and countries they ſhould travel through, and acquainted him that the *Portugueſe*, who ſerved all *Europe* with ſpices and drugs, brought them by ſea, whereby they became mouldy, and loſt their true operation and virtue, though indeed it was otherwiſe; for after the *Portugueſe* loaded their goods in their carracks, they never moved or unſhipped them, till they arrived at their port of *Liſbon*; as on the contrary, if they ſhould come to *Muſcovia*, they were to paſs many rivers, where they ſhould unlade, and lade again, to the ſpoil and loſs of their merchandize, beſides many dangers

dangers they ſhould ſuffer by the *Arabian* thieves, which the king of *Ruſſia* did wiſely foreſee and conſider; and therefore refuſed and rejected that offer made by *Paul Centeraneo*, and it was never after attempted or propoſed.

A Project how to attain to Tombagatu *and* Gago, *the richeſt Parts of the World for Gold, ſeated in* Africk, *and never yet diſcovered by* Chriſtians.

MANY and ſeveral attempts have been made by the *Engliſh* trading into *Guinea*, to arrive at the two places aforeſaid, being incited to it by the fame of the abundance of gold they yield, and the fineneſs of it by the daily proof that is made of it in *Barbary*, whither it is brought in truck of mean commodities.

The king of *Morocco* or *Barbary* yearly ſends certain camels, which paſs with much hunger, pains, and peril, in going and coming thither; and many times they are taken with violent ſtorms, and ſoutherly winds, which ſwallow and devour them like the ſea; but yet this danger does not hinder the trade, becauſe the profit is ſo great, that a camel laden with ſalt will return his load in gold. And this is the encouragement our *Engliſhmen* have to attempt it by rivers; but have ſtill failed, either by death of the undertakers, by want of victuals, by the encounter of the wild negroes, or ſhallowneſs of the water to hinder their paſſage.

I will ſet down the errors I conceive of the former undertakings, and deliver my opinion, how it is fitting to enterprize it with little charge or hazard to the actors or adventurers, by example of the *Portugueſe* happy and honourable attempt made upon the diſcovery of the *Eaſt Indies*, which gave the firſt light to all ſucceeding diſcoveries, as I have touched in my fourth book.

King *John* II. of *Portugal*, wiſely imagining with himſelf, that the riches of the *Eaſt Indies*, brought to us of *Europe* by the way of the *Red Sea*, might have a paſſage from thence by an open ſea, if it could be diſcovered, and the trade convey'd from thence directly to *Portugal*, without being beholding to infidels, as then we were, he cauſed timber to be felled to build two ſmall ſhips for that diſcovery of the *Eaſt Indies*.

In the mean time whilſt he was imployed in furniſhing the pinnaces for this voyage, he imploy'd theſe perſons following to diſcover by land the ſtate of the *Indians*, and to get what light he could to encourage his ſea intention.

The firſt man he employ'd was a *Franciſcan* frier; who for want of language returned from *Jeruſalem*, without effecting any thing. The next he ſent were two ſervants of his own, both of them ſkilful in the *Arabick* language, the one called *Pedro de Govillam*, the other *Alphonſo de Paiva*. They left *Portugal* the 7th of *May*, 1487. and coming to the *Red Sea*, parted company: *Alphonſo* went to *Preſter John*'s country, where he died: *Govillam* travelled to *Callicut* and other places of the *Eaſt Indies*, where he fully informed himſelf of thoſe countries.

In his return from thence he met with two *Jews*, the king of *Portugal* had ſent to meet and adviſe him to inform himſelf throughly of the ſtate of the *Eaſt Indies*.

One of theſe two *Jews* he ſent back to the king, with a relation of the ſtate of thoſe countries; the other he carried with him to *Ormus*, from whence he ſent him likewiſe to the king with a further relation, and himſelf travelled to *Preſter John*'s country, where the king, whoſe name was *Alexander*, treated him courteouſly; who dying, the ſucceeding king detain'd him priſoner, where he died, and never ſent more to the king of *Portugal*.

The king being truly informed by the relation of the two *Jews*, he haſtened the preparation of his two ſhips; which voyage proved ſucceſsful by the diſcovery of the *Eaſt Indies*. By the example of this land undertaking, we are to proſecute our intention for *Tombagatu* and *Gago*, and to labour how to arrive at them two places by land, that we may with more eaſe, after we are there arrived, find out a paſſage by a river, when the country is made known to us.

The men by whom we are to work our deſign, muſt be the black people of that country, whoſe complexions are ſuitable to thoſe of *Africk*; for white men would ſeem monſters to them, and ſoon be deſtroyed by them. The climate of the country, the diet, the travels, the avoiding other dangers and inconveniences, the negroes can better ſuffer than white men can undergo.

Therefore I adviſe, ſeeing what we do muſt be by the travel and endeavours of the negroes of the country, that every *Engliſh* ſhip that goes yearly to *Guinea*, may be enjoined to bring from thence three negroes, with care to treat them civilly and kindly, that

that at their return they may have juſt cauſe to commend our uſage of them.

Theſe negroes being inſtructed in *England*, may be ſent into ſeveral cities and corporations, two or three of them in company together, where they may be ſet into free ſchools, to be taught the *Engliſh* tongue, to write and read, and the true worſhip of God, with neceſſary proviſion for their apparel and diet; and when they are thus made capable to perform ſo much as they ſhall be employ'd about in their own country, then to ſend them back again, there to follow ſuch inſtructions as ſhall be given them, for finding out the way and paſſage to the two places aforeſaid; and after they return from thence, to aſſign them a place where they ſhall find a ſhip and men to entertain them; for the only thing that is to be required in this voyage, is to diſcover a way to *Tombagatu* and *Gago*, and to know the true ſtate of that country, and a means how to ſettle a trade with the people thereof.

The rivers by which we muſt make this attempt, are *Senega* and *Gambia*; and though there be two entrances into them, yet they make but one river, and betwixt them compaſs an iſland.

I confeſs there have been many undertakings by the *Engliſh*, to find a paſſage by the river to *Tombagatu* and *Gago*, but to little purpoſe, as it has been carry'd; therefore my deſign and deſire is, that what follows may be put in execution.

Beſides the ordinary ſhips that trade to *Guinea*, and make their return for *England*, I wiſh that two pinnaces, each of twenty tons, and two ſubſtantial ſhallops, be appointed to follow the diſcovery in the rivers, to be well manned, ſufficiently victualled and armed, to ſtay out a whole year, with ſeveral commodities the negroes deſire to have, to allure and entice them to us.

Theſe two barks are to ſail ſo high into the rivers, till they be ſtopped by ſhoals, and then to cauſe the two ſhallops to proceed further with their oars; for the greater way they go by water, the leſs journey the negroes ſhall have to travel by land.

Theſe ſhips and ſhallops are to make their aboad thereabouts the ſpace of nine or ten months, and to employ themſelves in traffick, to know the ſtate of the country, to learn the condition of the people, to win them by civility; and by conſent of them to obtain a place aſhore to inhabit and fortify, and make it a rendezvous for a yearly courſe and trade ever after, as the *Caſtle de la Mina* is to the *Portugueſe*.

A Project for a private Voyage to Guinea.

THERE is much more uſe to be made of the country of *Africk*, than either we, or any other nation have laboured to find out; which I do impute to the unhealthfulneſs of the climate, and the neglect of people in not labouring to bring the blacks to civility by courteous handling and treating them, as I have touched in my precedent project.

And becauſe I would have nothing attempted that may not bring a poſſibility of profit, I here preſent a private voyage with one ſhip of two hundred tons, and four or five ſhallops, to be quartered and carried in her.

It is not unknown to as many as trade to the *Eaſt Indies*, what ſuccour they find in the bay of *Saldanna*, near the cape of *Good Hope*, eſpecially of oxen, where there are the greateſt abundance, and the biggeſt of body in the world; and the ſeas thereabouts afford great quantity of whales, out of which may be made train oil.

My directions in this voyage are to buy and freight a *Holland* ſhip of two hundred tons burthen, with the number of ſhallops aforeſaid, to carry in her to the value of two thouſand or three thouſand pound cargo, two hundred ton in cask, with all things neceſſary to kill and boil the whales; and three or four butchers to flay their beefs.

The place whither they muſt firſt reſort, is the bay of *Saldanna*, aforeſaid; but in their way, to touch at the iſle of *May*, at cape *Verde*, there to take ſalt to ſave their hides they ſhall truck for. At their coming to this bay, ſome of their men muſt be imploy'd in traffick with the *Blacks*; ſome in killing their cattle for their hides; and others in fiſhing the whales, and making oil of them. And as they ſhall find a decay of either oxen or whales, then to remove to the northward, where I doubt not but they ſhall find a ſufficient ſtore of both, as alſo gold and other rich commodities, to ſettle a trade ever after.

A Project how to trade to the West Indies *for Tobacco, with the Conſent of the King of* Spain, *or ſome one Merchant his Subject.*

THE colour of our *Engliſh* ſhips reſorting to the *Eaſt Indies* in time of peace, is to ſeek a trade for tobacco; and under that pretence they have committed divers piracies, though the king of *Spain* has uſed all the ſtrict means and courſes poſſible to avoid that miſchief: he has made it death by law, if any of his ſubjects, either directly or indirectly traffick or have commerce with any foreign nation; and has often uſed the rigour of that law, as well upon his own ſubjects that have offended in that kind, as upon ſtrangers with whom they have traded; and yet gain is ſuch a temptation, that in ſome places the *Spaniards* will not forbear traffick, though they run into imminent danger.

But to take away the occaſion of this abuſe, and that *England* may be ſerved with better tobacco than any other growing elſewhere; and that the king of *Spain*, for his part, receive no prejudice in his cuſtoms for tobacco, this is the way that I deviſe.

That a merchant of *Spain*, and another of *England*, do make a contract, that the *Engliſh* ſhall take off ſuch a quantity of tobacco, and at a certain rate agreed on, and receive it at one of the *Tercera* iſlands; which will be an eaſe to the navigation, having the leſs way to ſail, and by conſequence, the leſs danger of the ſea and pirates; and this to be done with a ſhip of the *Spaniards*, and manned with *Spaniards*; and for ſuch commodities as ſhall be brought out of *England*, to deliver either at the iſlands aforeſaid, or in any port of *Spain*, at the election of the *Spaniards*; whereby the king of *Spain* ſhall not be deceived of his cuſtom either going or coming.

When the *Spaniards* have a certain vent for their tobacco, which is the thing they deſire, they will not hazard to trade with any ſtrange nation by ſtealth; and when the *Engliſh* perceive they are out of hope to truck for tobacco in the *Indies*, they will be diſappointed of trade, and in a little time make them become ſtrangers in thoſe parts; and this is the reaſon that muſt be uſed for the king of *Spain* to grant his conſent to it.

And when we ſhall be ſerved with tobacco, and ſhall have proof of the goodneſs of it, in compariſon of the beaſtly ſtinking tobacco that comes from other places, people will deſire it for wholeſomeneſs, and deteſt the other; which when our planters at *Virginia*, and other colonies, ſhall find their tobacco undervalued, it will be a cauſe that the people will apply themſelves to more beneficial labours than they now do, in planting tobacco only.

And becauſe tobacco ſhall be better uſed, and made up, to make it the more vendible in *England*, (for the goodneſs and badneſs of tobacco conſiſts in the ordering of it,) we deſire that two or three *Engliſhmen*, practiſed in that art of making up tobacco, may be hired by the *Spaniards*, and carry'd to the *Indies*, to make it merchantable there where it grows; ſo ſhall we be ſure to ſerve *England*, with none but choice tobacco, where it will give a better price to the ſeller, and more content to the buyer.

Both the kingdoms and ſubjects of *England* and *Spain* will receive benefit by this project, if they be governed by the directions aforeſaid; and if there be a queſtion of the king of *Spain*'s conſenting to it, it is no more than merchants within themſelves may contrive, without making requeſt or ſuit to either of the two kings.

An Anſwer to a Project of the Hollanders *for ſurprizing the Iſland of* Canaria, *and that of* St. Thome, *under the Equinoctial,* Anno 1599. *in Reproof of ſome of my Countrymen, who ſeek to prefer their Actions before ours.*

IT is wonderful to behold and ſee the mutability, and uncertainty of this envious ſpiteful age of ours; and amongſt many intolerable vices that reign, emulation is moſt rife; for let a man be advanced by virtue in his vocation, as, namely, a ſcholar to promotion and dignity by his learning, it breeds a ſecret hate in all ſcholars againſt him: the ſoldier for his ſervice, makes all ſoldiers envy him inwardly: the courtier preferred by favour of the prince, makes all courtiers repine at his fortune, and enter into examination of his merit above others, as though they ſhould be judges of their own worth. This ſhews the corruption of mens minds in our time; for virtue was never envy'd, but by men of vice; nor honour deſpiſed, but by them that could not judge of it.

Envy ſtops not at private grudges; for very often it enflames the hearts of princes againſt the greatneſs of other potentates; it reigns in one kingdom againſt the proſperity

perity and welfare of another; but this kind of emulation I confeſs to be tolerable; for the example of one good prince may make another virtuous; and the example of one kingdom, make another ſtrive and endeavour to equal it.

But the fault I find, is with this malicious humour you ſhall find in my enſuing diſcourſe; where, in this expedition of the *Hollanders*, my countrymen are apter to give them honour, and to attribute good ſucceſs to them, it being an action of their own, than if they had joined with us.

I know not what to impute it to; whether envy to others, becauſe they could not be actors themſelves; or a natural love to the *Holland* nation, not perfectly knowing them; or to their popular government, becauſe they have caſt off all ſubjection to monarchy: but ſure I am, that their partiality has diſcovered a great deal of envy, as they ſhall know by what follows; for I will ſo unmask them, that they ſhall not deny it.

After their engaging us in a war with *Spain*, it is known, to as many as know any thing, that notwithſtanding our prohibition of trade with *Spain*, which continu'd eighteen years, they never committed any hoſtile act by ſea againſt *Spain*, nor had encounter with fleet or ſhips of *Spain*; but to the contrary, ſupply'd them with all manner of proviſions and ammunition againſt us.

Then ſeeing there appeared no act of theirs, to commend either their ſufficiency of valour, it is ſtrange to me, that my countrymen ſhould extol them above our ſelves, only out of an imagination of what they would do, but not by proof of what they have done.

This trade of theirs into *Spain* continued all the reign of king *Philip* II. But he dying, and his ſon ſucceeding, he cauſed a general embargo and arreſt of all ſhips within his dominions, which belonged to any parts of the *Netherlands*, that were not obedient to his father's government; and publiſhed an edict, That it ſhould be lawful, from that time forward, to uſe the ſame law upon any ſuch ſhips as ſhould be found in his country.

This was effected accordingly; and the *Hollanders* being certify'd thereof, knew it was not their advantage to ſuffer their ſhips to lie and rot without imployment: neither had they means to maintain ſo many mariners as were in the country, without they had the uſe of navigation. For theſe two reaſons, and a deſire they had to annoy the king of *Spain*, they ſent this preſent year, 1599. ſeventy three ſhips to ſea, the general whereof was *Peter Van Doiſt*.

Whilſt this preparation of theirs held, there was an overture of peace made to her majeſty by the king of *Spain*, and archduke *Albertus*, which the queen was inclined to hearken to; but upon the earneſt interceſſion and requeſt of the *Hollanders*, with promiſe to ſecure her at home, with their fleet abroad, from any hurt *Spain* ſhould intend againſt her that preſent year, ſhe, out of a gracious reſpect to them, was willing to ſurceaſe ſpeech of that treaty for a time.

And now in anſwer to a book they publiſhed at their return from the *Canaries*, which they entitled thus, *The conqueſt of the* Grand Canaries *made this laſt ſummer by ſeventy three ſail of ſhips, ſent out by the command and direction of the* States General *of the* United Provinces *to the coaſt of* Spain, *and the* Canary *iſlands; with the taking of a town in the iſland of* Gomera, *and the ſucceſs of part of this fleet in their return homeward, which ſet ſail from* Holland *the 25th of* March, *and returned home the 10th of* September, 1599. When you read the two firſt words, *The Conqueſt*, you will not think there followeth leſs than a kingdom; for commonly it is not a phraſe uſed to any ſtate, but to a kingdom.

The *Grand Canaria*, which they think to blind the ignorant people with, to be a place of ſo great fame and renown, becauſe of the length of the word in pronunciation, is an iſland of twelve leagues in length and breadth; many villages in it, and one town bigger than the reſt, called a city, where the biſhop's ſeat is, for all the other iſlands.

There are in *Number* ſeven iſlands; *Grand Canaria*, *Teneriff*, which is the biggeſt, wealthieſt and ſtrongeſt, *Palmo*, *Gomera*, *Fuerteventuta*, *Larezaroſe*, and *Ferro*.

Upon the firſt diſcovery of theſe iſlands, they were called the *Fortunate*, and now the *Canary Iſlands*; and by ſetting down the *Canaries*, he would have the world think, that they had conquered all the iſlands; whereas, if he would have ſpoken truth, and according to ſenſe, he ſhould have intituled his book, *The ſurpriſe, and taking of the city of* Palmes *in the iſland of* Grand Canaria: the title of this book is as ridiculous, as if we ſhould write the ſtory of the *Sack of Cadiz*, and intitle it, *The Conqueſt of* Spain, becauſe *Cadiz* is a city in *Spain*. Thus you ſee they are people that will ſet a great gloſs upon a ſmall ſhew.

Their promiſe made to her majeſty at their ſetting from home, was, to view and ſearch all the harbours upon the coaſt of *Spain*, and to deſtroy the king's ſhips, whereby ſhe ſhould be ſecured at home.

The firſt port they fell in withal was the *Groyne*, being guided with a favourable and large wind; for from *Holland* thither, they were ſailing but eleven days; but when they came

came before the harbour, they behaved themſelves ſo unadviſedly, that the town took the alarm, and was provided to withſtand them.

Here lay divers of the king's ſhips, which they would not attempt, but diſhonourably departed; though I muſt confeſs they performed half their promiſe made to the queen, in viewing the harbours; but not the other half in deſtroying their ſhips.

If her majeſty had reſted upon their aſſurance of ſafety, and not otherwiſe provided to ſtand upon her own guard, I am of opinion the *Spaniards* had ſooner viſited us than they [illegible]; and yet they ſtick not to boaſt, That they caſt anchor in twelve or fifteen fathom water, and that the town [illegible] two hundred cannon ſhot, but killed never a man: they alſo ſay they towed out their ſhips with boats, in deſpite of their ſhot, whereas it appears, they lay ſo far off, that they were in no danger of their ſhot, or that they were in fee with the gunners not to hurt them, as any man may conjecture.

But it ſeems they were ſo much diſcouraged with looking into this harbour, that they never offered the like to any other upon that coaſt; but forgetting their promiſe to the queen, the general made known his purpoſe to his captains, that he meant to attempt the iſlands of *Canaria*.

If this project was deſigned him from home, or that it was left to the diſcretion of the general to undertake what he thought fit; in the one, the ſtates ſhewed themſelves ignorant in marſhal-ſea affairs, or the general had no diſpoſition to enterprize the ſervice that might bring danger; for the *Canaries* are known to be of ſuch ſmall importance, that we never held it worth our labour to poſſeſs them, though it were many times in our power.

Says the author, "The place of landing "was diſcommodious and difficult, but "that moſt of the enemies were ſlain, to "the number of thirty or thirty ſix. The "lord general leaping firſt on land, was "thruſt into the leg with a pike, and had "in his body four wounds more, being in "great danger to loſe his life, but that "one of the ſoldiers ſlew the *Spaniard* that "did it; but his wounds were of ſmall "moment."

Gentle reader, firſt you are to obſerve, that by their own confeſſion, they had very great difficulty to land; and that before they landed, they ſlew moſt of the enemies, which were to the number of thirty or thirty ſix; then let us think whether it was greater valour in the thirty ſix, to withſtand the twenty four companies, as they report of themſelves after, or for the twenty four companies to overcome the thirty ſix men: after this proportion it was three *Spaniards* to two companies of *Hollanders*.

Then follows a report of their lord general's valour: a lord we will allow him, becauſe the author gives him the title, though, if it were examined, he was no more lord, than they have authority to make a lord: he was the firſt man, the author ſays, that leap'd aſhore, and received a wound in his leg with a pike, and four in his body, which put him in great danger of his life; but that a ſoldier ſlew the *Spaniard* that did it; and that his wounds were of ſmall moment.

Mark the improbability of the one, and the variety of the report of the other: for how is it likely that one ſoldier ſhould come to the puſh of pike, upon the general's leaping aſhore, and give him ſo many wounds, having his troops ſo prepared, that they would not ſuffer the head of a man to appear? This man's valour far exceeded the thirty ſix; for he undertook their whole force, being twenty four companies.

The author ſays the general was in great danger to loſe his life; and in the line following, his wounds were of ſmall moment: theſe two are contraries, and for my part I know not which to believe; but conſidering the probability of the manner of his hurts, and the contrariety of the ſtate of his wounds, I do verily think the thirty ſix men could not make the reſiſtance they ſpeak of. Secondly, the general came not to the puſh of pike at his firſt landing. And, thirdly, he received not ſo many wounds, as for his glory they report of him.

After they had thus landed, they followed the victory with great loſs to themſelves, and little to the enemy, by their own report; for they ſay, They neither found wealth nor priſoner in the town, their goods being all carried into the mountains, and the people having quitted it, and eſcaped.

The memorableſt thing they did in the town, was the delivery of thirty ſix priſoners, who reported that two others, one an *Engliſhman*, the other an *Hollander*, were carried into the mountains, being cenſured by the inquiſition, whom they had not the means to redeem for want of two *Spaniards*.

The author reports, That after the taking of the town, their people committed ſuch diſorders in the country, the paſſages being known to the *Spaniards*, and not to them, that at one time twenty of them were killed; another time they returned with the loſs of ſeventy men, and in the poor iſland of *Gomera*,

Gomera eighty, and made the reſt retire; beſides, at divers other places they received loſs.

This proceeded rather out of diſorder amongſt themſelves, than any unlawful act of the *Spaniards*; for thoſe thus ſlain, were no leſs than free-booters that went a robbing, without leave of their officers; tho' the *Hollanders* rail and exclaim againſt their cruelty, alluding to their names, that the *Canaries* were ſo call'd, becauſe of *Canes*, the abundance of dogs then found in the iſland: they ſay that the people would run as ſwift as dogs, and were as tyrannical and blood-thirſty as ravening wolves, which they ſufficiently manifeſted; for as ſoon as they could lay hold on any of their people, like to mad curs, agreeing with their names, they would preſently worry them: and they, I confeſs, had no other remedy but patience; for they took never a *Spaniard* to exerciſe accuſtom'd cruelty.

But though they did not ſufficiently revenge themſelves upon the people, as you have heard, yet they neglected not to rifle their cloiſters, monaſteries, and churches; and not being content with the ſpoil of them, they deſtroy'd and burnt them down to the ground. This example they never learnt of us, in the actions they have been with us; for we ever had a reſpect to the churches, though we differed in religion, and held it was a houſe of our God as well as theirs, though we ſerv'd him not both in one kind.

The *Hollanders* are people that will omit nothing for their glory; and amongſt many famous acts they have atchiev'd in this expedition, they ſet down the taking of ſeven fiſhermen by one of their pinnaces, fiſhing under *Fuerteventura*, and the general's committing them to priſon.

Theſe ſeven *Spaniards* ſtood them in great ſtead for their reputation; for had it not been for the taking of theſe ſeven men, they had return'd without manifeſting their landing in any part of the king of *Spain*'s dominions; not having taken a man before, to have teſtify'd to the world they had met with an enemy.

After the ſack and ſpoil of the city of *Palmes*, the general embark'd his army, and was willing to perform ſome other ſervice that was not of danger; and call'd a council of his captains and pilots, enquiring of them which was the weakeſt iſland, for there he meant to land: you ſee he was not deſirous to know the wealthieſt, but the weakeſt iſland; making account where there was wealth, there was ſtrength that would reſiſt them: but he wiſely conſidering that the taking an iſland, though it was of no importance, yet it would carry a great ſhew and gloſs to the world, (for men would not enter into the value and worth, but into the name of an iſland,) did hereupon couragiouſly reſolve upon the attempt of *Gomera*, a place of ſo ſmall account, that they might have been aſham'd to undertake it, but eſpecially to publiſh it in print.

If all our deeds, according to that computation, were publiſh'd to the world, we have had many ſhips, not above three in company, that have perform'd greater ſervice; and yet the *Hollanders* ſtick not to boaſt that they left the iſland of *Gomera* burning, which was never done before by any nation.

Some men that know not the ſtate of this poor ſilly iſland, would think it were to be compar'd with *Vienna*, which the *Turks* have often aſſaulted with huge armies, and never had power to prevail againſt it. And in the ſame caſe men may imagine, ſeeing they did that which was never done by any nation, that it was a place of that invincible ſtrength, as though many armies had attempted it, yet they had never power to prevail againſt it: whereas, in very truth, this iſland is poor in wealth, and weak in power, readier to yield to a weak enemy, than to withſtand a mean army.

This iſland was ſubdued upon the firſt diſcovery without fight; all the reſt withſtood the conquerors; which it is like the general well knew by his demands, which was the weakeſt iſland, which embolden'd him upon the enterprize.

Here he found no reſiſtance; for all the people abandoned the town and fled to the mountains, and committed many murders upon the *Hollanders* by their undiſcreet ſtraggling.

Once again the general embark'd, and diſpatch'd thirty-four of his ſhips back for *Holland*; and himſelf with the reſt meant to proceed to the *Weſt Indies:* thoſe ſhips that return'd took two prizes of ſmall value, that had but thirty men in both, which takes up a long diſcourſe in this book I have anſwer'd. If all our prizes were eſtimated, and the number ſet down, ſince the beginning of our wars with *Spain*, there have been at leaſt ſix hundred greater and richer veſſels brought to *England*, which we think not worthy to boaſt of: but indeed they are to be excuſed; for the taking of theſe two barks, and the thirty men, are the only deeds they did in their project to the *Canaries*.

You have heard, upon the diviſion of the fleet, the general reſolved for the *Weſt Indies*; which reſolution was ſuddenly altered, and he directed his courſe to *St. Thome*, an iſland under the equinoctial line: what becomes of them, I am not very inquiſitive to know, till I ſee it publiſhed in print, as this was;

neither, in my opinion, can they expect any thing but death, the country and climate exceeding all parts of the world for ſickneſs: and I verily believe this latter project to *St. Thome*, was deſigned by ſome traitors amongſt themſelves; for the *Portugueſe* that live in that iſland confeſs, that no man born in *Europe*, ever liv'd there ſo long, as to have a white beard, or attain to fifty years of age.

And to conclude, ſeeing how indiſcreetly the *Hollanders* have carry'd themſelves in this laſt action, wherein they have deceiv'd the expectation of all their well-willers, that are not too much tranſported with partiality, I would not have my countrymen hereafter to magnify them above their worth; but that in reaſon, without affectation, they will compare the managing their actions with ours, which in diſcretion they are bound to do; and they ſhall undoubtedly find great difference betwixt us.

What I have here writ, I proteſt is neither in malice to the *Hollanders*, nor in partiality to our ſelves, but out of a ſincere love of truth; for I am ſo far from any detracting humour, that if I can ſee amendment in them and their actions, I will be as ready to do them honour therein, as I am now willing to defend my countrymen from the ſcandal of ſpightful tongues.

A Project how to ruin Spain, *with the Aſſiſtance of* Holland, *if his Majeſty enter into a new War with that Crown.*

IF the king of *Great Britain* declare himſelf enemy to *Spain*, no man need doubt but that he ſhall have aſſiſtance of *Holland* to join with him in any action againſt that crown; and then it may be ſuppoſed what hurt in time may redound to *Spain* in the *Indies*, if both the nations do really join together, and their deſigns be well grounded, by example of what hurt the *Hollanders* alone have done the *Spaniards* in *Brazil* and the *Indies*, without the help of any other nation.

And to deſcend to particulars, there is lately an occaſion, and an unavoidable opportunity offered, never thought on by *England* or *Holland*, when they both had wars, and ſtudied how to vex the kingdom of *Spain* by their hoſtile actions: now, I ſay, there is a new diſcovery, wherein the *Indies* may be hazarded, the *Spaniſh* nation ſubverted, and all the rule, government, and riches, ſettled upon us and *Holland*, if we join mutually together, as we have done in ſundry other actions heretofore.

The ground of this deſign ſtands upon the peopling and planting of an uninhabited iſland, eighty odd leagues from *Carthagena*, in *Terra Firma*, and not above ten or twelve miles in length, and, as I formerly ſaid, ſix in breadth, five hundred leagues weſt from the other iſlands the *Engliſh* now poſſeſs, and where there are already ſeated ſix thouſand able and ſufficient ſoldiers, with their arms, and other abiliments for war, and are like daily to increaſe, by the forwardneſs of people that willingly put themſelves into ſuch actions.

Such iſlands as the *Engliſh* are ſeated in are in the hithermoſt part of *America*, and by which all ſhips that go to the other iſlands aforeſaid, or to *Terra Firma*, are to paſs by, with a certain and ſettled wind which never fails; and the men that there inhabit, their bodies are made able and fit to live in ſuch unnatural climates to their former breeding; their hard and evil diet, with drinking water, is made familiar to them, and they are become excellent ſoldiers.

Theſe people thus planted, will much forward any enterprize that ſhall be made upon the *Indies*, by the conveniency and little charge to tranſport them conſider'd; as likewiſe the ability of them, which we may account trebble to as many as we ſhall carry out of *England*.

But now I will proceed to the deſign, and to the way how to put it in execution, which may prove the moſt dangerous plot that was ever intended againſt *Spain*, ſince the firſt diſcovery of the *Indies*; though at the firſt apprehenſion it may ſeem ridiculous, and rather to be contemn'd than fear'd by the *Spaniards*: but if they will call to mind the precedent of other times, they ſhall find that their king Don *Rodrigo* and his country was conquer'd in two years by a few barbarous *Moors* not worth naming, and could not be recover'd in ſeven hundred and ſeventy odd years of wars after. The like may be ſaid of *England*, when it was ſubdued and ſubverted by leſs than four hundred *Saxons* at the beginning; things not to be believed, but that times and ſtories make it manifeſt; and in reaſon this iſland may prove as dangerous to the *Indies*, as the others have been to *Spain* and *England*; for it is like a ſpark of fire, out of which greater fires may be kindled and made unquenchable.

This iſland, which I have ſpoken of in my fourth book, is near *Carthagena*, and not far from *Porto Bello*, and *Nombre de Dios*, whither the treaſure of the *Indies* is brought firſt from *Peru* by Sea to *Panama*, and after to the places aforeſaid by land, before it be embark'd for *Spain*.

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This iſland has of late chang'd her name, from *Carthagena* to *Providentia*, out of a foreſeeing providence and care that ſome well-minded *Engliſhmen* do owe to their country that have ſo named it, thinking to work the effect, for which they poſſeſs and ſo call it, as may be gather'd out of a diſcourſe, it being of that importance, by reaſon of that impregnableneſs, and the commodity of an harbour, to receive ſome ſhipping of a reaſonable bigneſs, and being naturally encompaſs'd about with rocks and ſhoals, that it is impoſſible for any bark or boat to make an enterprize upon it, but only in the harbour, which is ſo fortified, that no force is able to aſſail it; inſomuch that it may be ſaid of this iſland, That God has placed it with his finger, to impede and forbid the trade of the *Indies* upon that coaſt, as aforeſaid.

And though this iſland affords nothing but water for the ſuſtenance of the people that ſhall inhabit it, yet in a ſhort ſpace it may be ſupply'd from the *Tortugas*, which we enjoy near *Hiſpaniola* with hogs and beefs, ſufficient to relieve as many men as the circuit of the ground can contain.

But now to the uſe that can be made of the iſland: It is to be conſider'd, as aforeſaid, how dangerous a thing it will be to the *Spaniards* navigations thereabouts. Secondly, that whereas in all our voyages and expeditions in the queen's time to the *Indies*, we have ſtill quailed, becauſe our fleets made their abode out of *England* above ſix or ſeven months, going, coming, and ſtaying there, for want of proviſions to abide there any longer, but were ſtill forced to return when their greateſt ſervice was to be executed.

The uſe we muſt put this iſland to, is to make it a magazine to relieve our greateſt enterprizes upon the main land, without either ſending or turning back into *England*; for every thing that *England* can ſupply us with, this iſland may receive from thence without charge; and the ſhips thus freighted may return laden with ſalt that ſhall coſt them nothing, to countervail the expence of their tranſportation.

Here ſhall we be fully furniſh'd, and all difficulties taken away, to further our enterprize upon the main land; which upon our firſt landing we muſt divide our armies into two parts, the one to go to *Panama*, and poſſeſs the port of the *South Sea*, whilſt the other enjoys *Carthagena* and the *North Coaſt*; that betwixt them they ſhall give the greateſt blow to all the *Indies* as ever was projected by man, as well *Peru* as *New Spain*.

Theſe places being taken, as it will prove no great difficulty, by example of fewer forces that have done far greater exploits in the ſame place, ſeas, and towns, this is the way for *England* and *Holland* to become maſters of that land and ſea: for the ſtrength of the *Indies* conſiſts in the people and inhabitants of *Peru* and *New Spain*; the one north, the other ſouth, thouſands of miles from thence; which diſtance will debar them of ſuccours, and all that coaſt will be left to their own defence; whoſe weakneſs the *Engliſh* have found in ſundry actions heretofore: Or if it be alledged, that their ports and towns are better fortified than they have been; it may be anſwer'd, that if it were ſo, yet our army and ſtrength will be twenty times double to that in former times: and that moreover, a country invaded (that relies upon the force of towns and fortifications) by an enemy that commands both land and ſea, though it be never ſo impregnable, in the end muſt yield.

Leaving ſome attempts formerly made by our *Engliſh* before they were warranted by the war with *Spain*, who then joined with the *Shemeerones*, which are negroes revolted from their maſters betwixt *Nombre de Dios* and *Panama*, a place where they ſeized upon the king's treaſure aſhore in thoſe times, I will recite ſome particular exploits done upon the towns of the *Indies*, during the war of queen *Elizabeth*.

Drake, with fewer than a thouſand men, took *St. Jago* in *Cape Verde*, *St. Domingo* in *Hiſpaniola*, *Carthagena* in *Terra Firma*, and *St. Antonio* and *St. Helena* in *Florida*. 1585.

Drake and *Hawkins*, with ſeven hundred and fifty men, took *El Rio de Hacha*, *Rancheria*, *Tapia*, *Santa Maria*, *Nombre de Dios*, and *Porto Bello*; and were forced, for want of ſupplies, to return for *England*; as if the iſland of *Providence* had been theirs, the advantage of it foreſeen, and they ſupply'd from it, as is now intended, they had taken *Panama*, and by conſequence had an entrance into the *South Sea*; which would have proved the moſt dangerous deſign againſt *Spain* that was ever projected. 1595.

If we call to mind private mens undertakings, captain *Preſton*, with one hundred and fifty men, took *Puerto Sancto*, *Clacho*, the town and fort of *Chapa*, the city of *St. Jago de Leon*, and the town of *Camena*. 1594.

Captain *Parker*, with two ſmall ſhips and one hundred and eighty men, took *St. Vincent* in *Cape Verde*, *Porto Bello*, and a fort call'd *St. Jago*, with the king's treaſure in *Terra Firma*. The ſame captain *Parker*, in a voyage before, and with fewer men, took one town of importance, call'd *Campeche*. I could repeat many more; but theſe ſhall ſuffice. 1596.

The earl of *Cumberland*, with fewer than one thouſand men, took *Puerto Rico*,

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a place of great ſtrength and defence, with the loſs of twenty eight men. Theſe precedents ſhew what theſe places are, or may be made in ſtrength.

And if ſo few ſhips, and men could ſurprize and take ſo many cities and towns without the countenance or help of the queen, or the aſſiſtance of other princes or countries, and in time of war that gave continual alarms to them to provide for enemies, what may *England* and *Holland* now do, joining their forces together, that have the command of more bodies of men, more number of ſhips, and to be furniſhed with greater celerity to ſecond their actions, than all the world beſides? but eſpecially, having this iſland that will ſerve for a key to open the lock of the *Indies?*

But to end with the deſign of the north ſea, which is ſo diſtinguiſhed by the *Spaniards*, I will now fall into the *South Sea*, and *Peru*, the fountain out of which the treaſures of the *Indies* flow; and will ſet down the laſt reſolution taken by the projectors, counſellors, and adventurers of this action, which in my opinion ſeems to be a thing of great reaſon. They conclude, as upon a matter of great conſequence, to take away all occaſion of help or ſuccour from *Spain*, is to forbid the ordinary trades of their neighbour countries into *Spain*; which being done, the *Indies* is hopeleſs of help: and the way to put it in practice, as they conceive, is, to put out a general proclamation throughout *Europe*, for all nations, towns, and cities, to take notice of, that if ſuch countries, towns, and princes, will from thence forward deſiſt from their traffick with *Spain*, with ammunition, victuals, or other abiliments for the war, that then from that day they ſhall enjoy the immunities and privileges of trade into the *Indies*, as freely as now they do, or have at any time done, in their commerce, of *England* or *Holland*: as to the contrary, if they relieve *Spain* with the commodities aforeſaid, they are to ſtand upon their perils, and not to expect favour. This will debar *Spain* of foreign helps, and be a means to unfurniſh them of all materials to fit out fleets; ſo that the *Indies* will be left to themſelves, and the dwellers there to defend them.

The conference and reſolution of the treaty aforeſaid, provided for all things to be preſently put in execution, and to forecaſt all doubts that might be impediments to them; and they conſidered how eaſy a thing it was to go through the work they had projected: ſo on the other ſide, they weighed, that the ſubſtance of the wealth of the *Indies*, was thouſands of miles from *Panama*, whither it was brought by ſea, not having means or paſſage to tranſport it by land; and therefore conclude, that the ruin of *Spain* in the *Indies*, was to have an entrance and command of the *South Sea*.

They know the condition of that ſea, and all the harbours and towns inhabited and poſſeſſed by the *Spaniards*, from *Chile* and *Peru*, till they arrive at the ports of *Navidad* and *Acapulco* in *New Spain*, which are the harbours whither *Mexico*, and all that coaſt ſend their commodities, as well into the ports of *America*, as into the *Philippine* iſland; and that by the taking thoſe ports, the whole country of *New Spain* muſt neceſſarily ſubmit and yield.

They are not ignorant, that though that ſea affords ſhips for trade from port to port, yet they and their ſhips are ſhut up from any other traffick out of that ſea, by reaſon of the *Streights* of *Magellan*; and that the ſhips there built, are made only for merchandize, not for defence and ſtrength, not one of them carrying one piece of ordnance.

They likewiſe know, that the *Spaniards* thereabouts are rich, and unaccuſtomed to war; that if they may have good conditions for life and goods, they may be eaſily drawn to live under our ſubjection and government.

They moreover know the evil diſpoſition the people of thoſe countries bear to the *Spaniards*, and how willingly they will be drawn to join with us againſt them; and to join the one and the other more heartily to the invaders party, they reſolve to make a publick act and decree, *That all* Indians, *as well the one as the other, ſhall be freed from their labours, their ſlaveries, and forced tyrannies.* And becauſe the *Spaniards* ſhall have no dependency or neceſſity of the help of *Spain*, it ſhall be lawful for all men to plant wine, oil, and other commodities they deſire. It ſhall be alſo as lawful for them to enjoy their religion, as in former times. Theſe will be motives and reaſons ſufficient, as well to draw the one as the other to the government of *England* and *Holland*, when all the poſſibility of relief ſhall be taken from them.

For the effecting of this they determine to ſend forty or fifty warlike ſhips into the *South Sea* by the *Streights* of *Magellan*, which ſhall carry a ſufficient number of men to perform their deſign, with all manner of ordnance, with ammunition to ſtrengthen the ſhores and ſhips; no part but ſhall be poſſeſſed, ſtrengthened, and inhabited by us, till we come to *Panama*, where they ſhall find it planted and enjoy'd by their countrymen in as good a manner, as though they ſhould arrive in *England* or *Holland*; and from thence they may eaſily paſs to the ports aforeſaid of *Navidad* and *Acapulco* in

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New Spain, and conclude an abſolute conqueſt of the *Indies*; they may ſay as *Julius Cæſar* ſaid, *I came, I ſaw, and I overcame.*

And becauſe this counſel and reſolution ſhall not ſeem vain, by example of the north ſeas aforeſaid, where I have made a repetition of ſuch towns and ports as have been taken by the *Engliſh*, ſo I will do the like in the *South Sea*, by one ſhip alone that departed *England* in 1586. and upon all occaſions and ſervices could land but eighty men.

The firſt exploit he did, was by taking away certain ordnance from a port, built by *Peter Sermiento* in the *Streights* of *Magellan*, where he found all the people dead, except three only. Sailing from thence to *Chile*, he took *Santa Maria*; he took and ſpoiled *Marmaroma*, *Arica*, *Piſca*, *Paraca*, *Cheripa*, *Paito*, the iſlands of *Puna*, a place of great importance for the building and trimming of ſhips; and arriving at *New Spain*, he took and ſpoiled *Acapulco*, the port of *Navidad*, the port of *St. Jago*, the bay of *Compoſtella*, the iſland of *St. Ambroſe*, and the bay of *Maſſaclam*. And therefore let no man doubt that any part of that coaſt or ſeas can reſiſt forty or fifty ſail of ſhips ſent from hence.

Projects for the Spaniards *to annoy the* Hollanders *in ſeveral Trades.*

The firſt Project.

THE *Hollanders* have compaſſed a great and beneficial trade into ſeveral places of *Guinea*, which antiently belonged to the *Portugueſe*, as the firſt diſcoverers of them: the *Hollanders* now reſort thither daily, and are well accepted of by the negroes of that country, who bring them gold, and divers other rich commodities, in truck for their ſlight merchandize.

The project to hinder the trade of the *Hollanders*, and quite to baniſh them from that coaſt, is, to furniſh as men of war, ſix or ſeven of thoſe ſhips they ordinarily ſend to *Braſil* well mann'd; and theſe in their way to range along the coaſt of *Guinea*, where they ſhall undoubtedly meet and take the *Holland* ſhips that trade there in ſeveral parts and ports, as is apparent, having neither port, nor other ſtrength to reſiſt them. Or if it ſhall happen that they have made any defence on ſhore by the aſſiſtance of the negroes, they may eaſily ſupplant them with the ſoldiers they carry with them; whereas by giving them a longer time to inhabit that coaſt, it would become a more difficult enterprize to ſubdue them, by the example of the *Hollanders* poſſeſſing divers places in the *Eaſt Indies*, which at the firſt might have been prevented.

If the *Hollanders* be but once thus ſerved, it will be a means to make them quit that coaſt, and clearly thruſt them out of *Guinea*: for *Guinea* is not like the *Eaſt Indies*, where the *Hollanders* maintain an hundred ſhips by their ſeveral trades in ſundry parts, as well thoſe places they enjoy, as the others that accept of their commerce; whereas in *Guinea*, the traffick is but in particular places, whither the merchandize is brought them by negroes from afar off within the land, which cannot be of any great bulk, for want of carriage of ſhips or boats; neither are they deſign'd any particular harbour, as the *Portugueſe* are at *Caſtle de la Mina*.

The *Hollanders* have as litte hope of robbing and ſpoiling the *Portugueſe*, becauſe their trade is but ſmall, and their ſhips few, whereby they are not able to maintain footing in that country, without greater expence than the profit will countervail: ſix or ſeven ſhips of *Portugal* will be a ſufficient ſtrength to drive them out of *Guinea*, thoſe ſhips to range along the coaſt, and cut them off where they ſhall find them trading in their ſeveral places.

My project is, after they are thus deſtroy'd, that the ſix or ſeven ſhips of *Portugal* ſtand over to *Braſil*, and there take their freights of ſugar, and other rich commodities, which, conſidering the ſafety and waſtage by thoſe ſhips of war, will be a means to eaſe the expence in furniſhing the ſhips of war.

The ſecond Project to Ruſſia.

The north part of *Ruſſia* was but a thing imagined, till *Sebaſtian Cabott*, by his perſwaſions in the reign of queen *Mary*, drew *England* to the diſcovery of it, *Anno* 1553. which enjoy'd the abſolute trade thereof for many years, till the *Hollanders* encroached upon us, as they have done in all other trades, as I have ſaid in my ſixth book. In continuance of time the *Hollanders*, have increaſed from two ſhips to one hundred, as is apparent by ſo many as they yearly ſend; and have made a greater uſe of the country than to merchandize alone; for they have ſet up a trade of making cables, ropes, and other cordage in ſuch abundance, that they outdo all other places in the *Baltick Sea*; and from hence they directly ſerve *Spain* with thoſe commodities: and becauſe the paſſage being through our channel, in time of war they feared to be intercepted by us, they directed their courſe to the north part of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, purpoſely to avoid us.

The advantage *Spain* is to take of them in this project, is to carry their deſigns diſ-

creetly and ſecretly; to be provided of pilots without ſuſpicion or noiſe, which muſt be done out of *England*; for no other chriſtian country trades into *Ruſſia* but we and the *Hollanders*; and though their harbours are dangerous at their going in, by reaſon of their bar, yet it is familiar with the pilots that uſe it. The force the *Hollanders* have to guard their hundred ſail of ſhips, is commonly three or four men of war, who ſuſpect no annoyance from *Spain* at any time; and by theſe three or four ſhips you may judge of the ſtrength you are to employ againſt them: though I adviſe you carry no leſs than thirty ſail of ſhips, well manned, to man the *Hollanders* after you have taken them.

Beſides the command you ſhall have over the ſhips aforeſaid, you ſhall poſſeſs their ſtorehouſes, cellars, yards, and what elſe belongs to them, and ſpoil them, that they be never able to erect more, without an infinite charge.

The third conſideration, is the ſeaſon of the year; for they muſt caſt to be at *St. Nicholas* by the 10th or 12th of *July*; for no longer than the 17th of *Auguſt* they can well abide there, by reaſon of the winter ſo ſuddenly coming upon them: or if they ſhall arrive earlier than the 12th or 14th of that month, perhaps they may come with the ſooneſt, and find their goods not ſhipped; but though they ſhould, it will not be very material, for they may row up with their boats to *Polmogro*, eighty miles diſtance, where the greateſt part of their commodities are made, and ſhall either meet them in their tranſportation to the ſhips, or poſſeſs them on ſhore, where they ſhall undoubtedly find them.

Or if upon any other accident the *Spaniſh* ſhips ſhall not arrive at the port of *St. Nicholas*, before the others put out to ſea, then they may ſtand to the north cape of *Norway*, and there lie off and on the headland, which the *Hollanders* muſt of neceſſity ſee and double, before they can direct their courſe for *Holland*.

If *Ruſſia* were a country in league with *Spain*, or otherwiſe had correſpondence or friendſhip with them in commerce and traffick, then I confeſs it were againſt the laws of nations and honour, to offer violence to an enemy within the port of another prince, when they are under his protection. But I could never underſtand, that ever leagues were treated of, or trade maintained betwixt *Ruſſia* and *Spain*, or ambaſſadors employ'd, or other obligations of friendſhip, ſince king *Philip* was king of *England*; and therefore the king of *Spain* can be no more taxed or blamed, if he uſed this opportunity upon his enemy, that is offered him by this propoſition, eſpecially when none of his ſubjects can receive prejudice or fear of hurt, or imbargo to be made upon their perſons or goods.

Let the *Spaniſh* commander, at his arrival in the road of *St. Nicholas*, have a care to ſummon ſuch *Engliſh* ſhips as he ſhall there find in harbour, and to admoniſh them to forbear offering violence, or making other reſiſtance in defence of the *Hollanders* ſhips, and let them underſtand in a friendly way, how they are to carry themſelves by the articles of peace, which they may carry and ſhew them; and withal to tell them roundly, if they exceed their commiſſion therein, that juſtice will be required at their hands by their ambaſſador reſiding in *England*, who will be ſure to proſecute it with all rigour and ſeverity: and in the *Spaniſh* fleets behalf, let the general give aſſurance, no way to impeach the *Engliſh*, or by any direct or indirect means to trouble or moleſt their peaceable traffick.

This project prevailing, the *Spaniards* will be inriched with one hundred ſail of *Holland* ſhips, and their lading; great part whereof is cordage, and other things of conſiderable value, which *Spain* has moſt need to be furniſhed with, and need not hereafter be beholding to friends for them.

A Rutter of Ruſſia.

He that will direct his courſe from *Spain* to the north cape of *Norway*, muſt ſteer a northerly courſe, till he arrive to *Iceland*, where upon occaſion he may refreſh himſelf with butter, fleſh, and fiſh, and from thence ſteer away E. N. E. for the north cape.

From the north cape to the north *Kave*, E. and by S. thirteen leagues.

Thence to *Marcroft*, E. S. E. twelve leagues.

Thence to *Wardhouſe*, S. E. fifteen leagues.

Here you may have your ſelf from *Wardhouſe*, to the point of *Kegro*, E. S. E. eleven leagues; no good road for great ſhips.

From *Kegro* to *Zouſe*, S. E. nine leagues.

From the ſeven iſlands to *Swetnoſs*, twenty one leagues: there are iſlands where you may anchor.

From *Swetnoſs* to *Lombaſco*, S. S. E. thirteen leagues.

From thence to *Orgolouſe*, S. S. E. ſeven leagues.

From *Orgolouſe* to cape *Caudenos*, N. E. forty ſeven leagues; but you muſt ſail from the three iſlands to *Croſs Iſland*, S. S. W. thirteen leagues.

From thence to *Calmouſe Archangel*, and by W. ſeventeen leagues on this ſide of *Archangel* is *St. Nicholas*.

The

The Third Project.

That the *Spaniards* may practice againſt the *Hollanders*, and to be as eaſily effected as the reſt, and of greater conſequence than all the others, is a deſign againſt their fiſhing; which all men know is a means to uphold their ſtate, to increaſe their ſhips, and to multiply their wealth; in which, if at any time they be prevented, or intercepted, they become more miſerable than all other people, in that they ſhall be made a prey to their enemies.

This fiſhing I formerly treated of, with the condition of the *Hollanders* that only enjoy it by our permiſſion: now will I proceed to the deſign upon them, for the *Spaniards* to execute, ſo it be with the approbation and ſufferance of the king of *England*.

I have already declared the place of rendezvous, where the *Hollanders* meet; as alſo the time of the year, the month, and day, when they begun to fiſh, with the profit they make of it: the place of rendezvous is *Blazowonde* in *Shutland*, an iſland in his majeſty's juriſdiction of *Scotland*; thither commonly reſort one thouſand or more fiſhing veſſels, called buſſes, which, by a law made amongſt themſelves in *Holland*, cannot put forth line or net to fiſh, till the 24th of *June*.

And therefore the *Spaniard* muſt ſo caſt, as to be at *Blazowonde* before that time, or at leaſt two days, to take an opportunity before the others going out of harbour; which, if they have a care effectually to accompliſh, they ſhall bring both the perſons of the *Hollanders* and their ſhips to their mercy. And after this is effected, I need not teach the *Spaniards* how to carry their buſineſs, or what conditions to make with the *Hollanders*; for they ſhall have time ſufficient to compaſs their ends, after they have them in their power.

The Fourth Project,

Is for the king of *Spain* to keep a conſtant ſquadron of ten or twelve ſhips, choice ſailors, upon his own coaſt: they will be able to keep the *French*, the *Hollanders*, and the *Turks* pirates, from the incurſions they uſually make upon that coaſt, and put them to look their prey in a vaſt and open ſea, which is as uncertain of meeting ſhips, as the finding a needle in a bottle of hay; for I have often ſhewed, if capes and headlands be well defended, the others will not be worth the coſt and charges they ſhall be put to.

Beſides the ſervice done againſt ſhips of war in this manner aforeſaid, they will ſecure their own trades, and impeach all ſuch *Hollanders*, that ſhall go in or come out of the *Streights*, if they keep a ſquadron twelve or fourteen leagues ſouth from cape *St. Vincent*, and ſpread themſelves north and ſouth a league and more in diſtance from one another; one ſhip of *Holland* that ſhall be taken in their courſe out of the *Streights*, will countervail the charge of a whole ſquadron for many months; and the example of it, ſeeing their good ſucceſs will encourage the *Spaniards* to keep ſhips continually thus imploy'd.

Here I end my projects, till I have occaſion to ſpeak of them again; and now ſhall follow my ſtratagems.

Stratagems to be uſed at Sea.

1. A Fleet that is bound to a port, and fears to meet an enemy, may avoid him by this ſtratagem following: Beſides ſuch pinnaces as muſt be ſent to look out the ſhips expected, to give them warning of an enemy, they ought to have other pinnaces, choice ſailors, that ſhould attend the enemies fleet; and finding they lie in a height, the others have order to ſail in, to draw near them, and to entice them to chaſe them; and in purſuit of them, they will be drawn to leeward, and give paſſage for their fleet's entrance.

2. But if this prevail not, they may cauſe one of their pinnaces to be purpoſely taken to deceive them with falſe inſtructions; as for example, If their fleet have order to come home in thirty ſeven degrees; the enemy finding thoſe directions, will not ſuſpect a deceit, but will ſtand into thirty ſeven degrees, when the others will come home in thirty ſix, the height former aſſigned them, and ſo avoid them.

3. Or if a fleet be ſent out for guard of thoſe ſhips expected, and not ſo good of ſail as their enemy, to force them to quit their coaſt, it were better ſuch a fleet ſhould lie in a contrary height to that their ſhips have directions to ſail in, than otherwiſe; for the enemy finding in what height they lie in, will verily believe they have orders to come home in the ſame height, and will ſtrive to meet them in that height, before they ſhall join together, when the others have directions not to come within forty or fifty leagues of them.

4. If

4. If fleets ſhall meet in the night, or after an encounter they forbear fighting when it is dark, and one of them have a deſire to quit the other, they may cauſe ſo many lights as uſually their admiral, or other ſhips, carry in the night, to be carry'd by pinnaces in ſuch a height as may equal the poop of their ſhips; and the enemy accompanying thoſe lights, will not ſuſpect the flight of the fleet, who in the mean time may convey themſelves away, and leave only the pinnaces behind them.

5. If a fleet will deceive an enemy of a leſs force, that is ſo far to windward, that they cannot fetch them, they may do it with counterfeit flags, and working like merchants ſhips; and for a bait, may appoint part of a fleet to chace another aſtern, and the chaſer to wear the enemies colours.

The ſhips muſt ſhoot, but miſs one another; which they to windward ſpying, will come home in hope to have a part of the booty, and ſo be brought into the wake of the fleet, and entrapped.

6. This ſtratagem will ſerve as well for a road, to cauſe in the like manner one ſhip to chaſe another, as though ſhe that is chaſed, laboured to recover the road: and a flag ſeeming to be a friend, may embolden them to go forth to the reſcue of her, and ſo fall into the laps of the enemy.

7. People are not ſo eaſily deceived with counterfeit flags, as they have been; for the often practice of ſuch ſtratagems, makes men more cautious: we were wont to make it a common cuſtom, after we had taken a *Spaniſh* carvel, to cloth our men with the others garments, and to ſend them into the harbours of *Spain* to be informed of the ſtate of their ſhipping.

8. In 1587. and the firſt time I went to ſea as captain, I had two pinnaces, and one *Spaniſh* frigate with me: the frigate took a *Portugueſe*, and after was robbed her ſelf by a *French* ſhip of war: out of neceſſity this frigate was forced into the harbour of *Setuval* in *Portugal*, and the people ſeeing her *Portugueſe* built, and the men attir'd in the habits of the *Portugueſe* they had formerly taken, and having a *Portugueſe* aboard with them, that came out of *England*, and whom they truſted, they were ſupply'd with what they wanted from the ſhore, and departed without ſuſpicion.

9. One night I came into the road of *Cezimbra*, pretending to be a *Flemming* bound to *Setuval* to lade ſalt, and deſired a pilot; under which colour I deceived the pilot, and divers other boats and barks that came aboard me, by whom I underſtood the ſtate of the fleet at *Lisbon*, ready to ſet to ſea in purſuit of me. I could recite many ſtratagems of this kind.

10. If a fleet intend an attempt upon an harbour, where a ſtrong fort may impeach their entrance, by example of *Lisbon*, and the caſtle of *St. Julian's*, the ſtratagem is to ſet two or three old veſſels on fire, fitted with all manner of neceſſaries to make a ſmoke, and to run them aſhore under the caſtle, that the gunners may not ſee a ſhip, much leſs have an aim at them, and ſo they may paſs without danger.

11. What ſtratagems may be uſed againſt ſuch ſhips as are entred a harbour, and how to prevent it, I have expreſſed in the ſecond book, where I treated of the laſt expedition at *Cadiz*, in 1625.

And becauſe I have named *Lisbon*, I will ſet down a ſtratagem I had in mind after my impriſonment there.

12. Both many years before and after I was priſoner in *Lisbon*, the *Hollanders* had a free trade into all parts of *Spain*, which I took advantage of in this ſtratagem following: I deviſed that twenty *Holland* ſhips freighted with merchandize, under the colour of merchants, ſhould repair to *Lisbon*, and that every ſhip ſhould have a number of men ſecretly hid in them; and when they came to anchor at *Belem*, which they generally do, and are viewed by the king's officers, theſe men ſhould not appear; and after their diſcharge from *Belem*, I had order'd that every ſhip ſhould ride as near the king's palace at *Lisbon*, as conveniently they could; and that in the night when there was no ſuſpicion of them, and the galleons had no more men on board than the ſhip-keepers, the *Hollanders* ſhould ſheer aboard, poſſeſs, and burn them; for they were ſure to find no reſiſtance: after this was done, there was no danger of their coming out; for it is an ordinary thing for ſhips to paſs *Belem* in deſpight of the caſtle.

13. If a ſhip fall into company of a fleet at night, it is neceſſary to have a ſudden and a ready anſwer; as alſo two or three of the nation to ſpeak as they ſhall be directed; as for example, and as you ſhall read in my laſt voyage in the queen's time, how in the night I lighted amongſt twenty four galleons of *Spain*, and being ſo nigh the admiral, I could not avoid her, had I been known to be an enemy, I commanded a *Spaniard* that ſerved me to call the admiral, and tell him there was a ſtrange ſhip entred amongſt our fleet, which of all others he could not ſuſpect mine, becauſe of the warning I gave him; and in mean time I tacked from him, and ſo eſcaped in a ſecret manner, making no noiſe.

14. In the iſland *expedition* I met the *Indies* fleet, and it blowing little wind, I went off in my boat to deſcry them: when I perceived what they were, I made my ſelf

ſelf and ſhip known to them, urging them to purſue me; which if they had done, I had brought them into the wake of my lord of *Eſſex* and his fleet, from whom I departed but three hours before, where they had been taken, and the ſtate of *Spain* utterly deſtroy'd.

15. It is a common uſe when ſhips are ſcattered, and chance to meet in the night, not knowing one another, to hail one another in a ſtrange language, which I diſapprove, as a thing dangerous; for the other being ſatisfied by his tongue, not to be his conſort, or of his country, prepares to fight; and thus had it like to fall out with me: the *Mary-Roſe* and I meeting one night, after we had loſt company, one of my company hailed her in *Spaniſh* without my privity, whereat I was angry, and cauſed her to be called to in *Engliſh*, even as ſhe was giving fire to her broad-ſide. It is folly in this caſe to counterfeit; for no good can come of it, ſeeing the one cannot part from the other, without knowing what they are.

16. The ſigns that direct a fleet in the day-time, are ſtriking, or hoiſting the top-ſails, ſhewing their flag, or ſhooting their ordnance; by ſhewing lights in the night, many times I have known when a ſhip hath lighted in company of an enemy, that by chance ſhe has made the very ſame ſign given by the general, by which means ſhe has eſcaped; and in the like manner ſhips have been taken by the ſame fortune: therefore there cannot be a better ſtratagem than when a ſhip ſhall make a ſign, to be anſwered by the ſame; and the contrary ſhip begin a new ſign, before the other make any; for it is not to be doubted, but the other ſhip will anſwer every ſign that ſhall be made by her that makes the firſt.

17. I once knew an unlikely ſtratagem take good effect, in this manner; After three days chaſe of a rich ſhip, my lord of *Cumberland* was out of hopes of fetching her up, ſhe was ſo far to windward, only a pinnace kept her company, and in the night carry'd a light for us to follow. I adviſed my lord to fire a culverin at her, though we could not fetch her at twice, ſaying, that perhaps ſhe would yield to the countenance of the ſhip, that would not for ſhame do it to a pinnace. This ſeemed ridiculous; and I had much a-do to perſwade my lord; yet upon my importunity he yielded to it, and the ſhip, as I foretold, ſubmitted her ſelf.

18. A ſhip that is chaſed and deſires to ſhew fear, thinking to draw her that chaſes into her clutches, muſt counterfeit and work as though ſhe were diſtreſſed, and lie like a wreck into the ſea; ſhe muſt caſt cregs, hogſheads, and other things overboard, to hinder her way; ſhe muſt ſhew no more men than an ordinary gang, and haul in her ordnance, and ſhut her ports, that her forces be not diſcerned, till the other ſhip come within command of her.

19. As ſhips ought to obſerve their admiral's working in the night, by his light, ſo ought they to be more careful when they are nigh a ſhore, leſt they miſtake a light on land, inſtead of their admiral, by example of 1597. when the *Adelantado* drew down his fleet from *Lisbon* to the *Groyne*, and coming nigh the north cape, the greateſt part of the fleet ſteered with a light on the ſhore, miſtaking their admiral, and caſt away thirty ſix ſhips and five thouſand men.

20. As lights direct one another at ſea, ſo are they directors of ſhips from the ſhore, as I can inſtance in many caſes, ſome of which I have already declared; to which I refer you.

21. Lights kept in the night off of a headland, as the *Lizard*, or ſuch capes, are a ſafeguard to ſhips in their paſſage, that are in view of them. Lights likewiſe give warning of an enemy that is upon a coaſt, and for that uſe beacons were invented.

22. Ships that are appointed for more readineſs of a ſervice to ride in the ſound of *Plimouth*, in the range of *Dartmouth*, or other roads upon our coaſt, and in the night are ſuddenly taken with a ſtorm at ſouth, which is a deadly wind in thoſe roads, if lights be placed on either of the ſides of the point of *Catwater* or *Dartmouth*, will be guided into the harbour, be it never ſo dark.

23. In a barred harbour, ſuch as *Dunkirk*, that is continually beleaguered by an enemy, by keeping lights from half-tide to half-tide, he that enters, is directed how the tide increaſes or decreaſes, and thereby how to avoid the enemy.

24. Ships riding at the *Downs*, and fearing a ſurprize from an enemy in the night, with a ſoutherly wind, by placing two boats with lights on either ſide of the brake, will direct one how to paſs the channel, and avoid the ſands; which being done, and the lights taken away, the ſhips that purſue them will run upon their death if they follow.

25. The cutting down mills, trees, taking away buoys, or other marks that direct the pilot, is a great ſafety to any port, or place, ſuch as the *Thames*, where many ſands muſt be paſſed.

26. The placing of ſhips for the advantage of wind, is a matter of great conſequence; as for example, if an invaſion againſt *England* be intended from the ſouthward, that wind that brings an enemy for *England*, will keep in our ſhips in harbour, that they cannot ſtir out; only one place is advantageous to us, which is

Limehouſe near *Plimouth*; for that wind that brings an enemy from the weſtward or ſouthward, will ſerve our ſhips that lie in *Limehouſe* to follow them, if they paſs into any part of our channel to the eaſtward.

27. Proſpective glaſſes, if they were not ſo common, were an excellent ſtratagem to be uſed in many caſes at ſea, and yet it is no hard thing to deceive thoſe that uſe them; for a merchant-ſhip that carries not above ten or twelve men, may have the ſhapes of men made, and ſeem to be one hundred afar off; they likewiſe may have counterfeit guns made of wood, which the glaſs cannot diſcover from iron, to the terror of the aſſailant. It may as well ſerve for a man of war to ſtow his men in hold till a ſhip come near him.

28. The beſt and the greateſt ſhip in the world may be ſunk by a bark of twenty tons by this ſtratagem, *viz.* to place a cannon in the hold of a bark with her mouth to the ſide of the ſhip the bark ſhall board, and then to give fire to the cannon which is ſtowed under water, and they ſhall both inſtantly ſink; the man that ſhall execute this ſtratagem may eſcape in a ſmall boat hauled on the other ſide of the bark.

29. Two galleons may be manned, and furniſhed in the manner following, and will be as great a guard and ſafety to a fleet of galleys as the wings of an eagle to little birds, or a caſtle to a ſhip.

The two galleons ſhall carry each of them one thouſand men, with all kind of arms for offence and defence: there ſhall be placed aloft ſuch kind of fowlers as I will invent.

Their hatches ſhall be made with trap-doors, and pikes placed under them, that as faſt as men enter they ſhall fall upon the pikes ſo placed; all the deck ſhall be ſtrew'd with round peaſe tallow'd, that treading upon them, no man ſhall be able to ſtand upon his feet; the ſhips on the outſide to be ſtuck with tenter-hooks, that they ſhall take no hold to enter with their hands; and their cloaths will ſtick upon the tenter-hooks, that they ſhall not be able to enter: there ſhall be barricadoes, and cloſe fights made with all advantage, and all parts of the ſhip be made musket-proof for the ſafeguard of men.

Allow by the water and without board they ſhall be fortify'd with packs of wooll, that no ſhot ſhall pierce them, or galleys be able to board them; every ſhip ſhall have upon his yard-arm a barrel or two of gunpowder mixed with bullets, that as the galleys ſhall approach the diſtance of the yard, the barrel of powder ſhall be let fall with a pulley, and matches about the barrel that ſhall give fire upon the fall, and breaking of the barrel: in this manner will the galley be burnt, and the men ſlain all at one inſtant.

30. If galleys attend a fleet of ſhips, thinking to cut off ſome ſtragglers, as they did to Sir *Francis Drake*, and after to us at *Cadiz*, where they took ſome few veſſels; in ſuch a caſe, the great ſhips muſt be a guard of the outſide of the fleet to the leſſer ſhips; and if the fleet chance to anchor, to place the leaſt and weakeſt veſſels outermoſt of the fleet in the day-time, which will imbolden the galleys in the night to aſſail them; but when the darkſomeneſs of the night ſhall approach, then to remove them, and in their place to cauſe the beſt and the greateſt ſhips of the fleet to anchor where the others did, that if the galleys attempt them they ſhall be entertain'd to their loſs.

31. If a ſhip will board an enemy under a caſtle, let him that boards bring the ſhip boarded betwixt him and the caſtle; for then dares not the caſtle fire for hazarding their own ſhip boarded.

32. Sinking of ſhips full of ſtones is an old invention, and uſed as well to defend one's ſelf in a bar'd harbour, as by an enemy to keep in ſhips from going out: but it is to little purpoſe to him that poſſeſſes a harbour; for when the water is decreaſed, ſuch ſhips ſunk may be waded to, the ſtones taken out, and the ſhips burnt without hurt to themſelves or harbour.

33. Booming harbours for the ſafeguard of ſhips is uſual; but at each end of the boom ſconces muſt be built to defend it. For this I refer you to my firſt book, which will give you more particular light.

34. One of the known dangers in a ſhip of great burthen, and in a great ſtorm, that carries weighty ordnance, is the breaking looſe of one of her pieces in the lower tire; for before ſhe can be muſled, or overcome by force of men, what with the rowling of the ſhip from one ſide to the other, the piece will carry the ſhip ſide, and founder her in the ſea.

35. For avoiding theſe perils, there is but one remedy, if it take effect, which is ſuddenly to heave up the hatches of the deck, that in her recoil ſhe may find the deck open, and fall into the hold, where ſhe ſhall be eaſily overmaſter'd.

I am of opinion, if any had eſcap'd aboard the king of *Spain*'s ſhips that were wreck'd, which was impoſſible, they would confeſs the breaking looſe of their ordnance was the occaſion of their deſtruction; and no marvel, for they uſe to carry their great ordnance upon field-carriages, which makes them the more dangerous and unſerviceable, when they come to traverſe them.

36. If

36. If there could be made a ball of wildfire, as I have heard ſome take upon them to do it, which ball ſhould burn without quenching, then were it an eaſy thing to convey one of thoſe balls ſecretly into a ſhip, and privately to hide it till the party be gone out of the ſhip, which then being ſet on fire, will not only burn the ſaid ſhip, but all others near her.

37. In paſſing a fort in the night, it is good to make both the ſhip and ſails black, with a care that no light be ſeen in her: but the way for an enemy to prevent an entrance is this, to make a fire oppoſite to the fort, and to lay the ordnance point blank with the fire, that when they ſhall ſee the ſhadow of the fire taken from them by the ſhip and ſails, then to diſcharge their ordnance, and be ſure to ſink the ſhip.

38. A ſhip that will keep another from boarding her, ſhe being to windward, and may board her, the remedy is, to put forth two maſts at two ports, that the ſhip coveting to board, ſhe ſhall light upon the maſts, and keep her from coming near the ſhip.

39. It is a good ſtratagem to board a ſhip though ſhe preſently fall off again; and during the time ſhe is on board to appoint the carpenters with their axes to cut the port-ropes of the ſhips boarded, that at her coming off again, when ſhe ſhall begin a new fight, her pieces may ſerve for no purpoſe, becauſe her ports will be clogged, and not able to put forth a piece of ordnance, but lie to be annoyed by the enemy.

40. A number of ſhips lying in an harbour dry, from half-tide to half-tide, may be thus deſtroy'd: As I will make a compariſon betwixt *England*, *Flanders*, and *France*, where two of them have wars with one another, and the third peace with both; I will ſuppoſe that a ſhip of *France*, and a man in her that I will truſt, freighted for *Dunkirk*, where *Engliſh* barks are forbid to go; the bark is to be laden with deals, and other dry ſubſtance apt to burn, and under her boards there muſt be ſtow'd pitch, tar, roſin, and other ingredients not to be quench'd: the *Frenchman* that ſhall execute this ſtratagem, muſt forecaſt at his entrance into the harbour to ſeek to lie aboard the beſt ſhips, and where he may do the moſt hurt and ſpoil to the reſt when his ſhip is on fire.

All things being thus provided, and the train ſufficiently made, the *Frenchman* muſt watch his opportunity that his match come to the train by that time it is low water, which he may compute by hours and the length of his match; and in that time he may have his horſe in readineſs to carry him over the river of *Gravelin*, but nine miles from thence, where he will be in *France*, and free from danger.

The fire thus taking, and all things order'd by theſe directions, as well this ſhip as all others in the harbour will be deſtroy'd; for the water going from the ſhips, and they lying dry, they are not able to remove or ſtir, or have water to quench the fire till the flood riſe; ſo that in the mean time they will be utterly deſtroy'd.

41. If ſhips deſire to ſurprize a fort or ſconce that would give them landing if it were taken, it is thus to be done: To imbark the men ſecretly in their boats in the night, and without noiſe of their oars, and then to row as near the fort as they can, without being diſcover'd; and in the mean time to cauſe a ſmall boat, not near the place where the others are, to ſhew a light or two with a match, as though it were accidentally done and not willingly, and to leave the boat adrift; which the fort perceiving, will preſently let fly her ordnance againſt her; which the other boats ſeeing, they may ſuddenly land and enter the ſconce by their ſcaling-ladders, before their ordnance can be laden again.

42. If an enemy ſhould land in boats upon a ſhore, that the ſurge of the ſea ſhould be very inconvenient for the landing of themſelves and arms, there is a kind of bridge to be made with boards, that may be laid over from the ſide of the boat to the land, and avoid the ſurge; and inſtead of wading, their men may go in ranks aſhore without wetting.

43. If an army ſhall land where the ſhore is all beachy, and full of little ſtones, like *Deal* and the caſtles thereabouts, where they may bring ordnance to impeach the enemy's landing, I would adviſe, that the artillery ſhoot not ſo much at their boats, but ſuffer them to come on ſhore, and then to let fly at the ſtone or hills piled up on purpoſe in heaps, that will ſcatter and diſperſe, as not a man will be left alive.

44. A ſhip that deſires to be boarded, and to be enter'd by his enemy, may uſe this ſtratagem; To haul in all his ordnance, to ſhut his ports, to hide his men, to ſtrike his ſails, and make all the ſigns of yielding; which the enemy perceiving, will be embolden'd to board him; and whilſt they are ſuffer'd to enter and pillage, the defendants may ſuddenly riſe, ſubdue and maſter them.

45. If an enemy ſink ſhips to keep in others from going out, ſuch ſhips ſunk may be ſuddenly weighed, if the aſſailant quit the harbour, without any great detriment to the ſhip ſunk; therefore they are to make choice of the ſhalloweſt place to ſink

their

their ſhips, and neareſt to deep water, where their own ſhips may ride and float, that with their ordnance you may keep the ſhip ſunk, that no boat, or other help, can weigh them; themſelves ſhall be kept from any danger of firing; for no enemy can approach them, ſo long as the ſhips ſunk lie there.

46. There is a ſtratagem as old as the invention of ſhips, though the common people attribute it to the wit of Sir *Francis Drake*, at *Cadiz*, in 1588. againſt the *Spaniards*, to fill old ſhips and veſſels with pitch, tar, train-oil, brimſtone, reeds, dry wood, and to join three or four of theſe ſhips together in the night, and then turn them a-drift with the tide, where the enemy's fleet rides, and either burn or diſperſe them, after they are thus put from their anchorage.

47. At my being at ſea in my youth, 1585. two ſmall ſhips of us accompanied together, we met a ſtrong and obſtinate ſhip of *Holland*, who refuſed to ſtrike his flag, or to ſhew his cocket: this ſhip had in her an *Engliſh* pilot, by whom we expoſtulated with the *Hollander*, without any ſemblance of boarding her; but being very nigh her our maſter cry'd to the man at helm, with great anger, to port the helm, leſt we ſhould come foul of her; but privately he gave charge to the helmſmen, to put his helm a-ſtar-board, when he ſhould have put it port, and cry'd with great vehemency to the *Engliſh* pilot to bear up; for our ſhip came againſt her helm, and willed them to get fenders, and have ſpikes to fend off, leſt we ſhould come foul of her: the *Hollanders* thought all we ſaid was true, and every one of them put their helping hand to keep off our ſhip with fenders and oars, not apprehending our intention; and when we ſaw their people thus employ'd, and not to have time to take arms, we ſuddenly boarded, entered, and took her by this ſtratagem.

48. As the greateſt advantage of a fleet of ſhips of war is to have intelligence of their enemy when they come upon their coaſt, ſo the way to obtain it, arriving upon the coaſt of *Spain*, is to let a ſhip's boat lie under the iſland of *Burlings*, where they ſhall not fail, by break of day in the morning, to take fiſhermen that will be able to inform them of the ſtate of things aſhore: it may as well ſerve for any other place, if they ſee fair weather in hand.

My lord of *Cumberland*, arriving upon the coaſt of *Spain*, was ſore diſtreſſed for intelligence; and a ſudden calm ariſing, two or three leagues from us we ſpied two carvels; whereupon I put myſelf into the ſhip's boat, and rowed to them; one of them I took, the other might have eſcaped, but by this ſtratagem I prevented her: I took out two or three of her men, and manned her with my own company, and immediately without delay ſent her to meet with her conſort, who made ſigns that they might think her diſcharged, and rowed my boat on board the ſhip that there ſhould be no ſuſpicion; ſo that the carvel was thus taken by deceit, which otherwiſe might have eſcaped; but when I had ſo much as I deſired for intelligence at their hands, I diſmiſſed them, and after found, I being taken myſelf, that they reported well of my good uſage of them.

50. I had a ſtratagem upon prince cardinal *Albert*, when he was viceroy of *Portugal*, but was prevented by his ſudden going into the low countries; and thus it was: When I was priſoner in the galleys, about the 10th of *September*, the cardinal paſſed down to a pleaſant houſe called *Cintra*, with a ſmall train, where he ſpent his time in devotion. Uſually he repaired thither at the ſame time of the year, and to the ſame purpoſe; which I well obſerved, and meant, if ever God gave me liberty, to have ſurprized him in this manner: To have conforted with two or three ſhips of war, which would no way have hindered the hope of their voyage, to have anchored before *Cintra*, that is ſeated upon a hill, and not above two miles from the ſea. I meant in the middle of the night, when there was no noiſe or ſuſpicion, to have landed an hundred men with firelocks, who might, without difficulty, have ſurprized him and his houſe, and have brought him to the place, where the boats were commanded to attend.

51. When I was removed from the galleys to the caſtle of *Lisbon*, I had another ſtratagem on foot; but was prevented by a traiterous *Engliſhman*, whom I was forced to uſe as an interpreter, before I had the language.

There was in priſon with me a *Portugueze* gentleman, called *Emanuel Fernandes*, who had been in *England* ſervant to Don *Antonio*, their pretended king: this man was much devoted to the ſervice of the queen; and I obſerved that a pilot of the king's uſually employ'd to meet the *Indies* fleet with letters of advice, to direct them the courſe they were to come home in, reſorted to him. I ſo dealt with ſeignior *Emanuel*, that upon conſiderations agreed on betwixt us, if my deſigns ſhould prove ſucceſsful, he did really undertake to prevail with the ſaid pilot, inſtead of carrying the letters of advice to their own fleet, to carry them to the queen, that ſo the treaſure might by this intelligence be intercepted; for I had ſo contrived it, had I not been prevented by the ſaid treacherous *Engliſhman*, that the queen ſhould have notice of it, by letters I wrote to the lord *Burleigh*, lord high treaſurer, and to the lord admiral

admiral, and convey'd the ſaid letters in the ſoles of my boy's ſhoes; but by the falſe dealing of the *Engliſhman* aforeſaid, my plot was diſcovered, and my boy carried into *Belem* caſtle, three leagues from thence; ſo that when I thought my ſervant had been embarked for *England*, two months after I had intelligence by an *Engliſhman*, gunner of the ſaid caſtle, that he was ſtill there priſoner, and had famiſhed, if he had not taken pity of him.

The firſt thing the *Spaniards* did, after the impriſoning my boy, was, to rip and ſearch his ſhoes, according to the intelligence given them; but though it was unfortunate to me, yet in another kind it fell out luckily; for a great rain falling that morning he was carry'd away, it ſo moiſten'd his ſhoes and letters, that they were mouldered, and could not be read, as the boy after confeſs'd at my arrival in *England*; ſo that they could have no witneſs, but the *Engliſhman* who was my accuſer.

Since I am upon this project, though it may ſeem tedious to the reader, yet will I ſet down the danger that befel the gentleman and me, upon the occaſion aforeſaid: This ſeignior *Fernandez* had been priſoner in the caſtle of *Lisbon* almoſt ſeven years; and his offence for coming out of *England* with letters and meſſages to Don *Antonio*'s friends in *Portugal*; yet ſuch was the power of money, that by means thereof he was to receive liberty, had it not been for this treaſon diſcovered by this vile *Engliſhman*.

A day was appointed for his ſentence of death, which with weeping eyes he acquainted me with, like a friend in a deſperate caſe. I adviſed him, if all other hopes failed, to ſeek ſome ſtratagem to eſcape priſon, with promiſe of my endeavour to help him, and to be ſhort, for delay could do no good. He provided himſelf of a rope and a cudgel to put betwixt the battlements of the caſtle wall, thinking when we went to our neceſſary buſineſs, which was once a day, with a guard of two ſoldiers, to have taken an opportunity to have ſlipped down the wall, and to have run into a church, thereby ſeated, to take ſanctuary.

But after four days trial made at our coming to the wall, as I have ſaid, we found it impoſſible to put this ſtratagem in execution in the day time; and I conſidered withal, the danger that might have befallen me, if he had eſcaped; therefore we thought upon another courſe, though it was more improbable, and which was as followeth: over the little room he lay in, was a chamber where ſoldiers had been lodged, that a week before were embarked in a fleet to ſea; the chamber was not ſo high, but that by the help of a high ſtool, which he had in his room, the top of it could be reached to: here we put our helping hands, one of us ſtill working, till we cut with our knives a trap door out of the boards above-head, that a man might creep through it; and finding by the almanack when the nights would grow dark, we contrived all things againſt that time, to perform our deviſed plot; and by means of his ſon, who had acceſs to him, he provided of a ſword-ſcabbard, and a ſtick to ſerve inſtead of a rapier, that he might ſeem to be a ſoldier as he paſſed the centinels, he carried his rope and cudgel, aforeſaid, and a bag with a little bread and wine for his ſuſtenance, under his cloak; and thus he went armed out of the chamber above, as a ſoldier, with a wooden ſword by his ſide.

He paſſed the *Corps de Guard* and five centinels before he came to the wall, pretending he went for his neceſſary occaſions, which they never miſtruſted, ſeeing he carried the ſign of a ſoldier, which was a ſtick in his ſcabbard. At his arrival at the wall, without fear, or any ſenſe of age, he ſlipped down by the rope, and happily eſcaped.

Not long after, the round paſſing about the caſtle, eſpy'd his rope, cloak, cudgel, and wooden ſword, which aſſured them of the eſcape of ſome priſoner; whereupon the drum beat, the alarm was taken, and the ſoldiers furiouſly came running into my chamber, as they did to others where priſoners lay, with their ſwords drawn, and threatening death. I confeſs I looked here to have ended my life; but that paſs'd, and two ſoldiers were left to guard me till morning.

They finding it was my neighbour ſeignior *Emanuel Fernandez* that was eſcaped, the hue-and-cry went through the city and country, and command for his apprehenſion; but ſuch was his fortune, that he eſcaped the fury of the tumult, and I was left at ſtake to be baited for the offence. In the morning early, I appeared before the judge, as the only delinquent, the reſt of the priſoners caſting it upon me; all agreeing, I was the likelieſt to know of his eſcape, becauſe of our continual converſation, but little knowing the true cauſe of our often meeting.

But neither threats, ill uſage, or promiſe of liberty, could make me confeſs any thing to the prejudice of either of us. I was ſo urged and threatened, that I was forced to uſe for my defence this argument, *(viz.)* That I was no ſubject to the king of *Spain*, but to a prince his enemy; that I was taken in war; and therefore required the benefit of that law for my redemption: I came not willingly to their country to learn their laws, or to bring in others to breed innovation:

vation: I was ſubject at that time to the univerſal law of honour and arms, by which I challenged the privilege of a gentleman for my freedom; and for the accident now in queſtion, I deny'd that I had any knowledge thereof, or that I was any way privy to it; and that the unlikelineſs of it ſhould plead for me, and be a ſufficient teſtimony of my innocency: I told them, they knew I was ſo unskilful in their language, that I could not deviſe a practice or plot with a man I underſtood not; and that my impriſonment had kept me from acquaintance, either in city or country, to contrive any evil againſt their ſtate; and if it argued guilt to be accuſed, no man could prove innocent; and therefore I deſired them that they would rather pity my miſery, than accuſe me unjuſtly: I intreated them to conſider that I was a priſoner among my enemies, deſtitute of all relief, and in a place where no friend could reſort to me; for I bemoan'd my wants, there being a reſtraint of intercourſe and trade betwixt the two nations.

But what I could ſay did little prevail; for they aggravated my ſuppoſed offence with cruelty of threats; inſomuch that I was forc'd to plead in another ſtile, and let them know, that by the law of arms they could prove nothing againſt me that deſerved puniſhment; the privilege of which law I challenged, as being taken in war, and continued priſoner for my redemption; during which time, it was lawful for me to ſeek my own liberty, and to neglect no occaſion, wherein I might do ſervice to my prince and country; and therefore what they accuſed me of, could not be deemed an offence.

I told them moreover, though I uſed this but as an argument, yet their barbarous uſage of me deſerved a greater revenge than I had ability to perform; whereas, if they had treated me with courteſy, I had been more bound to them, than if they had repoſed truſt in me. I ended with this defiance, That they ſhould be wary what violence they offer'd me; for I had friends in *England*, and was of a nation that both could and would ſufficiently revenge what cruelty ſoever they ſhould uſe towards me.

Theſe reaſons begot a more calm reſpect from them; and another while they uſed perſuaſive arguments, with promiſe of liberty and reward, making me believe the gentleman was taken, and confeſſed ſo much as they accuſed me of: but I well knew their words were but wind; for that they would never have warned me, if they could have juſtify'd their allegations by a perſonal teſtimony: yet I confeſs the thoughts of one thing much terrify'd me; which was a letter I gave to ſeignior *Fernandez* at his departure, which might have been produced againſt me; the letter was in his behalf, to all *Engliſh* captains at ſea, for his friendly entertainment, his deſign being to put himſelf into a fiſherboat, to look out at ſea for a man of war to tranſport him for *England*.

After a tedious examination of four hours, when they ſaw their ſubtleties could work nothing out of me, preſumption being but an unequal judge, they returned me to priſon, with charge to be more ſtrictly looked to: and after neglected no cunning means to entrap me, as I have more largely expreſs'd in another diſcourſe, at the requeſt of ſome of my friends.

I will again return to the gentleman ſeignior *Fernandez*, who no doubt was as much perplexed out of priſon, as I who could not fly from the danger of my enemies, in whoſe cuſtody I remained. All hue-and-cries, ſearches, promiſes of reward, and other deviſed policies, not prevailing for the apprehending of the poor gentleman, he liv'd in a diſguiſed obſcure manner, till time furniſhed him an opportunity to embark in a fiſherboat, to make uſe of my letters aforeſaid, where he ſpent fourteen days at ſea, and failing of meeting any ſhip at ſea, and wearied with ſea-ſickneſs, he was forced to return to ſhore, where he lived ſome time among poor ſhepherds and herdſmen, till he thought his diſguiſe and diſfiguring himſelf, had ſo altered him that he could not be known.

Now thinking his new-formed ſhape would ſecure him from being diſcovered; and hoping that the long time ſince his eſcape might make his fact to be worn out of memory, he was emboldened, in a beggar's habit, to try the charity of good people; and chancing to repair to a gentleman's houſe for alms, it happen'd that the ſaid gentleman and he, had been fellow-priſoners in the caſtle of *Lisbon*, who by his tongue, and other ſemblances and marks, diſcover'd who he was; and immediately called a ſervant, which gave a ſuſpicion to ſeignior *Fernandez*, that it was to give warning to the officers to apprehend him; but to prevent what his heart miſgave him, he ſuddenly ran into the church there by, and took ſanctuary for his defence.

This accident being ſo ſtrange, and falling upon a man the whole kingdom had an eye upon, becauſe of his former eſcape, the prince cardinal was immediately with ſpeed advertiſed of it at *Lisbon*, being above one hundred and twenty miles from thence. It was my fortune before this happen'd, to be releaſed out of my impriſonment, which I account a happineſs, that thereby I was brought into no danger.

The cardinal being advertiſed, as you have heard, of ſeignior *Fernandez*'s taking ſanc-

ſanctuary, with all ſpeed cauſed him to be taken out of the church, and brought to his old accuſtomed lodging in the caſtle of *Lisbon*, where not long after the law proceeded againſt him, and he received the doom of death due to ſuch an offence; but not without grief and ſorrow to many of the beholders, as well *Spaniards* as *Portugueſes*; for indeed he was a man of much goodneſs and great charity, and to his ability obliged many a ſoldier in the garriſon.

The day appointed for his execution being come, and having received all the rights and ceremonies of a *Chriſtian*, he was brought out of priſon, with a winding-ſheet lapped bandelier-faſhion about him; and many ſoldiers and others to behold him, to give him their laſt adieu; and for a farewell for himſelf, he took occaſion to ſpeak to the ſoldiers there preſent, in this manner; he told them, How much he had loved them; and that to ſome of them he had given teſtimony of it, in his better fortunes, which he knew they would thankfully acknowledge; and in lieu of all his former courteſies, and kindneſſes, he deſired them to requite him with one now at parting, as the laſt requeſt he ſhould ever make; which was, For one of them with ſpeed to repair to the houſe of the *Miſericordia*, an office of great reputation and truſt concerning religion and charity, and his deſire was, That they might be informed of the injury done to God, themſelves, and the holy church, by taking per force a penitent ſinner out of ſanctuary: a thing ſo unjuſt and unſufferable, that it behoved them to take notice of it.

This little hope gave great content to the ſoldiers, and happy was he that could make greateſt haſte to the houſe of the *Miſericordia*, to make relation of the ſtrange accident that had happened. The gentlemen of the *Miſericordia* weighing the diſhonour and injuſtice done their houſe, delay'd no time, but poſted on horſeback to the place of execution, where they found poor ſeignior *Fernandez* ready to recommend his ſpirit to God, and the hangman as ready to perform his office; but ſuch was his fortune, by the ſpeed and courage of the gentlemen, that they redeemed him from preſent death, and returned him to the place from whence he came; for as they were loth to loſe their privileges, ſo they were as unwilling to offend their king.

The ſtrangeneſs of this accident may put a man in mind of an old *Engliſh* proverb, that *Marriage and hanging goes by deſtiny.*

52. In the forty eighth ſtratagem, I have ſhewed how neceſſary it is to get intelligence of an enemy, and how to obtain it, as you ſhall there find, for that part of *Spain* and *Portugal* I ſpoke of; ſo likewiſe you ſhall read in my firſt book, how to compaſs intelligence of the ſouth part of *Spain*, as namely *St. Lucar* and *Cadiz*, by example of a precedent of my own: as alſo in the ſame book, I refer you to the way how to procure intelligence at the *Tercera* iſlands; to which book I refer you for brevity ſake.

53. When the queen lived, ſhe was inclined to hearken to a project of mine, for the taking and inhabiting the caſtle *De la Mina* in *Guinea*, many years poſſeſſed by the *Portugueſe*; and for defence whereof they rely'd moſt upon the number of negroes, in whoſe country *Mina* is ſeated; and to indear the negroes the more to them, and to exaſperate them againſt the enemies, they make them believe, That what war ſoever they have with others, is in their defence againſt thoſe who ſeek to ſlay them, and to poſſeſs their country. But to meet with this project, I deviſed to carry a number of negroes out of *England*, that could ſpeak their language, and were able to report the difference betwixt the *Portugueſe* uſage of them and ours; for in *Portugal* they ſell their negroes in open market for ſlaves, as we do horſes, which they know we do not; by which means we ſhall be able to diſappoint their deſigns.

54. The marquis of *Santa Cruz*, when he took the *Tercera* iſlands, made offer of landing at the city of *Angra*, and finding the iſland had drawn all their forces together to withſtand him in that place, he inſtantly winded his galleys about, and rowed five leagues to the eaſtward of it, and landed where he found no reſiſtance. The ſame did my lord of *Eſſex* at the iſland of *St. Michael*, who pointed to land at *Porto de Gallo*, but left that reſolution, and went with his boats to *Villa Franca*, which he took eaſily, all their forces being drawn to *Porto de Gallo*.

55. Naming *Villa Franca*, I will ſay ſomething that happened to me eighteen years before this I have ſpoken of, rather to make you laugh, than for ſerioufneſs ſake, and yet I place it amongſt the ſtratagems; and thus it was: You muſt know that notwithſtanding the wars with *England* and *Spain*, ſome of thoſe iſlands connived at the trade betwixt them and the *Engliſh* ſhips, which went under the name and colour of *Scots*: it chanced that one evening I came into the road of *Villa Franca*, but without the command of the caſtle, attending the darkneſs of the night to go aboard an *Engliſh* ſhip there riding, to avoid ſuſpicion of being ſeen from the ſhore: upon my boarding of the ſame ſhip, I was carried by the maſter to banquet in his cabin; his company that were on board eſpied a boat rowing from the ſhore, and brought us news of it, being in the cabin, which

which put the maſter to a deadly feat; for my being diſcover'd would have proved his undoing. I comforted him, and willed him to follow my directions, and he ſhould eſcape any ſuch danger. I deſired him to go out of the cabin, and leave me there, and to ſay what I ſhould bid him. The boat came to the ſhip-ſide, and told the maſter, That the ſtrange ſhip that rid not far from him was an *Engliſh* rover, and willed him to be careful; for that night 'twas thought he would ſurprize her: I willed the maſter to tell them, That he ſuſpected as much, and ſtood upon his guard, but feared that the ſhip had deſcry'd their boat coming off from the ſhore, and it was likely they would intercept their boat in their return to land, and adviſed them, as they loved their liberty, to haſten away. This put the *Portugueſe* in ſuch a fear, that ſuddenly, without ſpeaking one word more, they put off their boat without entering into the ſhip; which made us laugh heartily, and was a good addition to our ſupper.

56. In the year 1600. there was a complaint made by the inhabitants of the cinque ports, that the *French* incroached upon their fiſhing at ſea, a rocky ground five leagues ſouth from *Rye*; which place ſerves all *Lonaon* with choice fiſh: whereupon I was ſent down to redreſs this diſorder, and made uſe of the ſtratagem following; becauſe, if I had diſcovered my ſelf with my ſhip, the *French* would have fled: therefore I mann'd the *Engliſh* fiſherboats with my own company, and gave them order, as I ſhould paſs by with my own ſhip, and ſhoot a piece of ordnance, to board the *French* and poſſeſs them; which they did, and by means thereof the cinque-ports injoy'd their ancient privilege.

57. The ſtratagem of taking the pirates in *Ireland*, *Anno* 1614, is amply ſet down in my ſecond book, to which I refer you, wiſhing you to peruſe it; for it will give you pleaſure and content in reading it, and a light withal how to uſe the ſame ſtratagem, if there be occaſion.

58. A ſhip, and by conſeqence he that is imploy'd in her, may be deceived by touching the needle in the manner following: a ſhip going her courſe to the port ſhe is bound, may be deceived in touching the north point ſouth with a loadſtone, which is contrary to the place ſhe is going to, and may, perhaps, carry her upon ſome ſhoals and rocks, that in a right courſe there is no cauſe to fear.

59. In the voyage with my lord of *Lindſey*, in 1635, we ſent over a fiſherboat to *Breſt*, *Baltour* bay, and other places upon that coaſt, to ſpy and view the ſtate of the *French* and *Holland* fleet, which we knew was thither retired, but with ſuch inſtructions as the *French* could not ſuſpect it; and that they might ſee we had great confidence in them, and to receive advertiſement from them, we pretended the cauſe of our imploying the boat was to look out certain *Turkiſh* pirates, who we ſuppoſed hover'd upon their coaſt. The boat returned with a true relation, as we after found which, gave us good ſatisfaction.

60. Not long after my being taken by the galleys in *Spain*, if I had not been by accident prevented, I had eſcaped the impriſonment I endured for many months in the ſaid galleys at *Caſcais* and *Lisbon*, which was moſt grievous to me, by this ſtratagem following. Whilſt we rid in the harbour of *Lisbon*, there came aboard the galley where I was, a maſter of a ſhip of *Holland*, who ſpake good *Engliſh*: this man came from *Braſil*; for at that time the *Portugueſe* freighted *Holland* ſhips in moſt of their long voyages, though they pretended to be in war one with another. This *Hollander* pitying my caſe, wiſhed me privately aboard his ſhip, promiſing to conceal and hide me that I ſhould not be found; beſides his word, I took his proteſtation and vow to perform his promiſe, if I could deviſe to eſcape out of the galley. I verily believe the man meant truly and honeſtly; for he confirmed it by many proteſtations at other times and days. Whereupon I was not idle to deviſe an eſcape, and writ a letter with my own hand, directed to the reſt of my company, then priſoners with me, declaring that my captivity was ſo hard, that I could no longer endure it, but choſe rather to end my life by drowning my ſelf, and wiſhed them to ſignify ſo much to my friends in *England*: and one night, when all things were whiſt and ſilent in the galley, I intended ſecretly to eſcape, by ſtealing ſecretly into the ladder of the galley at the tide of ebb, and to convey my ſelf into the water without noiſe, or moving either hand or foot, till I was brought clear off the galley's view, and then to ſwim on board the *Holland* ſhip, who lay juſt in the wake of the galley, and in view of me: this I might eaſily have done without ſuſpicion, or notice taken of me; but unluckily it fell out, that the day before I meant to put this ſtratagem in execution, the galleys were commanded upon ſome ſervice to ſea; ſo that before our return to *Lisbon* the *Holland* ſhip was gone a new voyage, and I fruſtrated of my hopes.

As commonly one diſcourſe begets another, ſo this accident puts me in mind of ſome others that befel me, or that I was witneſs to, in the time of my impriſonment, which

which I have been deſired by my friends to put in writing, that there may remain a remembrance of them after my death: and what I inſert is neither as project or ſtratagem, but only a plain narration of what I have heard and ſeen.

Riding in the port of *Lisbon*, (for there is no other place for the galleys to reſide upon all that coaſt,) there was diſcover'd to the general a practice by an *Italian* to draw the *forçado's*, or galley-ſlaves, to take arms and riſe againſt the ſoldiers, and poſſeſs themſelves of the galley and men where he was, in order to recover their liberties, and diſpoſe of the galley as they pleaſed. This treaſon being examined, the *Italian* confeſs'd it; and for his reward his two arms were made faſt to the ſtern of two galleys, and his two legs to two others, and he quarter'd by the rowing of the galleys. If this *Italian* had had the wit of an *Italian*, he would not thus have play'd the fool; for he might well know where ſo many men were to be truſted, as are in a galley, it could not chooſe but be reveal'd. The ſlaves conſiſting of ſo many nations, and the treſpaſſes being ſo different, ſome condemn'd for life, others for years more or leſs, and any one revealing it, was able to purchaſe his own liberty and reward. Or ſuppoſe they had prevail'd in their deſign, the reſt of the galleys had been able to have maſter'd them; or if not, they had been deſtitute of victuals to ſuſtain them, not having ſo much as water; for every ſecond day they uſed to fetch their water from the ſhore: or though all thoſe I have ſpoken of had been no impediment to them, yet there had been no place to have fled to but ſome port of *France*, no nearer than ſeven or eight hundred miles.

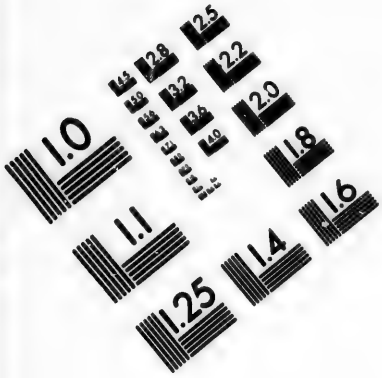
The next accident I take notice of, was in the ſame port of *Lisbon*, and in the ſame galleys that happen'd to the captain of the vice-admiral, a churliſh and ill-natured man, as my ſelf had ſome occaſion to ſay; for after my being taken priſoner, I found him diſcourteous and uncivil towards me; for without leave, knowledge, or warning to my page that ſerv'd me, nor permiſſion to ſee me, he ſent him to the fartheſt part of all *Spain*, intending he ſhould never return more into his country; though after he failed of his purpoſe, by means of an *Engliſhman* that lived thereabouts, whither he was ſent, and underſtanding this accident of his coming thither, and that he had been my ſervant, whoſe name and friends he well knew, though he was unacquainted with me; yet at my requeſt by letter, when I heard of the condition of the man, moſt courteouſly he procur'd means, and obtain'd liberty and licence for my ſervant to return to me, and of his own accord furniſhed him with money ſufficient for his journey, who arrived ſafely, and continued to do me ſervice during the time of my impriſonment; whom after I preferr'd to be a captain in the ſervice againſt the *Spaniards*.

This ill-condition'd *Spaniſh* captain after taſted a juſt reward for his ill diſpoſition; for as it is the uſe of captains of galleys to make choice of ſome *Moor* or *Turk* to attend them in their cabins, as people more neat and officious than chriſtians, and more obſequious and deſirous to pleaſe than their own natural countrymen: out of thoſe ſuppoſed reaſons the captain made choice of one of them, a *Turk* in religion, and moſt conſonant to his humour, as he conceived. It happen'd, that as this *Moor* exceeded in diligence, ſo it increaſed his credit and truſt with his captain; who ſending him one day aſhore to waſh his linnen, (for ſome of the *Moors* exceed women in that employ,) he carried with him one hundred crowns of his captain's, which he had in charge among other moneys and plate; this *Moor* was inticed by company to play, where he made a ſhort end of his hundred crowns.

After ſome time his theft was diſcover'd to his captain; who was ſo inraged, having no means to recover his loſs, that he returned him to his oar and painful bank in the galley, where he remained in his former ſlavery. But this was not revenge ſufficient to pleaſe the captain, but he ordered him a cruel puniſhment uſually inflicted upon offenders, laying them flat over the *Cruzea*, where he was unmercifully beaten with a bull's pizzle till he was made unable either to ſtand or ſit, or to do the king's work; nor was the captain willing he ſhould do him ſervice till time had overcome his paſſion; but then finding a great want of his attendance, he once more delivered him out of his chains, and accepted of his ſervice as he was wont, and ſo he paſſed ſome time as he was formerly wont to do.

But the *Moor* carried a canker'd revengeful heart againſt his captain, which he craftily diſſembled, not giving any kind of ſuſpicion till he had found a way and opportunity to compaſs it; which was in this manner:

At his uſual hour in the morning he repaired to get up his captain, but provided all things for his purpoſe; as firſt, a croſs-bar to keep down the ſcuttle; and being below, he provided himſelf with powder, fire, match, and other neceſſaries, which he placed in the outward room, and ſuddenly ruſh'd into his captain's cabin with a naked dagger in his hand, to whom he gave eight ſtabs, making account he had ſlain him; but hearing a noiſe without, he left the captain, and betook himſelf to a gentleman who cry'd out for help; which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being done, he put the match to the train he had prepared, and ſet the galley on fire, which he leaped into and burnt himſelf to aſhes; but by the help of the other galleys that rid near her, they ſuddenly boarded her, ſaved all her ſlaves, and the captain, who was not quite dead; but what elſe was in her was all conſumed. A rare example of revenge in a heathen to a chriſtian! and though the captain and he differed in religion, yet not much in condition and perverſe natures.

This captain was after queſtion'd as the author of the deſtruction of the king's galley, by the ill uſage of this ſlave; and had it not been for the general's ſake, Don *Franciſco de Coloma*, brother to Don *Carlo Coloma*, who was after ambaſſador into *England* in king *James* and king *Charles*'s time, he had deeply ſmarted for it.

Misfortunes thus left not the captain, but ſtill attended him, as a thing fatal to his ill nature; for after the recovery of his hurts, and reſtitution of his command, he was once more rifled and robbed by another *Moor* he entertained in the place of his other ſervant: This *Moor* was enticed by two *Spaniſh* ſoldiers to commit the theft; and after it was done, he and the ſoldiers paſs'd over the river without interruption, and kept company together till they arrived upon a ſpacious great hill, where the ſoldiers, finding a good opportunity for their purpoſe, ſlew the *Moor*, poſſeſſed the money, and eſcaped themſelves; ſo that they were never heard more of whilſt I was in *Spain*.

I will leave ſpeaking of the galleys whilſt I was in them: And now I was removed to the caſtle of *Lisbon*, where I remained priſoner a good ſpace; but I will end with the hap of two of the ſaid galleys, which my eyes beheld, and my ſelf was made an actor of revenge upon them.

In my firſt book, and in the year 1591. you will find how I became priſoner to the *Spaniards*, and what paſſed in the fight betwixt ſix galleys and the ſhip I was taken in: It happened that about eleven years after, and as you ſhall likewiſe find in the ſame book, that Sir *Richard Lewſon* and my ſelf had the ſurprizing a carrack and two galleys, which we burnt in the road of *Zezimbra*; which two galleys were of the number aforeſaid that took me, and one of them the very ſame wherein I was kept priſoner. This act of revenge to ſome men would have been very pleaſing.

In *September*, which is commonly the month for the galleys to make their retreat into harbour for winter, I and eight of my company were ſtrongly guarded to the caſtle of *Lisbon*, there to lie impriſoned till a courſe was taken for our redemption out of *England*, with an allowance of 7 *d.* ½ *per diem* for each man for his maintenance, a proportion that did not equal 3 *d. per diem* according to the rate of things in *England*. All the time of our impriſonment we were cloſe confined, only in the morning we reſorted to the caſtle walls, with a guard of ſoldiers, to perform our neceſſary occaſions.

It happened on St. *Andrew*'s day following, being upon the walls, at our uſual hour, we beheld a great galleon of the king's turning up the river in her fighting ſails, being ſumptuouſly deck'd with ancients, ſtreamers and pendants, with all other ornaments, to ſhew her bravery. She let fly all her ordnance in a triumphant manner for the taking Sir *Richard Greenville*'in the *Revenge* at the iſland of *Flores*, ſhe being one of that fleet, and the firſt voyage ſhe ever made.

I confeſs it was one of the greateſt and ſorrowfulleſt ſights that ever my eyes beheld, to ſee the cauſe the *Spaniards* had to boaſt, and no remedy in me to revenge it but in my tongue, but hoped for future comfort, and took ſuch *Engliſhmen* as were in my company to witneſs what I ſhould ſay to them: I offered to give them one for ten, if I did live, to be at the taking and poſſeſſing of that triumphant galleon, that carry'd the name of that day, *viz. St. Andrew*. This paſſed but as an idle deſire I had to ſee my word come to effect.

In the year 1596, which was five years after, enſued our *Cadiz* expedition, under the command of the earl of *Eſſex* and the lord admiral, where, amongſt fifty-eight ſhips there deſtroyed and burnt, the ſaid *St. Andrew* was, and ſhe and another only, ſaved from the fire: but this was nothing to my prognoſticating wager, for I could aſſume no more to my ſelf than any other man of that fleet; but it happened, as I was captain of the *Repulſe* under my lord of *Eſſex*, I was appointed in the *Repulſe*'s boat and ſome others to ſave the galleons that were run aſhore, whoſe names were theſe, *St. Matthew*, *St. Andrew*, *St. Philip*, and *St. Thomas*: the *St. Matthew* and *St. Andrew* we preſerved, though it was with ſome peril to us: the *St. Philip* and *St. Thomas* ſet themſelves on fire, even as I was ready to enter the *St. Philip*: and I may boldly ſay, what I ſpake in the caſtle of *Lisbon* was now punctually performed; and for the truth hereof, it is not long ſince one of the *Engliſhmen* lived, and till his death vouched my words to be true.

Theſe four ſtrange accidents I have inſerted in this fifth book, at the entreaty of friends that have heard me often relate them; but

but what ſhall follow was upon the importunity of ſome of my children, who conſidered how young I was when I put my ſelf into the wars at ſea, how long I have ſince lived, and been acquainted with the affairs of the world, which amounts to fifty-ſix years, and the often dangers and perils I have gone through by the ſword, by famine, by danger of the ſea, and other caſualities, as all men are ſubject to that run ſuch deſperate adventures. Theſe reaſons prevail'd with me, that I yielded to their requeſt: and though in my firſt book I have had occaſion to ſpeak of moſt of them, when I treated of the voyages that then happened, and wherein there was occaſion to mention them, yet, for brevity ſake, I have added them to the latter part of this fifth book, that they may ſuddenly be turned to, and found referring to the year and book where you ſhall find them; and I will make my beginning in the year 1585. when the wars with *Spain* began, and wherein I was an actor at the taking of the firſt *Spaniſh* prize.

In that voyage of 1585. and in the month of *September*, I was a youth of ſixteen years of age, and ſo inclined to ſee the world abroad, that without the knowledge of father or mother I put my ſelf into an action by ſea, where there was in company of us two ſmall ſhips, fitted for men of war, that authorized us by commiſſion to ſeize upon the ſubjects of the king of *Spain*. We departed from the *Iſle of Wight*, to which place we returned with our dear-bought prize: ſhe was a *Biſcainer* of three hundred tons, well mann'd, ſufficiently furniſhed, and bravely defended; ſhe came from *Grand Bay* in *Newfoundland*, which at our firſt arrival upon the coaſt of *Spain* we met with, and refuſing to yield to us, we ſuddenly boarded, and by conſent of all our men entered her; but the waves of the ſea growing high, we were forced to ungrapple, and to leave our men fighting on board her from eight of the clock in the evening till eight in the morning. The manner how, and all other circumſtances, you will find in my ſecond book.

My next eſcape was in the year 1587. and the firſt voyage I went captain to ſea; where, abiding longer than I expected, I was put to great extremity of victuals, and coming from the *Canary* iſland towards *England*, I fell in with *Ireland*, and put into *Dingle* bay, where the ſame morning I was taken with a moſt dangerous and tempeſtuous ſtorm, being upon a lee-ſhore, and the weather as dark and foggy as though it were night. The maſter found himſelf ſo nigh the land, that within an hour we could not eſcape ſhipwreck upon the devouring clifts, if God did not ſend us the ſight of a little rock called the *Crow*, half a mile from the entrance of the port of *Dingle*: every man was as careful to look for this rock as for life, for our ſafety conſiſted in the ſight of it; and by great fortune it was ſpy'd by a *Brazilian Indian* that ſerv'd me; which rock was a perfect director to our maſter, and in half an hour he harbour'd us in the port of *Dingle*. This put me in remembrance of what I had formerly read, that there was nothing more pleaſant to a man than to ſee himſelf at the point of death by ſhipwreck at ſea, and ſuddenly to eſcape the danger by arriving in a ſafe harbour.

Here I received two lives from God, the one was the eſcape of ſhipwreck, as you have heard; the other of famine; for when we were ſafely arrived, we took view of our bread, for other victuals we had none, and we had divided to every man his proportion of bread a fortnight before, and found but ſix biſket cakes amongſt our whole fifty men and more.

Reckoning according to years, which courſe I mean to follow, my next ſhall be in 1589, when I ſerved as vice-admiral to the earl of *Cumberland* to the iſlands *Azores*; and coming to *Flores*, the moſt weſtermoſt iſland of the ſeven, my lord had notice of certain *Spaniſh* ſhips riding in the road of *Fayal*, ready to take the firſt wind for *Spain*, to the ſouthward of which iſland my lord had paſſed eight days before. Upon this news my lord haſtened thither, both to be reſolved of the truth thereof, as alſo to make an attempt upon thoſe ſhips, if he ſhould ſee a poſſibility to prevail: but arriving two days after towards the evening, a calm took him, and he was not able to reach within two leagues of the road where the ſhips lay; whereupon there was a council called, as in all caſes of difficulty there is, wherein my ſelf and captain *Liſter* very earneſtly propoſed, and by entreaty prevailed, that we might have leave in that calm to row to the road to take a view of the ſhips, that againſt morning we might ſee where to take advantage by ſurprizing them.

As we drew near the *Spaniards* the daſhing of our oars was heard, which gave the alarm to the admiral, who only wore the flag, and inſtantly let fly her ordnance, without any certain aim, more than the daſhing of the oars directed. Captain *Liſter* and I ſeeing our ſelves miſſed by the ſhot, were ſo much encouraged, that, rather like mad than diſcreet men, we ran aboard the admiral with an intent ſuddenly to ſurprize her; but finding ſo great an inequality in our forces, (for the ſhip carry'd ſixteen pieces of ordnance, was well mann'd and provided,) we were glad to put off our boat and retire, repenting of our bargain.

As

As we were rowing towards our fleet again, which all this while beheld the fight, and heard the report of the ſhips ordnance, we met another boat of greater burthen ſent to ſuccour us; and after joyful ſalutation, we reſolved and concluded with both our boats to return again, and give a ſecond aſſault upon the admiral, telling them the ſtate and condition of the ſhip, which did ſo encourage both the one and the other, that by conſent it was agreed they ſhould board her in the quarter, and we in the hauſe, and we to cut her cable, and let her drive off to ſea. All this was ſucceſsfully acted, and the ſhip miraculouſly enjoy'd, notwithſtanding the continual ſhot from the caſtle, to which the ſhip was moored; and which caſtle a month after we took, and afforded us forty five pieces of ordnance, mounted and diſmounted. I muſt not forget, that as we entered the admiral on the one ſide, the *Spaniards* leap'd over-board on the other, except the captain, *John de Palma*, and one more.

Now having got an unexpected victory, rather by valour than reaſon, we towed out the ſhip with our two boats, the caſtle not ſparing to fire at us, till we brought her without reach of the ſhot, and then we agreed to take out all our men, except one at helm to govern her, and ſtruck down her ſails; and we ourſelves returned in our boats once more into the road, where we poſſeſſed ourſelves of the other ſeven ſhips left behind, three of which were of reaſonable good value. For the other particulars of this voyage I refer to my firſt book, where you ſhall find this relation following;

Coming into the iſland of *St. Mary's*, we found an unwelcome entertainment, though indeed we meant the people no farther hurt than to be ſupplied with water from the iſland; but it ſeems they were better prepared to forbid us than we expected; for at our offering to land with two hundred and odd men, two parts of them were ſuddenly hurt and ſlain; in which encounter my ſword, which I placed naked, and the point upward, was ſhot aſunder, and the bullet paſs'd through the belly of my doublet, which, if it had not been for my ſword, had done the like through my belly.

My lord being thus fruſtrated of all hope of water and other refreſhment, was to ſeek the help of another iſland to give him relief; for now drink began to be ſcarce, and it was likely it would put us to deſperate want; and ſtanding from hence to the iſland of *St. George*, by labour and pains, and by the help of my ſwimming, my ſhip drawing little water to come near the ſhore, I procured ſo much water as kept us after from periſhing.

Paſſing by the other ſide of the iſland of *St. George*, we might ſee a goodly ſpout, iſſuing out of the great cliff, which gave my lord a great comfort to be ſupply'd with drink by that ſpout. Now began our people to be in deſpair of any help of drink, either by ſea or iſland, and by one conſent, in a tumultuous manner, cry'd out to return to *England*, which much troubled my lord, who hoped for a better fortunate voyage before his return; and finding no man ſo heartily true to him as myſelf, he bewail'd himſelf and his caſe to me, how much it imported him to try what water that ſpout would yield him, conjuring me, by the love I bore him, that I would put myſelf into a ſmall boat that rowed with three oars, one man to ſteer, and myſelf to fit, and to venture aſhore, to ſhew the poſſibility that ſpout would yield him for water, promiſing that he and his ſhip ſhould ſtand within a mile of the land, to take me up at my return. I performed it as honeſtly as he repoſed truſt in me, though by an accident it had almoſt coſt me my life.

In my way, rowing towards the ſhore, a great whale was ſpy'd from my lord's ſhip, lying with her back upon the water aſleep, as is the nature of whales before ſtorms. This whale was ſuppoſed to be a rock, and dangerous for the ſhip to bear further into land; and thereupon tacked about to ſea leaving me to the mercy of the waves. I had no ſooner ſet my foot aſhore, but it began to be dark with night and fog, to blow, rain, thunder, and lighten, in the cruelleſt manner that I have ſeen. There was no way for me to eſcape death, but to put myſelf to the mercy of the ſea; neither could I have any great hope of help or life; for the ſhip was out of ſight, and only appeared a light upon the ſhrowds to direct me. This ſudden alteration of weather, gave me loſt in the opinion of my lord and all his company.

All this while the ſhip lay upon the lee; and ſeeing it was in vain to expect my return, the maſter called with the whiſtle to fill the ſails; but the maſter-gunner being a countryman of mine, and one that loved me well, (an approved man of ſkill and art, by the place he held as maſter-gunner in the pope's admiral galley in the victorious battle of *Lepanto*, in which battle he was ſore wounded,) he humbly beſought my lord to forbear filling the ſails one hour longer, which my lord willingly granted; and in that interim of time, one of the company in the ſhip ſpy'd a flaſh of fire, and heard the report of a muſket; for all our powder was ſpent to that very laſt ſhot, by means whereof we were preſerved, rather by miracle than any human art. And to make it the more ſtrange, we were no ſooner riſen from our ſeats, and ropes in our

our hands to enter the ſhip, but the boat immediately ſunk. And though I have paſſed many dangers, as will appear by this treatiſe, yet I account this the greateſt of all, and none of the reſt to be parallel'd with it.

What miſeries we endured in the latter end of the voyage, you ſhall find in the firſt book, where I have occaſion to ſpeak of our return, and the extremity we endured, which was more terrible than befel any ſhip in the eighteen years war; for laying aſide the continual expectation of death by ſhipwreck, and the daily mortality of our men, I will ſpeak of our famine, that exceeded all men and ſhips I have known in the courſe of my life: for ſixteen days together we never taſted drop of drink, either beer, wine, or water; and though we had plenty of beef and pork of a year's ſalting, yet did we forbear eating it, for making us the drier. Many drunk ſalt water, and thoſe that did died ſuddenly, and the laſt word they uſually ſpake was *drink, drink, drink:* and I dare boldly ſay, that of five hundred men that were in that ſhip ſeven years before, at this day there is not a man alive but myſelf, and one more.

The firſt port we arrived at was the *Vintry* in *Ireland*, five miles by land from *Dingle* church, that gave me ſuccour in my former voyage, as I have ſaid: here we made ſhift to furniſh my lord with a horſe, and myſelf and ſome other gentlemen followed a-foot. At our coming to the town, we found my lord in the houſe of the ſovereign, which is the title of mayor, telling his ſtrange adventures, and his dangerous eſcape of famiſhing with want of drink. The ſovereign told his lordſhip, That about two years before, a gentleman came into their port, in as great a want of meat, as his lordſhip was of drink; and even as he was repeating my name I entered the door, who my lord took by the hand in their preſence, and ſaid, *Lupus eſt in fabula.* They beheld me with admiration, and told my lord, that it was my fortune that brought him thither; and held themſelves happy that it was in their power to give him relief, as they had done the like to me before.

In the year 1590. my former ſickneſs, you have heard, I took in *Ireland*, kept me from imployment, or thought of the ſea; but now finding my body as willing as my mind to follow my begun courſes, this year of 1591. I attended my lord of *Cumberland* once more, and had the command of the *Garland* under him, wherein he went admiral. I can ſay little of any conſequence of this voyage that concerned myſelf, but my impriſonment by ſix *Spaniſh* galleys, near the iſland of *Burlings*, which I have had cauſe to remember, by ſome accidents you ſhall read in my ſucceding voyage.

My conſtancy has been ſuch, though to my coſt, where I have made profeſſion of love, that no ſmall unkindneſs could ſuddenly divert me, when my affection has been grounded upon true friendſhip, as may appear by my faithfulneſs to the lord I now ſpeak of, for whom I have often ventured my life, with little fruit of his favour. And I muſt confeſs it was ſome blemiſh to my judgment; for notwithſtanding many admonitions, I was incredulous, ſtill relying upon him, and followed him in this voyage of 1593. in the place I had formerly held, captain of the *Golden Lyon*, a ſhip of the queen's, wherein he ſerved as admiral. What I ſhall ſay here relates to ſome principal accidents that concern myſelf in this voyage; and for the reſt, I refer you to my firſt book, where I have ſhewed, that my lord being ſevered from his fleet about the *Burlings*, met with twelve hulks of the eaſt country, that after ſome fight, yielded, and delivered him a large quantity of powder, which they carried for the king of *Spain*'s ſervice; my lord took the one half of thoſe ſhips, and ſtood off to ſea; the other half he left with me to examine and rummage. Towards night my lord caſt off thoſe of his company, whom I ſpy'd making towards me and their conſorts, which ſeemed ſtrange to me, that was left guarded but by a ſmall ſhip, and his long boat with fifty men. I feared, as after I found true, that thoſe ſhips had a reſolution to board and take me; but to prevent their deſign, I leaped into my lord's boat on one ſide of the ſhip, as they boarded her on the other; in which leap I received a hurt in my leg, which to this day, in 1641. I have found a great decay to my whole body.

In the ſaid book you will find, that from hence my lord ſtood to the iſland of *Cuervo*, where he was taken with a moſt melancholly ſickneſs, and in deſpair of health or life, unleſs he might be relieved with the milk of a cow; and I ſeeing in what condition he was, and valuing his life as much as my own, I ventured my perſon to get him a cow from the hands of the enemy, either by fair or foul mean; and put myſelf into the hands of the *Portugueſe* of the iſland of *Cuervo*; firſt ſhewing a flag of truce, I told them the cauſe of my coming to them, was out of love; and that we had a great fleet at ſea thereabouts: and leſt any of them ſhould do them injury, I brought them a protection from our general, the earl of *Cumberland*, to defend them, if any violence ſhould be offered them; and ſo inſinuated to them, as they afforded

courteous entertainment; and becauſe night drew on, they deſired me to ſtay all night: I willingly imbraced their offer, and by my liberal carriage, obtained what I required; and the day following carry'd a cow and other refreſhments aboard, which gave plenty of milk till my lord's arrival in *England*. This cow, in all likelihood, was the ſaving of my lord's life for the preſent; which he acknowledged.

In the enſuing year 1595. I was married; but before my marriage, I engaged myſelf by promiſe to attend my lord of *Cumberland*, as his vice-admiral, to ſea. Himſelf went in the *Malice Scourge*, a brave ſhip, built by himſelf; his vice-admiral *Allſider*, a goodly ſhip of the merchants.

Now I began to have a proof of what before I had juſt cauſe to ſuſpect, *viz.* the inconſtant friendſhip of my lord of *Cumberland*; for though I was drawn by his ſweet words and promiſes to this voyage, and that we had proceeded upon it ſo far as *Plimouth*, and from thence eight or nine leagues to ſea, towards the coaſt of *Spain*, without imparting, or making ſhew of any thing to me, he ſuddenly quitted the voyage, and appointed another captain for his own ſhip, which did ſo much diſcontent me for the preſent, that I abandoned the company of his ſhip at ſea, and betook myſelf to my own adventure: This bred an after-quarrel betwixt my lord and me; and it was a long time before we were reconciled.

My voyage produced no danger of famine or ſword, as other voyages had done. The worſt enemy I found were ſtorms, which were ſuch as forced me to cut my main-maſt by the board, and compelled me to bear for *England*. After I had weathered the coaſt of *Spain*, the ſtorm held on ſo outragious, and of ſuch long continuance, that I was driven to *Spain* before the ſea, betwixt the *Groyne* in *Gallicia*, and *Blavet* in *Britany*, which port the *Spaniards* at that time poſſeſſed. The ſea was ſo grown, and the waves ſo mighty, that they raked me fore and aft, for want of a main-maſt to keep up the ſhip; ſo that I expected for many days together nothing but foundering in the ſea; but at laſt it pleaſed God to ſend me to *Plimouth*, where I found the people much diſtracted, upon the news brought them of the arrival of four *Spaniſh* galleys, from *Blavet* to *Penzance* in *Cornwall*, which village they took and ſacked. Theſe four galleys could not chuſe but paſs me that night in a calm unſeen. Sir *Francis Drake* was now at *Plimouth*, ready bound with his fleet to the *Weſt Indies*, in which voyage he died. Upon the news of theſe galleys, he inſtantly put to ſea, and myſelf with him; and arriving at *Penzance*, we found the *Spaniards* were gone, and the poor ſpoil not worth their labour they found in the town.

The next offenſive voyage by us, was to *Cadiz*, in 1596. under the command of the earl of *Eſſex*, and my lord admiral, whereof I had formerly occaſion to ſay ſomething, when I made mention of burning of fifty eight ſail of ſhips, and the taking the *St. Andrew*. The principal and dangerouſeſt thing that happened to me in that voyage, was the accident following:

My lord of *Eſſex* having made way through the town, at length came to the ſpacious market-place, where he found the greateſt and ſharpeſt reſiſtance from the houſes thereabouts, that ſorely flanked him, which way ſoever he paſſed or looked, and one houſe more than the reſt ſeemed moſt dangerous; whereupon I deſired my lord to ſpare me fifty old ſoldiers of the *Low Countries*, to give an aſſault upon that houſe, which his lordſhip granted, and I performed, and took it. In that conflict I was ſhot with a musket-bullet through my ſcarf, and breeches; and the handle and pummel of my ſword ſhot from my ſide, without any further hurt. As I ſtooped for my handle, and pummel of my ſword, Sir *John Winkfield* was next to me a horſeback, who had received a hurt in his thigh a little before; and as he was asking me how I did, (for it ſeems he feared I was ſorely wounded by my ſtooping,) he was ſhot with a bullet in the head, and ſuddenly fell down dead; and theſe were the laſt words that ever he ſpoke. What more concerns this voyage in general, you will find in the firſt book: but by the way, this I note, that as the ſword is the death of many a man, ſo it hath been twice the preſerver of my life, the one at the iſland of *St. Mary's*, in 1589. the other now at *Cadiz*, in 1596.

The iſland expedition ſucceeded this to *Cadiz*, in 1597. equal with it both in greatneſs, goodneſs, and the perſon of the man that commanded it. In this expedition I was captain of the *Rainbow* of the queen's, which ſhip had a ſpecial cauſe to be remembered, by meeting the *Indies* fleet in the manner following.

My lord of *Eſſex* had intelligence from the iſland of *Gracioſa*, where he had ſome men aſhore, of certain ſhips deſcry'd off to ſea. The night drawing on, his lordſhip divided his fleet into three ſquadrons, and myſelf being the next ſhip to him, he commanded me to ſtand away ſouth that night; and if I ſpy'd any ſhips, to make ſigns, with ſhooting my ordnance, and making falſe fires, promiſing to ſend twelve

twelve ſhips after me. I inſtantly departed as I was directed, not doubting but the twelve ſhips would follow me. It blew little wind, and within leſs than four hours, about twelve a-clock in the night, I fell in company of a fleet conſiſting of twenty five ſail; whereupon I put my ſelf into my boat, the calm continuing, reſolving, though it were with my apparent peril, to diſcover what ſhips they were, before I would preſume to make ſigns, as I was directed: approaching near the fleet, I hailed them in *Spaniſh*, who anſwered me in the ſame language; and by their courſe, I knew them to be the *Indies* fleet; and having as much as I defired for the preſent, I returned on board the *Rainbow*, and afterwards performed ſo much as I was commanded, in ſhooting of my ordnance, and making falſe fires: I accompanied the fleet that night, and the next day, till I brought them into the road of *Angra*, in the iſland of *Tercera*; and what after befel me and them, I refer to my firſt book: all the hurt that happened to me in this deſperate attempt of mine, beſides the hazard of ſhot from the caſtles and fleet, my ſhip being ſhot through fifteen times, was foul words and railing language, with ſome ſhot from the *Spaniards* when I firſt hailed them in my boat.

In our return this voyage, I was in more peril, hazard, and danger, than any other ſhip of our fleet; for the *Rainbow* is known to be the moſt rowling and labourſome ſhip in *England*, eſpecially in the condition I was in, having ſpent my foremaſt in a mighty ſtorm, and mountainous ſeas, where we hourly expected death.

My next voyage, of all others, was moſt fortunate to me, wherein the carrack was taken, and the beſt ſervice performed by ſo few ſhips, that happened in all the queen's time; and yet it gives the leaſt occaſion to ſpeak of, of many others wherein I was an actor, ſave only that I muſt aſſume to my ſelf to be the chief perſuader of the attempt upon her. The reſolution taken by conſent of council, how to aſſail her, was in this manner, That Sir *Richard Lewſon* and I ſhould anchor in the road of *Zezimbra*, near the carrack and their other forces, the reſt of our ſhips to ply up and down, and not to anchor: Sir *Richard*, according to his directions, made his firſt entrance into the road; but by the negligence of his maſter, much to his diſlike, he failed in anchoring, and the current taking him on the bow, carried him out of the road; ſo that it was the next day before he could recover in again: my ſelf having the rear, followed my admiral according to former order, till I had brought one broad-ſide againſt the galleys, and my other againſt the carrack and caſtle, which done I let fall my anchor; and for what followed upon it, I refer you to my firſt book.

This voyage ending, the next was the laſt undertaken by the queen; for not long after ſhe died: and this was the laſt voyage againſt *Spain*; for by her death the war ceaſed, and as I was a ſoldier and a youth at the beginning thereof, ſo I was general of this laſt fleet; and for the particulars of this voyage, more than theſe few following, I will refer you to the firſt book aforeſaid.

I departed *England* the laſt of *Auguſt*, 1601. and arrived at the rock the 26th of *September*, where a light was eſpy'd by my ſhip in the night, which after we found to be a fleet of twenty four galleons, which I had intelligence of the day before by the carvel I ſent into the ſhore to diſcover. I drew ſo nigh thoſe ſhips, that I could not eſcape them if they had taken me to be an enemy; and finding my ſelf thus intangled, I commanded a *Spaniard*, who ſerved me, and held a dagger at his heart, upon his life to ſpeak as I directed him, which was as follows; To call to them with a loud voice, that there was a ſtrange ſhip fallen amongſt their fleet, and that he knew not what ſhe was; I conceived, that having warning from me of it, of all others ſhe could not ſuſpect I was ſhe; and in the mean time, in a ſecret manner, I tacked about, and quitted my ſelf of them, without further ſuſpicion; but the *Adventure* (for only ſhe and the *Whelp* was left with me) could not carry her ſelf ſo diſſemblingly, but ſhe was in danger of being taken, and eſcaped with the loſs of ſome men.

The next morning they chaſed the *Adventure* and *Whelp*, for I was gotten a little way to head of them; three of the beſt ſailing ſhips of the *Spaniards* drew near the *Whelp*; and perceiving, that unleſs I acted ſome deſperate thing ſhe would be taken, I ſtruck my top-ſail, though it was much againſt the will of my maſter and company, crying out, that I would loſe my ſelf and ſhip; I ſtood with the *Whelp* and *Adventure*, and cauſed them to ſtand their courſe to ſea, whilſt I ſtaid for the three *Spaniſh* ſhips, with whom I would make trial of their force, and hoped to make them have little liſt to purſue them. The *Spaniſh* admiral was aſtern with his whole fleet, who perceiving my working, and the little reſpect I had to his three ſhips aforeſaid, tacked in with the ſhore, and ſhot off a warning-piece for his fleet, and the three ſhips to follow him.

Being thus luckily acquitted from the *Spaniſh* fleet, wherein Don *Diego de Borachero* was general, I returned to the ſouth cape, with the *Whelp* only; for I had loſt company of the *Adventure* two nights before: and arriving there the one and twentieth of *October*,

October, I gave chaſe to a galleon of the fleet of *Ciriago*, who recovered under the caſtle of cape *Sagre*, before I could fetch her up; but though I knew the force of the caſtle, by ſundry ſhot I had formerly received from it, and was acquainted with the excellency of the gunner, who was an *Engliſhman* of my acquaintance, in the ſight of their general *Ciriago* and his ſquadron, I attempted, and had taken her, had it not been for the cowardlineſs of the helmſman, that ſheard off as I was ready to board her; the fight was not long but dangerous, with the loſs of twelve men on my ſide, and in no leſs danger of ſinking; who was ſo beaten from the caſtle, that it was a ſpectacle to behold my ſhip, for ſhe might be crept through from ſide to ſide. For all other circumſtances I refer to my firſt book. And ſo I take my leave of the queen's reign.

This voyage ended, and I returned for *England*: at *Chriſtmas* after, there was a conſultation by the lords of her majeſty's council, to prepare two fleets, the one for the ſpring, the other to ſecond the firſt in *June* following; Sir *Richard Lewſon* to command the former, and my ſelf the latter, in ſome action againſt *Spain*; but though this was a pretence to ſatisfy the world, yet the lords had an intent in it; for at that time they knew the queen being ſick, there was much danger of her death, becauſe of her years, which made them the more willing to haſten this fleet to ſea, to have it in a readineſs to defend the kingdom, if the queen's death ſhould happen.

And though Sir *Richard Lewſon*, nominated general of this fleet, was not beloved by the lords, fearing his ambition; yet they continued him in his place and command: and whereas I was appointed to ſecond him in a latter fleet, yet the lords by importunity perſuaded me to accompany him as vice-admiral in this voyage, they having a greater truſt and confidence in me than in him; and therefore I was ordered to command the *Merchonour*, a better ſhip than that Sir *Richard* ſerved in.

All this was done out of policy; and few of the lords, but ſuch as were intimate friends to the king knew of it; for their intention was, if the queen died, and king *James* had found any oppoſition, that my lord *Thomas Howard*, afterwards earl of *Suffolk*, ſhould take charge of this fleet, and come aboard me, and I to go into Sir *Richard*'s ſhip, and Sir *Richard*'s authority to ceaſe. But, God be thanked, there was no cauſe for this wiſe forecaſt of the lords; for his majeſty repaired peaceably to *London*, and we returned ſafely to *Chatham*, after we had ſeen the king's entertainment by his well-affected ſubjects.

Two years after, and in the year 1604. I was nominated admiral of the *Narrow Seas*, without ſuit or ſeeking of mine: and the firſt ſervice I was appointed to, was the tranſportation of the conſtable of *Caſtille*, who was to repair hither, to conclude a peace betwixt the two crowns, that had been eighteen years at variance. What happened in that imployment, as alſo in the twelve years after, that I ſerved as admiral, I refer you to my ſecond book throughout: only I muſt ſay, that as in former imployments, I went not without danger of life by enemies, by the peril of ſea, and famine, as I have formerly repeated; in this imployment I was to fear neither foe nor famine, the king having a general peace with all princes and nations, and my imployment being not ſo far from home, but that in few days I might be ſupplied with victuals; though I account another danger greater than the reſt, which conſiſted in accidents of the ſea, and extremity of ſtorms and foul weather, in the ſouth and ſtraiteſt part of *England*, where commonly I was to lie at anchor; and upon any occaſion being put from my anchors, the narrowneſs of the ſeas betwixt land and land, would put me into imminent danger of ſhipwreck and life: the ſhoals and ſands were no leſs dangerous, conſidering, that very often we were to be attended with fogs and miſts; beſides, that we were ſometimes put to double a lee-ſhore, which, if we failed of, we preſently periſhed.

But God ſo provided for me, that I eſcaped all theſe hazards; and at laſt found malice had a greater power and force againſt me, than by ſea I found, or otherwiſe I deſerved: for when I thought to have left my painful labours at ſea, and to have enjoy'd tranquility of peace on land, envy, unluckily and unlooked for, ſeized upon my innocency: for being thought a boſom friend to a nobleman I much honoured, who at that time began to be aimed at, and was afterwards born down by a court-faction, though I was one of the meaneſt in number, and unworthy to have knowledge taken of me, as a man of no eminency; yet conſidering how my eſtate then ſtood by my engagements, and otherwiſe, I found fortune more averſed to me than moſt of the others had felt by malicious practices.

The End of the Fifth Book.

TO THE

KING's Moſt Excellent MAJESTY.

THE dedication of books is antient, uſual, and uſeful; though in theſe later times they are turned into apologies, expreſſing the unworthineſs of the author, and the inſufficiency of the matter, modeſty carrying with it ſo ſhame-faced a countenance againſt the law of hiſtory; for *Cicero* ſaith, *That eloquence is not ſo much to be reſpected in writing, as not to publiſh falſhoods, and diſſemble truths.*

For me to follow the rules of apology, will betoken a great weakneſs and imbecillity, and look as if I had obtained victory over an art I am ignorant in; for eloquence belongs to ſcholars, who by their witty pleading, will drive every circumſtance to a conſequence.

Silence were better in my caſe than ſpeech, were it not I am to ſpeak of things I know, of things needful and neceſſary, both for your ſacred majeſty, and your whole commonwealth.

I need not reiterate what the enſuing narration reports; I only and humbly crave leave of your majeſty, that my defects may not blemiſh the worthineſs of the work now in hand, no more than a homely painter that takes upon him to draw a fair face: the benefit of my labour will be to your majeſty an immortal honour and glory; to your kingdoms an everlaſting praiſe and profit; and to your faithful ſubjects an eſſential proof of happineſs.

All in one muſt applaud your ſacred majeſty for atchieving this work, which never any of your famous progenitors had in agitation; ſo that we may truly judge, That from the beginning (by God's providence) it was reſerved for king *CHARLES* to make your name, your fame, your fortune, and all other bleſſings, equal with your progenitors *Charles's*, and eſpecially *Charlemain*, from whom your majeſty is lineally deſcended: and as that *Charles* worthily deſerved the title of *Great*, ſo I doubt not but the ſame God will pour the ſame greatneſs and happineſs upon your majeſty, that our hemiſphere may enjoy as great a renown by you, as other lands have done by thoſe from whom you are deſcended.

If your majeſty would have been ſway'd by pretended policy of ſtate, by ſollicitation, by affection, or other enticements, and left the common utility of your ſubjects, this work had lain ſtill like a child in his ſwaddling-clouts, without care of nurſing it; but your majeſty's virtue appears herein, and we, your loyal ſubjects, cannot honour you enough for it. And if we ſhould ſpeak all the truth of your ſacred majeſty, it were to ſay far more than we do of your moſt excellent virtue and goodneſs: but for want of parts otherwiſe to expreſs me, my office ſhall be, to pray for your majeſty's long life, for your victorious atchievements, the confuſion of your enemies, and that all men's hearts may be as ſenſible of your majeſty's good, as the meaneſt of your ſubjects,

W. M.

TO

All GENTLEMEN, and others, that have read my former Diſcourſe concerning the SEA.

I Have annexed this relation of *fiſhing* to my former treatiſes of the SEA, which you have done me the honour to peruſe: I confeſs it had been more proper to have inſerted it at the beginning of theſe books, than at the latter end, for theſe reaſons: the dedication would have required it, as being humbly preſented to his majeſty's protection; the ſubject would have challenged it, as a ground and foundation of the increaſe of ſhips, navigation, and traffick; *England* would have ſtood upon it in right, as a work of greateſt conſequence, goodneſs, and renown, due only to her.

But being thus in a conſultation and dilemma with myſelf what to do, I conſidered and concluded, That the firſt view of a book either gave delight, or diſguſt, to the judicious reader; and if I ſhould have preſented you with this rude and laborious fiſhing, as the firſt diſh of my banquet, it would have diſheartened your farther proceedings; and therefore I choſe rather to pleaſe your palate and taſte with ſtrange occurrences and accidents at ſea, as moſt delicate meats to keep you from ſurfeiting.

There are two parts to be plaid in the ſcope of my diſcourſe; the one by you, which is the ſpeculative part, out of curioſity to inform yourſelves of the ſecrets and practice of the ſea, not intending to make profeſſion or profit by it; but like to a ſtudent in *Alchymy*, who covets to know the depth of the art, but not to ſpend a penny in the practice, or deſign to compaſs it.

The ſecond part is only proper to thoſe that mean to make themſelves apprentices to the ſea and the art of navigation, to inlighten their future knowledge and underſtanding: but this is not attained to by eaſe or ſloth, but by practice and pains; not by imagining and reading, but by peril, travel, and toil; not by youth and careleſſneſs, but by years and ſtayedneſs: for though *Alexander the Great* was but twenty years of age when he began his conqueſt, yet none of his captains were under ſixty; and though *Demoſthenes* was the moſt famous of all philoſophers for eloquence, yet at firſt he was but a ſcholar, and taught by *Plato*.

There are many things contained in the former ſeveral books, which cannot be accounted within your element; I commend therefore ſuch things to your idle hours, as give delight and recreation to your waſteful and conſuming time, when leaſure admits no moment of matter to think on, like the ſport of young whelps, that are to be uſed for pleaſure, when one has nothing elſe to do, or for want of other company.

The reading of theſe diſcourſes is not worthy the name of ſtudy; for they handle no ſerious thing, either of hiſtory or learning, but are to be eſteemed for curioſity ſake, as *Romulus* did carvers of ſtone, or *Caius Ceſar* goldſmiths, or *Veſpaſian* painters.

Your wiſdom knows better how to apply yourſelves to the reading, and making choice and uſe of what is comprehended in the former diſcourſes, than I can either adviſe, or inſtruct: And (for a farewel) I wiſh you as much happineſs as one friend can do to another, that is, content to your mind, honour to your deſerts, wealth to your will, and bleſſing from GOD. All happineſs is comprehended in theſe few words, and they are made the ſubjects for the eloquence of tongues to ampliſy upon; for it is matter that makes a good orator, though I confeſs form adds ſomewhat to it.

BOOK

BOOK VI.

Which treats of a Fiſhery to be ſet up on the Coaſt of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, with the Benefit that will accrue by it to all his Majeſty's Three Kingdoms: With many other Things concerning Fiſh, Fiſhing, and Matters of that Nature.

A Diſcovery of the Hollanders *Trades, and their circumventing us therein; and the Means how to reduce the Fiſhing into our Hands, (as of Right due to us:) With the Honour and Security that will redound to his Majeſty, and all his Subjects.*

NO man is ſo void of reaſon as not to know, that he is born for the ſervice of God, his prince and country; God requires it for our own good; a prince, out of duty derived from the commandment of God; and our country, by the law of nature, next to our parents: God directs us by his written word how to ſerve him; a prince, by his human laws how to ſerve and obey him; and our country, by inſtinct of nature how to ſerve and reverence her. The city of *Paris* had a ſaying of old, *One God, one king, one faith, and one law.* Theſe four words are effectual, and as much as can be comprehended in our ſervice to God, prince, and country. *Cicero* ſaith, *That take away the piety towards God, and you take away all conjunction of human ſociety.*

As moſt men differ in feature of face, in diet, condition, and education; yet all good men agree in an unity of the ſervice of God, prince, and country, in theſe ſeveral degrees and qualities; the divine with prayer, the ſoldier with arms, wiſe men with counſel, and rich men with treaſure.

Theſe being done willingly, makes a ſweet harmony betwixt king and commonwealth; for that prince is happy that has young men to take pains, and old men to counſel; the one ſupports the other in convenient time, like fruit that all comes not together, nor ends together; ſome teaching, and others obeying.

The next conſideration is, how to make the people ſubſiſt in the ſervice of God, prince, and country; for there muſt be a rational means to work by, ſeeing monarchy cannot be upheld and ſupported without people employ'd, and ſet to work in their ſeveral labours: and therefore, conſidering God has created man for the ſervice of him, his prince, and country, every one is bound to apply himſelf to the ſervice of them, and to prefer them before all private reſpects. Let me follow that maxim, as the meaneſt of many thouſands of other ſubjects, and offer my mite, as the firſt fruit of my harveſt; not like the divine, the ſoldier, the wiſe or the rich man, I ſpeak of, but with my poor talent God has endued me with, which is my experience, that could not have been compaſſed, if God had not given me a longer life than many others; if with that life he had not marvellouſly defended me from dangers of ememy, the ſword, water, and many other caſualties incident to mankind.

If with thoſe days and years he had not given me a deſire and means to obſerve, confer, and be inquiſitive, I had not been able to have preſented this my deſire to ſerve my king and country, but ſhould have gone as naked out of the world, as I came into it.

My meaning is, not to leave our fruitful ſoil untill'd, or ſeas unfrequented, our iſlands unpeopled, or ſeek remote and ſtrange countries diſinhabited, and uncivil *Indians* untamed, where nothing appears to us but earth, wood, and water, at our firſt arrival; for all other hopes muſt depend on our labours and coſtly expences, on the adventure of the ſea, on the honeſty of undertakers;

takers; and all theſe at laſt produce nothing but tobacco, a new-invented needleſs weed, as too much uſe and cuſtom makes it apparent.

In what I propound, I will not direct you to the eloquence of books to perſwade, to the inventing wits to entice, to the affecting traveller to encourage, nor to any man that with fair words may abuſe you; you ſhall know as much as I can ſay, in caſting a line and hook into the ſea. His majeſty doth inſtantly challenge his own; and by example of one line and net, you may conjecture by multiplication the profit that will ariſe by the work. You ſhall be made to know, that though you be born in an iſland ſeated in the ocean, frequented with inviſible fiſh, ſwimming from one ſhore to the other, yet your experience has not taught you the benefits and bleſſings ariſing from that fiſh.

I doubt not but to give you that light therein, that you ſhall confeſs your ſelves blinded, and be willing to blow from you the foul miſt that has been an impediment to your ſight; you ſhall be awakened from your drowſy ſleep, and rouze your ſelves to further this beſt buſineſs that was ever preſented to *England*, or king thereof, nay, I will be bold to ſay, to any ſtate in the world.

I will not except the diſcovery of the *Weſt Indies* by *Columbus*; an act of greateſt renown, of greateſt profit, and that has been of greateſt conſequence to the *Spaniſh* nation.

You will wonder, being born a ſubject of *England*, and caſting your eyes upon the gainful ſoil of the land, that you never conceived what the ſea afforded: I confeſs it were impoſſible for you to live in that ignorance, if it did not appear by the enſuing diſcourſe, how you, your country, and eſpecially the princes of theſe realms, have been abuſed, and the profit thereof concealed.

The Compariſon betwixt the Weſt-India *Trade and our Fiſhing.*

To make my compariſon good betwixt the trade of the *Weſt Indies* and our fiſhing, which of them yields moſt honour to their king, and moſt profit to their country, moſt danger and moſt labour to the ſubjects, I refer to my collected reaſons.

If men conſider the divine work of God, and the end of his working, it is marvellous to behold, that *America*, being a continent, and equal to all the reſt of the world in bigneſs, ſhould be concealed from the creation till one thouſand four hundred and odd years after the birth of Chriſt, and not ſo much as thought of, though ſome philoſophers ſeemed to rove at it.

And when it pleaſed his divine majeſty to caſt that bleſſing upon *Europe*, if we conſider the time he did it, and the occaſion why he did it, it will put us into admiration and acknowledgment of the power of Chriſt, againſt the opinion of *Jews* and *Turks*; for could he ſhew himſelf a more juſt and loving God, than in pouring upon *Chriſtendom* ſuch a bleſſing of wealth, at the time it was likely to be ſwallowed up by barbarous *Turks* and *Moors*, who were only withſtood by the wealth of the *Indies?*

We may hope the ſame God has the ſame happineſs in ſtore for this kingdom, to add immortal glory to his majeſty's goodneſs; or elſe it as impoſſible, in human reaſon, that our loving neighbours, the induſtrious *Hollanders*, ſhould for ſo many years enjoy this fiſhing, who, to their everlaſting honour and praiſe, have increaſed thereby more veſſels for the ſea than all *Europe* beſides can muſter.

The firſt diſcovery of the *Indies* gave no great hope of profit, till after a long, chargeable, and painful navigation, it was brought to perfection.

The fiſhing upon his majeſty's coaſt of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, needs no diſcovery; the experience of our neighbours having found it out and practis'd it, ſince the year 1307. to their unmeaſurable wealth, and our ſhame: and for the honour of him that firſt found out the ſecret of pickling of herrings, which was one *William Backalew* by name, there was a famous tomb in the iſland of *Beverlute* erected, yet to be ſeen, where he was buried.

The *Indies* ſend forth more gold, ſilver, and other merchandize, than all the *European* trades beſides.

The fiſhing produces more riches by its trade than the others do, as I will make appear when I come to compute the one with the other.

The wealth of the *Indies* is not brought from thence without great expence and hazard, conſidering the caſualties of the ſea, and the fear of enemies to intercept it.

The fiſhing is ſtill in view of us and our ſhores, our veſſels daily expected into our harbours, and others ready to eaſe them of their burthen, and to tranſport it into other countries not far remote, where they are in no danger of hurricanes, enemies, or other perils.

The inſurance in going and coming from the *Indies* may be valued at a great rate, which we ſhall have in our fiſhing, there being no fear or hazard in it.

The

The wealth of the *Indies* being ſurpriz'd by an enemy, is more prejudicial to the king of *Spain* than four times that wealth would profit him, his enemy being made ſtrong and rich, and he weakened and impoveriſhed by it.

No ſuch accident can prejudice us; for in the miſcarrying of our fiſhermen, we ſhall only loſe ſo many barks, ſalt, and nets, and no enemy enriched or fortified by it.

Inhabiting in the *Indies* cauſes a ſcarcity of natural *Spaniards*, whereby many times the king's affairs fall and periſh. The fiſhing employs all our looſe people, which abound in this kingdom, and makes them capable to ſerve their prince and country.

The *Indies* ſet to work four times more ſhips than all the reſt of the dominions of *Spain*, and add more ſtrength to them by ſea.

The fiſhing will maintain twenty veſſels to one of theirs, and *England* furniſh them with moſt of the materials belonging to them; whereas in *Spain* they are brought, in time of war, with great peril and danger of the enemy.

The *Indies* are far remote from *Spain* to be ſupply'd, if there happen changes in any part thereof; which other nations may take notice and advantage of.

The fiſhing is one body, governed by a company, that no enemy can annoy; and if queſtions ariſe betwixt parties and parties, they are ſpeedily to be determined without charge or detriment to either; whereas the others have their appeals to their courts of juſtice in *Spain* from the *Indies*.

The chief commodity of the *Indies* is bullion, hides, cocheneal, *&c.* Our only fiſh countervails the value of them all; and though for the preſent it affords no bullion in ſpecie, yet it draws the money coined out of that bullion.

The ſhips that trade to the *Indies* are great in burden, and make but one return or voyage in a year; and when they are careen'd, the water in *Spain* not riſing enough to ground them, it is done with far greater labour and charge than ours, that are brought on ground one tide, and hauled off another, ready for a new voyage, and never wanting freight.

But what I have obſerved is not to be effected with words, but works; not with talking, but doing and acting: for betwixt words and deeds there is great difference; words without effect are like water that drowns people, and does itſelf no good.

The property of a merchant is to have money in his purſe, and credit upon the *Exchange* to advance his trade.

All men in this work muſt become merchants, not only for themſelves, but for their prince and country; all are to reap profit by it, none pain or ſorrow, but the ſlothful, idle, and baſe people, who are like drones amongſt bees; for the purchaſe of ſloth is diſpraiſe.

There are three things neceſſary in every work; the man that works, the inſtrument to work with, and the matter. There is nothing required of the men in our work but labour and pains; the inſtruments to work with are ſhips of ſeveral kinds to be made and erected; and the matter to ſet on the work is money: All theſe concurring in one, will make it a work of fame, renown, ſtrength, riches, and all the good that God can beſtow on a nation and people. But if ſluggiſhneſs and careleſſneſs, or other miſtruſt of return of gain prevail, it being out of the element and breeding of gentlemen, and others that apply themſelves to the profit of the land, and not the ſea; and that they neglect the offer and propoſition following, we are worthy to be chaſtened with penury and want, and unworthy to enjoy the bleſſing of God, which he has poured on this land above all others he has been pleaſed to create.

What better light can we have for this work, than from our neareſt and intimateſt friends the *Hollanders?* who, by their long travels, their exceſſive pains, their ingenious inventions, their incomparable induſtry, and provident care, have exceeded all other nations in their adventures and commerce, and made all the world familiar with them in traffick; whereby we may juſtly attribute to them, what the *Chineſe* aſſumed to themſelves, That only they have two eyes, the *Europeans* but one, and all the reſt of the world none. How can this better appear than out of their labours and our fiſh only?

They have increaſed the number of veſſels; they have ſupplied the world with food, which otherwiſe would have found a ſcarcity; they have advanced trade ſo abundantly, that the wealth of ſubjects and the cuſtoms of princes have found the benefit of it; and laſtly, they have thus provided for themſelves, and all people of all ſorts, though they be impotent and lame, that want employment, or that are forced to ſeek work for their maintenance.

And becauſe their quantity of fiſh is not to be vended in their own provinces, but to be diſperſed in all parts of *Europe*, I will give you an account of it, as it has been carefully obſerved and taken out of the cuſtom-books beyond the ſeas.

The Quantity of Fiſh vended in other Countries.

In four towns within the *Sound*, *viz.* *Koningsberg*, *Melvin*, *Stetin*, and *Dantzick*, there is vended in a year betwixt thirty and forty thouſand laſt of herrings; which will amount to more than ſix hundred and twenty thouſand pounds; and we none.

Denmark, *Norway*, *Sweden*, *Liefland*, *Rie*, *Regel*, the *Narpe*, and other towns within the *Sound*, take off above ten thouſand laſts, worth one hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds.

The *Hollanders* ſend into *Ruſſia* above fifteen hundred laſts of herrings, ſold at twenty ſeven thouſand pounds; and we not above thirty or forty laſts.

Stode, *Hamburgh*, *Bremen*, *Embden*, and upon the river *Elbe*, in fiſh and herrings, above ſix thouſand laſts, ſold at one hundred thouſand pounds; and we none.

Cleveland, *Juliers*, up the river *Rhine*, *Frankfort*, *Cologne*, and over all *Germany*, in fiſh and herrings near twenty two thouſand laſts, amounting to four hundred and forty thouſand pounds; and we none.

Gelderland, *Artois*, *Hainhault*, *Brabant*, *Flanders*, and the archduke's countries, eight or nine thouſand laſts, ſold at eighteen pounds the laſt, amounts to one hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds; and we none.

At *Roan* in *Normandy*, five hundred laſts of herrings, ſold at ten thouſand pounds; and we not one hundred laſts; there commonly ſold for twenty, and ſometimes thirty pounds a laſt.

Beſides what they ſpend in *Holland*, and ſell there to other nations, the value of many hundred thouſand pounds.

Now having perfected the valuation of the *Hollanders* fiſh, caught on our ſeas, and vended into foreign countries, our ſhame will manifeſtly appear, that of ſo many thouſand laſts of fiſh, and ſo many hundred thouſand pounds in money made by them, we cannot give account of one hundred and fifty laſts taken and vended by us.

The *Hollanders* are no leſs to be commended, in the benefit they make of the return of their fiſh; for what commodity ſoever any country yields in lieu thereof, they tranſport in their own veſſels into *Holland*, where they have a continual ſtaple of all commodities brought out of the ſouth, from thence ſent into the north and the eaſt countries: the like they do from out of the ſouth into the north, their ſhips continually going and bringing inеſtimable profit, like a weaver's ſhuttle, he caſts from one hand to another, ever in action, till his gain appear in the cloth he makes. And if we compare *Holland*'s forecaſt with ours, the imputation of ſloth and negligence will lie heavieſt upon us, like him that beats the buſh for others to catch the birds: for *Ruſſia*, with our adventure, charge, and ſhipwreck, was firſt known to us, that for many years together, afforded great profit, by the uſual trade of eight or ten ſhips yearly.

About twenty years paſt, the *Hollanders* incroached upon us with two ſhips; and in continuance of time they brought us from ten to two or three, and themſelves to ſixty veſſels, or more, and lately to one hundred; the chiefeſt gain ariſing out of our fiſh, and other *Engliſh* commodities they fetch from us.

Newfoundland being an ancient patrimony of *England*, and we the firſt diſcoverers thereof, immediately after the finding out of the *Weſt Indies* by *Columbus*, has been ſince a great enriching to the weſtern parts, with the fiſh there yearly taken; and now the *Hollanders* of late have found the way thither, and ſent in the year 1629. and ever ſince, twelve or fourteen great ſhips, to buy the fiſh taken by his majeſty's ſubjects; whereby his majeſty does not only loſe his cuſtom in going out, if it be brought for *England*, but in the return of that commodity, which might amount to fourteen or fifteen thouſand pounds, if his Highneſs's ſubjects had the carriage of it.

To ſay no more of the *Hollanders* greateſt trade with *England*, there are three fiſhes of little note, and not regarded by us, which they make gain of themſelves: the firſt is lobſters; the greateſt part whereof that ſerves *London*, at the time of year, they bring from the furtheſt northern part of *England*; which is never practiſed by the *Engliſh*. The ſecond is, the great quantity of oyſters yearly tranſported by them into *Holland*, which cauſeth the decreaſe and dearneſs of oyſters among us. The third, is lampreys, out of the river of *Thames*, which they uſe for bait for cod in the north ſeas; and this is the cauſe of the ſcarcity and dearneſs of this fiſh in *London*.

The Hollanders *Navigation into the* Streights.

But the greateſt navigation of theirs, and of moſt importance to their ſtate, for maintenance of ſhips of burthen and ſtrength, is into the *Streights*, from the port of *Marſeilles*, along the coaſt as far as *Venice*. In this trade I will compute but ſixty ſhips of two hundred tons burthen each, having above as many more trading into *Spain*, *Portugal*, and the ſouth part of *France*, and all with our *Engliſh* fiſh, taken by his majeſty's ſubjects; as, namely, pilchards caught in *England* and *Ireland*, baccaloes of poor-john in *Newfoundland*, and red herrings taken and made at *Yarmouth*.

The

The *Hollanders* are almoſt abſolutely maſters of theſe trades; what by combination made with the merchants that deal in that kind of fiſh, and what through the cheapneſs of the freight in their veſſels; which makes them ſell the cheaper.

During theſe eighteen years laſt paſt they have ſo increaſed their navigation, whereas before they had not above two ſhips to five of ours within the *Streights*, within the ſaid eighteen years they are able to ſhew ten of theirs to one of ours, and merely by the trade of fiſh; for true it is, there is no commodity in the world of ſo great bulk and ſmall value, or that can ſet ſo many ſhips of burthen to work.

As for example: A mean man may freight his ſhip of two hundred and fifty tons with fiſh, that will not coſt above one thouſand ſix hundred pounds, that forty merchants cannot do, of better and richer commodities: I ſpeak not upon ſurmiſe, but what is approved by divers merchants; but eſpecially one of good account, whoſe name I muſt conceal, unleſs authorized by him to publiſh it, who computed ſixty ſhips of this ſort of fiſh aforeſaid; of the which there is not returned one penny profit into *England*, where they gather the ſweet dew of their food.

The principal work I aim at, is how to undertake the *Hollanders* with our own weapons, and how to equal them with pinks, buſſes, and other veſſels, till we be made partners with them in their fiſhing; not by hoſtility, or uncivil uſage, nor to deprive them by his majeſty's prerogative, which the law of nations allows us; or out of envy to their labours; or to revenge diſcourteſies, only we will ſeek to do what nature dictates, (*viz.*) to enjoy and make uſe of our own, by the countenance of our bleſſed king, that in juſtice gives all people their right and due.

Holland is inriched by the ſixty ſhips aforeſaid, which I have computed, by the carriage of red herrings, as I will after demonſtrate, ſix hundred twenty one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty pounds, in their return out of the *Streights*.

The Hollanders *fiſhing in their Pinks, and Buſſes, that the* Engliſh *may not only equal, but out-do them in it; and the great Benefit it will be to the Nation demonſtrated.*

There needs no repetition of any former relation; for truth has ſpoke it, which is ſo glorious of herſelf, that it needs no ſhade to give it better gloſs: in what follows I will demonſtrate by the particular proceedings of the *Hollanders*, in their pinks and buſſes, what certain gain they yearly raiſe out of them; and when experience, the mother of knowledge, ſhall make it apparent to you, I hope you will remember what you are, and how eaſily you may make your ſelves and country by it.

I confeſs this fiſhing is a buſineſs I have taken into conſideration. My lord of *Northampton*, if he were now living, was able to witneſs how much it was ſolicited and deſired by me, and no leſs wiſhed and deſired by his lordſhip. I cauſed one *Tobias Gentleman*, a mariner by profeſſion, but indeed a man of better parts than ordinary ſeamen, and much practiſed in their northern fiſhing, to dedicate a book to his lordſhip, which gave particular notice of the *Hollanders* proceedings in their pinks and buſſes, and what we ſhall do in the imitation of them.

But by the death of my lord, it reſted unthought on by me, till the late duke of *Richmond* revived it, and importuned me once more to it. His death in the like manner made it die, till his majeſty, of late, out of his princely care for the good of his loving ſubjects, for the renown of his kingdoms, and deſire of the unity and equal benefit of his two realms of *England* and *Scotland*, took more than an ordinary care how to effect it, well beſeeming ſo bleſſed and benign a prince: and now I will deſcend to the particulars of the *Hollanders* buſſes, as well in their taking herrings, as cod, and ling, and the ſeaſons of the year for both.

From the *Texel* in *Holland* to *Braſound* in *Shetland*, an iſland belonging to his majeſty's dominions of *Scotland*, is two hundred thirty and odd leagues, whither there reſort the 22d or 23d of *June* well-nigh two thouſand fiſhing veſſels. The twenty fourth they put to ſea, being prohibited till that day, and a penalty upon the breaker thereof, holding the herrings till then unſeaſonable to ſalt for their fatneſs.

Every one of theſe veſſels that day directs its courſe to find out the ſhoal of herrings, like a hound that purſues the head of a deer in hunting. When they have laden their buſſes, which is ſooner or later, as they find the ſhoal of herrings, they preſently return home for *Holland*, and leave their herrings aſhore to be there repacked, and from thence immediately to be ſent into the *Sound*, where they receive them for a great dainty.

The buſſes having thus disburthened themſelves in *Holland*, once more furniſhed with victuals, caſk, and ſalt, they repair to ſea to look out the ſhoal they had formerly left; and then finding them, and filling them once again, they do as they did before, return to *Holland*.

Nor

Nor thus ceaſing, the third time they repair to the ſhoal, as aforeſaid; and in their three fiſhings, computing with the leaſt, they take to the number of one hundred laſts of herrings, which being valued at ten pound the laſt, which is no more than eighteen ſhillings a barrel, will amount to one thouſand pound ſterling each ſhip.

Many times this fiſhing fleet is attended with certain veſſels called yawgers, which carry ſalt, cask, and victuals, to truck with the buſſes for their herrings, and carry them directly into the *Sound*, without returning into *Holland*; for it is a matter of great conſequence and gain, to bring the firſt herrings into the *Sound*; for there they are eſteemed as partridges with us, at their firſt coming: but now of late years the *Hollanders* are prohibited by the ſtate carrying or trucking away their herrings, till they firſt land them in *Holland*; which will prove the more commodious to us.

I will ſet down the rate of a buſs new from the ſtocks, with the price of her nets, tackling, ſalt, victuals, cask, mens wages, and all other charges whatſoever belonging to her; and will rate the profit gained by her four months fiſhing, which is likely to continue twenty years, being the ordinary life of a buſs.

Imprimis. A buſs, with her furniture and tackling, will coſt 500 *l.*
Item. One hundred laſts of cask, at 18 *s.* the laſt, 90 *l.*
Item. For ſalt, thirty weigh, at 3 *l.* 10 *s.* the weigh, 105 *l.*
Item. For beer for the men four months, a gallon a day. 16 *l.*
Item. For bread, after the ſame proportion, 12 *l.*
Item. For butter, cheeſe, billets, 20 *l.*
Item. For mens wages for four months 88 *l.*

It is to be conſidered, that mens wages are not to be paid till the voyage be ended; ſo that the preſent diſburſement is but 723 *l.*

Rating the hundred laſt of herrings but at 1000 *l.* there is gotten clear in four months, 500 *l.* in a buſs, and 165 *l.* in money; ſo the the total ſum as appears gotten is 665 *l.*

Here plainly appears, that there is gotten ſix hundred and ſixty five pounds in one ſummer; whereof, if you deduct one hundred pound for the wear of the buſs, and the reparation of her nets againſt the next ſummer, yet ſtill there remains five hundred and forty five pound, for clear gain by one buſs in four months; a profit exceeding all other trades.

It is to be noted, that I have proportioned in this computation a buſs of thirty five laſt, that is to ſay, ſeventy ton; but I conſider with myſelf, that we will make a greater gain with a buſs of twenty laſt, which is but forty ton, than the *Hollanders* do with their ſeventy ton, in reſpect of the nearneſs of our harbours to put in upon all occaſions; and after the proportion of our buſſes, we muſt leſſen ſo much out of the ſeven hundred and forty five pounds, which is the firſt diſburſement, as aforeſaid.

Now having ſhewn you the charge of the buſſes, I will ſhew you the charge of a pink of twenty laſt, that is forty ton.

A pink being built new, and all things new to her, will not coſt two hundred and ſixty pound, with her lines, hooks, and other fiſhing appurtenances.

	l.
Imprimis. A pink	260
Item. Twenty laſt of barrels	18
Item. Five weigh of ſalt	18
Item. Beer, cask, bread, and petty-talley	12
Item. For mens wages for two months	20
Sum is	328

Twenty laſts of barrel cod, at fifteen pound the laſt, amounts to three hundred pounds; and deducting ſixty eight pounds ten ſhillings, for the fitting her to ſea, there remains two hundred and thirty two pounds ten ſhillings clear gain, by one pink in two months, rating the cod and ling, but as they are ſold in *England*; but being tranſported, commonly they will double their price.

I preſent you not with toys to pleaſe children, or with ſhadows of untruths; for I know truth to be ſo noble of itſelf, that it makes him honourable that pronounces it; and that an honeſt man will rather bear witneſs againſt friendſhip than truth. I have made it appear with what facility the *Hollanders* go through with the golden mine of theirs, which they ſo term in their proclamation extant: I make proof their buſſes and pinks are built to take fiſh; that they fill themſelves thrice a ſummer with fiſh; that this fiſh is vended and eſteemed as a precious food in all the parts of *Europe*; and that the return thereof gives them means to live and breath; without which they could not.

It is manifeſt that fiſh has brought them to a great ſtrength both by land and ſea, and fame withal, in maintaining their inteſtine war againſt ſo great and potent an enemy as the king of *Spain*.

And

And if all theſe benefits appear in them, and nothing but ſhame and ſcorn in us, let us enter into the cauſe thereof, and ſeek to amend it; let us labour to follow their example, which is better than a ſchoolmaſter to teach us. Nothing is our bane but idleneſs, which ingenders ignorance, and ignorance error; all which we may be taxed with: for to a ſlothful man nothing is ſo eaſy, but it will prove difficult, if it be not done willingly.

There are but two things required in this work; that is to ſay, a will to undertake it, and money to go through with it: which being found, we will place charity to begin at home with ourſelves, before we yield it to our neighbours; and then this buſineſs will appear to be effected with more benefit, more ſtrength, more renown, more happineſs, and leſs expence, than *Hollanders* have or can go through withal. Time is the moſt precious experience; and you ſhall find that time will cure our careleſneſs paſt, that reaſon could not hitherto do.

The inſtruments by which the *Hollanders* work, are their veſſels of ſeveral kinds, as I have declared, not produced out of their own country; for it yields nothing to further it, but their own pains and labour.

Their wood, timber, and planks to build ſhips, they fetch out of divers other places; and yet are theſe no more available to undertake their fiſhing and navigation, than weapons are without hands to fight. Their iron, hemp, cordage, barrel-boards, bread, and malt, they are beholding for to ſeveral countries; and if at any time out of diſpleaſure they be prohibited the tranſportation, they are to ſeek a new occupation, for the ſtate fails.

Comparing their caſualties and inconveniencies with ours, you ſhall diſcern the advantage and benefit God has given us, in reſpect of them; for all the materials formerly repeated, that go to their ſhipping, *England* yields moſt of them, or in little time the earth will be made to produce them in abundance; ſo that we ſhall not need to ſtand upon the courteſy of our neighbours, or to venture the hazard of the ſea in fetching them.

Whereas all manner of people, of what degree ſoever in *Holland*, have commonly a ſhare, according to their abilities, in this fiſhing; and that the only exception amongſt ourſelves, is the want of money to undertake it, you ſhall underſtand how God and nature have provided for us; for I will apparently anſwer the objection of money, and caſt it upon the ſluggiſhneſs and ill diſpoſition of our people, who if they will take away the cauſe of this imputation they ſhall take away the offence due to it, and by which we are ſcandaliz'd.

In the objection of lack of money to ſet on foot this work, it would ſeem ridiculous to ſtrangers that behold the wealth and glory of this kingdom, with the ſumptuous buildings, the coſtly inſide of houſes, the maſs of plate to deck them, the daily hoſpitality and number of ſervants to honour their maſters, and their charitable alms diſtributed out of their ſuperfluities. And to deſcend to people in particular, if they behold the bravery of apparel vainly ſpent, the rich and curious jewels to adorn their bodies, and the needleſs expences yearly waſted, they would conclude, that it were not want, but will that muſt be our impediment.

But leaving theſe obſervations, let me tell you, there is never a lord, knight, gentleman, or yeoman, of any account in *England*, but for want of money is able to furniſh either timber, iron, wheat, malt, beef, pork, bacon, peaſe, butter, cheeſe, or home-ſpun cloth out of the wooll.

All which ſhall be taken from them at an ordinary rate, and the value allow'd them in adventure.

No man that has or hires land, but may as well plant for hemp, to make lines, nets, and cordage, ſeeing the laws of the kingdom command it, as any other grain; which hemp may be ſpun by their neighbours and tennants, and ſo all people ſet on work.

Then what need have we of money, but for the building of veſſels? for you ſee with what eaſe every thing elſe is compaſſed.

Before theſe buſſes ſhall direct their courſe to *Shetland*, to be there welcomed by the *Hollanders* in their own houſes, (a thing not uſual for ſtrangers to entertain their true inhabitants,) I will firſt view all harbours and creeks, capable for buſſes in his majeſty's kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, and there lay ſuch proviſions for the benefit of our fiſhing, that it ſhall appear, if the *Hollanders* have uſually made a thouſand pounds in four months by their three fiſhings, we ſhall be able to exceed them in the courſe following;

I will ſuppoſe our buſſes to be at *Braſound* in *Shetland*, ready the 24th of *June* to put to ſea, in purſuit and chaſe of the herring-ſhoals. I will ſuppoſe likewiſe, that the one and the other have fiſhed their veſſels full, the *Hollanders* ready in their way to *Holland*, there to unlade and return again, as I have ſaid before. If you compute the diſtance and loſs of time in the four hundred leagues, running backward and forward, then ſhall you find great difference of gain betwixt us and them;

for we ſhall not need to run many leagues, nor perhaps not ten, till we make our repair into the next harbour, where proviſion ſhall be made of victuals, ſalt, and casks; and our buſſes putting the herrings aſhore to be repacked again, with all ſpeed they haſten to ſea in purſuit of the ſhoal; and the herrings being repacked, are immediately ſent to the *Sound* to take their firſt market: all which will be effected before the *Hollanders* can be at home with their herrings; and after they are arrived in *Holland*, they are to ſail very nigh as far to the *Sound*, as we ſhall be from *England* or *Scotland*. There needs no argument to prove the truth thereof, ſeeing a ſea-card or plot will demonſtrate it.

But I may be anſwer'd, that the yawgers, formerly ſpoken of, which truck with the buſſes for herrings, will ſooner be at the *Sound* than we, and make a great benefit by the firſt ſale of their fiſh.

But to give you ſatisfaction herein, I pray you conceive our buſſes are in harbour within the ſpace of three hours after they have fiſhed, and not ſubject to foul weather to hurt them. They ſhall have a convenience to mend and dry their nets; they are to unlade their herrings, and to lade their ſalt, cask, and victuals, without interruption, and to ſea again ſpeedily: whereas the yawgers muſt watch their time for fair weather, and a ſmooth ſea, to exchange their ſalt, victuals, and cask, for herrings.

They muſt watch a fit time and weather to mend any defects in their nets, buſſes, or in drying them: thus you may ſee, all caſualties conſidered, our arrival at the *Sound* before them is more certain, for the reaſons before expreſſed.

But there was never any buſineſs ſo eaſy, but it either found objection, or oppoſition, till made plain and apparent, as well to the doubters, as the beholders; for moſt men are guided by opinion, rather than by judgment: and ſo fares it with this hopeful and unanſwerable work, where ſome frame ſuppoſed reaſons and impediments; but time will determine their doubts, and declare their miſtakes.

There are three arguments, but rather errors, that poſſeſs people's tongues with the difficulty of our fiſhing; which I do not mean to convince with bare words, but with infallible truths; for I had rather offend in telling truth, than pleaſe by feigning falſhoods.

The firſt objection is, The taking our fiſh with greater charge than the *Hollanders*, by means whereof they will over-work us.

The ſecond, That they would do no leſs in the vent and ſale thereof, by their long practice in that trade.

The third is, The fear of fraud and deceit amongſt ourſelves, after the example of the *Eaſt Indies*, *Virginia*, and other companies lately erected.

Truth has no need of a ghoſtly father to abſolve her; reaſon ſhall make her ſpeak to the firſt objection in taking our fiſh, with the compariſon of *Holland*.

You muſt know that the charges belonging to a fiſhing veſſel, is her hull, tackling, nets, ſalt, casks, victuals, the number of men, and their wages.

Butter and cheeſe excepted, there is none of the reſt of the materials growing in *Holland*, and moſt of them afforded in *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*; by reaſon whereof *England* may yield them better cheap than *Holland*.

The ſeveral victuals carried to ſea, are fleſh, fiſh, bread, beer, butter, cheeſe, and peaſe: for fiſh we may value at an equal rate, for it coſts neither of us more than the taking; and as fleſh is more chargeable than the reſt, it will coſt us nothing; for it is to be conſidered that a fat beef, in the iſland of *Hybrides* is ſold for leſs than twenty ſhillings, the hide and tallow whereof in *England* will give ten ſhillings, the other ten will be raiſed in carrying wine, ſtrong waters, and other commodities deſired by the people of the country; for every ten ſhillings ſo employ'd doubles the adventure; as, namely, *Aqua Vitæ*, ten ſhillings beſtowed in *England*, will yield more gain than will purchaſe the carcaſs of a cow.

For bread, beer, butter, cheeſe, and peaſe, *England* affords them better cheap than *Holland*: firſt, in reſpect they grow in *England* in greater plenty than in *Holland*: ſecondly, they all pay exciſe in *Holland*, and not in *England*: and, thirdly, no man but knows the difference of feeding betwixt the *Hollanders* and the *Engliſh*; and that a *Hollander* eats half as much again as one of our *Engliſh* at ſea.

Both the one and the other carries an equal proportion of men, and their wages are upon an even rate; but herein we ſhall over-work them by the reaſons following:

In a buſs of fifteen or ſixteen men, the meaneſt amongſt the *Hollanders* has twenty ſhillings a month; and we will eaſe the charge of wages eight in ſixteen in our fiſhing about the *Lewes*, *viz.* we will carry but eight men to the place of fiſhing, where we will hire eight more for leſs than half the wages we give the reſt; and herein ſhall we ſave forty eight pound a year in every buſs, by means whereof we ſhall go cheaper than the *Hollanders* nine thouſand ſix hundred pound in our two hundred buſſes. And moreover, in the wages and victuals of the men, we ſhall ſave ſo much as will come to ſixteen hundred pound.

Whereas

Whereas it is conceived that the *Hollanders* will tranſport their fiſh at a leſs charge than we, it will appear otherwiſe; for the yawgers that attend ſome of their buſſes, to carry their herrings to their firſt market, as I have ſaid, thoſe herrings of theirs are not repacked, but allowed more than two barrels to each laſt, to make up their tale; by means whereof they pay two barrels freight in every laſt of herrings, more than we that have the ſhore near us to repack them; which in two hundred buſſes will amount to five thouſand pounds more gain to us than to the *Hollanders*.

Whereas every fiſhing veſſel in *Holland* contributes to twenty or thirty ſhips of war to defend them from the *Dunkirkers*, our peace eaſes us of that expence. And this ſhall ſuffice in anſwer to the compariſon betwixt the *Hollanders* and us, in taking their fiſh.

And to the ſecond point, to prove that we ſhall vend our fiſh at as eaſy a rate as the *Hollanders*, (thus I ſay,) That your experience muſt teach you, that in the *Sound*, where the greateſt quantity of herrings is uttered, as I have before ſhewed, neceſſity will compel them to take them off; for it is not their affection to the *Hollanders* above us that will make them refuſe ours to accept of theirs; and then conſequently ours will be better ſold, in that we ſhall ſerve the market before them, by the means and reaſons aforeſaid.

And if we go further from home, as to *Spain* or the *Streights*, you muſt underſtand that the *Hollanders* ſhips go with fewer men than ours, occaſioned by the ſlight building and tackling of their ſhips, in compariſon of us: and as there is twenty or forty men difference in the ſailing of them, the like difference there is in the ſtrength of them: wherefore the merchant had better, for the ſafety of his goods, give fifty ſhillings freight to us, than thirty ſhillings to the *Hollanders*; his goods ſhall be better defended againſt pirates by our forty men, than the others twenty.

The *Engliſh* ſhips will double a lee-ſhore, when the others will be forced in foul weather upon the rocks; the cables and anchors of the *Engliſh* will hold, when the others will be forced to come home and break; the *Engliſh* will be able to put out at ſea, when the others will take in ſail; the *Engliſh*, upon ſome accidents, may come on ground, and by their ſtrength come off again without hurt, when the others will periſh; the *Engliſh* go deep in water, which makes them wholſome in the ſea, and carry the merchants goods with little loſs; the *Hollanders* are labourſome and dangerous in a ſtorm, which cauſes great leakage in oil, wine, and ſuch commodities, to the great annoyance of the merchant; yea, oftentimes more than the difference of the freight.

As the *Engliſh* go in greater ſecurity than the *Hollanders*, ſo ſhall the merchants ſave by not inſuring the value of difference in freight; which I could compute and prove, but that it is too tedious.

And moreover, if the *Engliſh* have the abſolute carriage of the fiſh taken by them, and the laws of the realm warrant it, our ſhips ſhall never want imployment, nor have cauſe to look out for freights; by reaſon whereof a ſhip of two hundred tons may go cheaper by two hundred pounds than uſually they have done. And thus much for our foreign trades.

Now let us return to the vending our fiſh in the kingdoms of *England* and *Wales*.

If the late proclamation for the obſerving of fiſh days be duly kept, it will be a means to vend our fiſh, and incourage others to venture in the fiſhing; ſo as there be a prohibition, as there is in *Holland*, that no fiſh be brought into any of his majeſty's kingdoms but by his own ſubjects.

Neither will it ſeem a thing unreaſonable to enjoin every yeoman and farmer within the kingdom to take a barrel of fiſh for their own ſpending, conſidering they ſave the value thereof in other victuals; and that it is no more than the fiſhermen will do to them, to take off their wheat, malt, butter and cheeſe, for their food at ſea. The farmer by this means ſhall never be unprovided of fiſh, to obſerve the days commanded by his majeſty, without ſending to the market, as otherwiſe they would be compelled to do.

The farmer will find by experience that it is as cheap a food as any other they can feed upon, and gives a better delight to the taſte, conſidering the ſeveral ways in dreſſing it.

The labouring man who works with the farmer takes of him his butter and cheeſe; for every poor man's caſe is not to keep a cow; and ſuch labourers will be as willing to take fiſh from the farmer as any other victuals, if he be willing to ſpare it.

There are few farmers but will ſpend the value of a barrel of fiſh yearly; and he that does ſo ſhall ſave twenty in the hundred by buying the quantity of a barrel together, rather than by retail.

And becauſe the country ſhall be better ſerved with fiſh and other commodities than they have been, we will make ſeveral ſtaples of ſalt, coals, and other merchandize deſired by the country, where boats may have paſſage up the rivers not uſed heretofore;

as

as namely, *Middleſex*, part of *Hertfordſhire*, *Surrey*, *Buckinghamſhire*, and *Oxfordſhire*, may be ſerved by the river of *Thames*.

Eſſex may ſerve itſelf, part of *Hertfordſhire*, and part of *Suffolk*.

Norfolk will ſerve *Cambridgeſhire*, part of *Suffolk*, *Bedfordſhire*, *Huntingtonſhire*, *Northamptonſhire*, and a ſtaple there made will ſerve *Warwickſhire*; for from thence go their empty carts to fetch coals, which may furniſh the ſhire with little charge.

Lincolnſhire will furniſh itſelf, *Nottinghamſhire*, part of *Rutlandſhire*, and *Derbyſhire* by the *Trent*; *Cumberland* and *Weſtmoreland*, will furniſh themſelves by the eaſt and weſt ſea.

We will leap over the land to the weſtward, as *Cheſhire* and *Lancaſhire*, which will furniſh themſelves, part of *Shropſhire*, *Worceſterſhire*, *Staffordſhire*, and the north part of *Wales*.

That ſide of the ſea will furniſh *Wales* till you come to *Severn*.

The north ſide thereof will furniſh *Pembrokeſhire*, *Carmarthenſhire*, *Glamorganſhire*, and *Monmouthſhire*, and the ſouth part thereof will ſerve the north ſide of *Cornwal*, *Devon*, and *Somerſet*; and up the river of *Severn* will ſerve *Gloceſterſhire*, *Herefordſhire*, part of *Shropſhire*, *Worceſterſhire*, and *Wiltſhire*.

The ſouth ſea of *England* will furniſh *Cornwal*, *Devonſhire*, *Somerſetſhire*, *Dorſetſhire*, *Hampſhire*, and part of *Wiltſhire*, *Suſſex*, *Kent*, and part of *Surrey*.

Thus is *England* and *Wales* compaſſed, and a conſideration to be had for the meeteſt place to erect our ſtaples, to utter the commodities brought them, and to receive from them.

If at any time corn fails the countries, we will hereafter ſupply them at a reaſonable rate with our trade to *Dantzick* with herrings: if plenty make it warrantable to tranſport by the ſtatute, we will take it off from them, ſo as they ſhall have no juſt cauſe to complain either of dearth or abundance.

We will provide that no rogues or vagabonds ſhall be to them annoyance, or the poor of the pariſh charge them; for all ſuch people ſhall be ſet to work by us: then will the contributions to the houſe of correction ceaſe, which will be a more eaſe to the pariſhioners, than the value of many a barrel of herrings which they ſhall take off from us.

When our ſtaples ſhall be erected in the country as aforeſaid, out of them we will furniſh every pariſh within the kingdom with hemp by weight, to ſet the people to work, and to receive it again by weight, allowing every one ſuch a rate for their work, that they may live well thereby. No girl nor boy of nine years of age, no man nor woman, how lame of their legs ſoever, but ſhall be able to get their livings; no perſon ſo blind, but may live without alms.

For beſides the making of nets, and ſuch work as belongs to it, we will ſet up a trade of making of cables, and all manner of ropes, as well to vend abroad, as furniſh the kingdom at home; as alſo pole-davies for ſails, and not be beholding to *France* for them.

All theſe reaſons conſidered, it is apparent, that the farmers and people of the inward country, who hitherto have not taſted of theſe happineſſes, and whoſe paſſages by water have not been frequented or known, ſhall reap as great a commodity and profit by this fiſhing, as our ſelves; and have no more reaſon therefore to refuſe the taking of our herrings in the manner aforeſaid, than we have to take off the commodities by which they live. And this ſhall ſuffice for the ſecond point of vending our fiſh.

Theſe ſix ſeveral trades following we will erect in all parts of *England*, not hitherto practiſed but in ſome places near the ſea ſide:

Hempſters,	*Rope-makers*,
Spinſters,	*Weavers of Pole-Davies*, and
Carders,	*Net-makers*.

Beſides the increaſe of coopers, ſmiths, ſhipwrights, caulkers, ſawyers, ſailors, fiſhermen, basket-makers, ſail-makers, labourers, and many other trades in great abundance.

In anſwer to the third allegation of couſenage and deceits amongſt ourſelves, by example of the *Eaſt Indies*, *Virginia*, and other trades, I cannot ſay whether they deſerve the imputation of the fraud that is caſt upon them, or no; for report is like an echo, heard, but no man knows where: but to give ſatisfaction as well in the managing our trade, as that truth ſpeaks it, no deceit can creep in at it, as that which follows ſhall declare: It is not intended (as I conceive) that a ſelect company ſhall have the diſpoſing of this fiſhing, as the other has, or to receive, diſburſe, or imploy the moneys raiſed by the adventurers, or to direct and order things at their pleaſure; but contrarywiſe, for example, whoſoever ſhall be a member in it, ſhall have his choice what to adventure, with whom to adventure, and the manner how to adventure, without controulment of any other: as this, If he undertake for a buſs or a ſhip, it ſhall be in his choice to accept of a partner, two, three, four, or more.

And

And after the value of their adventure, to ereſt ſo many ſhips as it ſhall pleaſe themſelves to nominate, and appoint ſuch perſons for the ordering of it as they ſhall make choice of; ſo that if deceit appear, it will be among themſelves, for no body elſe ſhall meddle in their adventure.

But becauſe in all commonwealths there muſt be a head to govern and execute juſtice, to which the reſt of the body muſt ſubmit, it is convenient that the ſupreme commiſſion and authority be given to ſome of the lords of his majeſty's honourable privy council, and other perſons of quality to be choſen, as well in the kingdom of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, as in *England*, to ſettle a form of government, with a judge to rule, and to provide for all miſchiefs and inconveniencies that may happen betwixt man and man, and prevent the abuſes and queſtions that may ariſe betwixt merchants, mariners, owners of ſhips, ſalters, coopers, and others whom it may concern: but theſe commiſſioners are in no wiſe to handle or meddle with the parties in their adventures, or with their ſtocks of money, or with the employment of it.

Farthermore, to ſtop the mouths of ſuch ſuſpicious conceits of fraud, you ſhall find it is not in the wit of man to overreach them, for the reaſons following: The quantity of fiſh that a buſs takes cannot be concealed; for of neceſſity ſhe muſt repair to the ports of *England* or *Scotland*, where the cuſtomers enter every barrel of fiſh in their books, and none can be tranſported without a cocket: beſides the number of cask they pay for, they muſt look to have them filled, and likewiſe the quantity of ſalt bought, to have it employ'd.

The price, as well of thoſe that are vended at home as tranſported abroad, is eaſily known; the uſual freight of ſhips and the factorage is ſoon gueſſed at, and therefore no means left for deceit to enter in at.

Now to return once more to the fiſhing, where we left the buſſes for that ſummer, and provide them againſt the middle of *November*, to repair to the iſland of *Lewes*, where, till the beginning of *February*, they ſhall take the principal herrings of all others in loughs and harbours, as I have formerly declared.

Which being done, about the firſt of *March* they depart from thence to the iſland of *Rona*, betwixt fifteen and ſixteen leagues from *Lewes*, from whence there runs a bank of one hundred miles in length, and as far as *Tillbead* in *Ireland*; which bank affords the beſt quantity of cod and ling of any part of the ſeas, and one hundred and odd years not uſed.

From the 1ſt of *March*, as I have ſaid, to the 20th of *June*, is the time I have aſſigned to repair to *Braſound* in *Shetland*; in which ſpace I make account they will fill their veſſels twice or thrice with cod and ling, and leave them in the iſland of *Lewes*, there to be fetched by other ſhips that ſhall bring ſalt, and all other kind of neceſſaries which ſhall be fitting.

The 20th of *June* approaching, the buſſes are to repair to *Braſound*, as I have ſaid before; from whence they muſt proſecute their fiſhing of herrings, as in the former year, till their arrival at *Yarmouth*. If then they pleaſe to take an account of their year ſpent, it will appear that one buſs employ'd by us, as I have projected it, will be of much more value than to the *Hollanders*, and be the way to teach us how his majeſty's dominions ſhall flouriſh, not for a while, but for ever.

At *Yarmouth* we may account the goodneſs of the herrings ſpent; for betwixt *Winterton* and *Orfordneſs* they uſe to ſpawn, and are called by the *Hollanders* the ropeſick herrings, which they forbear to take.

The nature of the young herring, after it is ſpawn'd, is to ſeek the comfort of the freſh water, and put themſelves into the mouth of the *Thames*, or amongſt the ſands, where the water is not altogether ſo brackiſh; but like poor ſilly creatures they are here entrapped by the ſtale nets that uſe to take the ſprats; but for one ſprat they take they catch one hundred of theſe young herrings, and bring them to *Billingſgate*, where they ſell them not for above two-pence or three-pence a peck; which if let alone, would by *Midſummer* following grow to be a perfect and big herring, worth twenty-five or thirty ſhillings a barrel. This miſchief muſt be prevented, and the fiſhermen enjoin'd not to go to the weſtward of *Orfordneſs* to take ſprats.

From *Orfordneſs* the herrings direct their courſe to the *North Foreland* in *Kent*, where they furniſh both the *Engliſh* and *French* ſhores with ſo many as are taken by both nations, though they be both ſhotten, and of the worſt kind.

Their abiding hereabouts is according to the winds; if it hang ſoutherly or weſterly, they remain the longer; but if eaſterly, they are taken, as it were, with the wind in the poop, which carries them the length of our channel, till they arrive at the *Lands-end* in *Cornwall*, from whence they divide themſelves like a fleet of ſhips that ſhould be directed by a general: ſome go through *St. George*'s channel, betwixt *England* and *Ireland*; others to the weſtward of *Ireland*, till they arrive at the iſlands of *Hybrides* or *Lewes*, the place of rendezvous; and we may ſuppoſe they are at home, by the ſtrength and goodneſs they find in that place; for though they run the length of

our channel lean and ſick, yet as ſoon as they repair to thoſe iſlands, they become the largeſt, the faireſt, and the beſt herrings in the world; and here they are taken in loughs and harbours, as I have ſaid, and valued at forty ſhillings the laſt above others.

Here I will leave them taking their reſt, and ſhew another benefit we ſhall receive upon the ſhoals of *Shetland*, *Orkney*, and the *Hybrides*, which the *Hollanders* have not, nor cannot make uſe of, in reſpect they are not ſubjects of his majeſty.

And becauſe I have purſued the herrings till I left them at the iſland of *Lewes*, I will begin with thoſe iſlands, and truly ſay, they are placed for the benefit of fiſhing above all places in the world.

The condition and ſituation of thoſe iſlands I refer to the map, that will give you light of their ſeat, their altitude, and their neighbourhood with *Scotland* and *Ireland*; but the nature and diſpoſition of the people you ſhall receive from me, who have ſeen them, and can beſt ſpeak of them.

Of many hundred iſlands belonging to this kingdom of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, I may ſay, thoſe of *Lewes* exceed the reſt in fertility of ſoil; it yields, with the labour of people (which they are not guilty of) all manner of grain, cattle, fiſh, and fowl; and although their fire be not of wood or coals, which we eſteem the beſt fewel, yet it hath plenty of peat and turf, that they have little cauſe to fear cold.

There is an old ſaying, which may be well applied to thoſe iſlands, and the inhabitants of them, That they have a good land, and are ill people; for, to ſpeak the truth, the chriſtian world cannot ſhew a more barbarous, more bloody, and more untamed generation. But his majeſty being lately informed of their breeding, and uncivil living, is graciouſly pleaſed to reduce them to the knowledge of God, and the acknowledgment of him, which hitherto they are ignorant in.

This being done, and the iſlands being furniſhed as is intended, I will make it appear, that the ſeas about them, and the loughs and harbours within them, will yield more commodity to the ſubjects of his majeſty's three kingdoms, than any other trades whatſoever, either near home, or far abroad.

Now will I ſtand over for the iſlands of *Orkney* and *Shetland*, which have no need of other deſcription, but that it is pity ſo good and civil people ſhould inhabit no better a country: we may ſay the contrary of them that we ſaid of the iſland of *Lewes*, that it was a good land, but evil people; theſe are good people, but poſſeſs an evil ſoil.

The way to relieve them, is humbly to intreat his majeſty to pleaſe to accept of his revenue in *Orkney* and *Shetland* in fiſh, to encourage the people of thoſe iſlands to undertake and practiſe the uſe of fiſhing, which, through poverty and the want of trade, they are not now able to go through with.

Beſides the rent to his majeſty in fiſh, whatſoever fiſh they ſhall take by their own labours we will take off from them, and ſupply them with ſalt, nets, hooks, boats, and what elſe they ſhall ſtand in need of; by means whereof, every man in thoſe iſlands ſhall be able to ſubſiſt and maintain himſelf, that now knows not how to get his living, but is brought up in ſloth and idleneſs.

What is requiſite for the Planting of the Iſland of Lewes, *and other Iſlands adjacent.*

1. It is fit his majeſty call in the grant lately made by the earl of *Seaford* to the *Hollanders*, for inhabiting of the ſaid iſlands, who take them purpoſely to erect a fiſhing upon that coaſt, whereby to defeat his majeſty's ſubjects of that benefit.

2. That his majeſty grant liberty and privileges to his ſubjects of *England* and *Scotland*, there to erect and inhabit towns, villages, ſtorehouſes, and all manner of manufactures and trades; that hereafter we ſhall not need to ſupply thoſe iſlands, but find all things eſtabliſhed to our hands, as in all other places of *Europe* where trades are upheld and maintained.

3. That his majeſty inſtitute a governor there, to be reſident for the ſpace of three years, and not exceed that time, leſt in longer continuance abuſes creep in through the avarice of governors.

4. That in every iſland there be erected one principal town above the reſt, and a citadel in it, to keep the people in obedience; for the inhabitants of thoſe iſlands are naturally inclined to incivility, treachery, and liberty, which are next neighbours to rebellion.

5. That every child be taught the *Engliſh* or *Scotch* language, and that their education be according to their abilities of body and diſpoſition of mind, or as the eſtates of their parents are able to maintain them, ſome in learning, ſome in manuring and husbanding of grounds, but the moſt part in fiſhing and ſea-affairs, having ſo convenient a ſeat for the ſame.

6. That the natural inhabitants of thoſe iſlands have no correſpondence with the *Hollanders* upon the main continent more than is needful, conſidering the danger that may enſue by their too great friendſhip, who are naturally the moſt dangerous and

worſt

worſt people of all his majeſty's dominions; and that there be ſpecial care that they marry one with another in the iſland, or with *Engliſh* or *Scotiſh*, and in any caſes to prohibit all marriages between them and the iſlanders aforeſaid.

I have annexed hereunto what I think fit to be put in preſent execution, for planting the iſlands of *Hybrides*; which being done, all the good formerly expreſſed will follow; beſides, there are other things, which I forbear to touch, as matters not fit for me to handle.

I have brought my intention to an end, and laid open the miſchief our ſtate has long ſuffered by reſigning, at leaſt conniving at the *Hollanders* fiſhing, who have made long uſe of it.

I have made it appear how eaſy it is for us to enjoy, or to be reſtored to what we have loſt, and the profit all kind of people ſhall reap by it, if will and money be not wanting. I have made it plain to as many as deſire to know the truth, that the increaſe of ſhips in *Europe* is occaſioned by the taking and tranſporting our fiſh; that nine thouſand *Holland* veſſels are kept by it, and all their people daily ſet to work; inſomuch that I dare boldly ſay, if the food of fiſh were prohibited by all ſorts of chriſtians, and duly obſerved, it would leſſen the number of ſhipping three parts in five. And therefore, ſeeing our fiſh is able to make us happy, and this narration lays down the way how to attain to that happineſs, let neither excuſes, falſe pretences, or affection to the *Hollanders*, divert us from it, as it did in the year 1609. when by proclamation the *Hollanders* were to reſort to *London* for licence to fiſh on the coaſt of *England*; and *Edinburgh*, for the like in *Scotland*; and yet neither of them both was performed, nor the contempt queſtioned.

Two hundred uſurers, with willing minds and forward purſes, are able to maſter this work; but, I fear, the devil, whoſe friendſhip is not to adviſe, but to deceive them, will not allow a gain ſo well gotten. The exceſſive practice of uſury is the decay of commonwealths, repugnant to all humanity, charity, and natural benevolence, and a ſlavery to thoſe that deſire to live poor to die rich.

But, to ſpeak the truth, it is pity that a work of ſo great goodneſs and gain ſhould be tainted by men of ſo penurious a condition, who are neither good nor evil by the diſpoſition of another, but by their own perverſe will and nature; God, I fear, will bleſs our endeavours the worſe for them; they are like trees that carry no bloſſoms in the ſpring, and therefore no hope of any fruit at the fall.

This work is unſpotted, and pity it ſhould be defiled with the ſin of avarice; his majeſty's greatneſs and glory will appear by it; for nothing can be to a prince more royal, than to make the ſtate of his kingdom better than he found it; or of evil and ſlothful ſervants, to make them profitable to a commonwealth.

This ſhall ſuffice for ſo much as concerns our manner of fiſhing, our commodity ariſing by fiſhing, and the uſe other nations make of our fiſh, which I have divulged to many of my intimate friends; and now ſhall follow other matters, ſtill concerning the ſubject of fiſhing: And the firſt ſhall be touching ſalt and cask.

Concerning Salt and Cask.

The next neceſſary thing we can endeavour and labour to advance our fiſhing by, without being beholden to other nations, is ſalt and cask; for in my former narration I have ſhew'd, that moſt of the materials belonging to our fiſhing may be found in *England*, except ſalt, pitch, and tar; and to take fiſh without ſalt to ſave it, is like choice of meats and no cook, or others to dreſs it; for both putrify without preſent help.

Such ſalts as are for the uſe of fiſhing, are of divers kinds and ſtrength, ſome too hot and ſtrong, others too weak and faint; and therefore if a mean betwixt both could be invented, and made within his majeſty's dominions, we might eſteem it a great jewel, and next in value to the philoſopher's ſtone, and the finder out of the ſecret to deſerve as great honour of his country as *William Bacalute*, who was the firſt deviſer of packing of herrings amongſt the *Flemmings*, as in my former relation I have declared.

There are many, as I am informed, at this day, who make trial to attain to the art and ſecret of making ſalt; I mean with the convenient ſtrength for the ſalting and pickling of fiſh; I do not ſpeak of the making of our white ſalt, long practiſed in *England* and *Scotland*; for that kind of ſalt of itſelf is not for this uſe, and yet not bad, if according to the quantity it be mixed with the ſtronger ſalt; for it makes a fiſh the whiter and better to the eye for ſale.

Thoſe that undertake this work and invention of adding ſtrength to ſalt, above our ordinary white ſalt, muſt have a care of the place they chooſe to make it in; firſt, for the conveniency of the taking it off by fiſhermen when it is made; ſecondly, ſuch a place where the ſalt water hath no mixture with

with freſhes or ſands; and thirdly, where they ſhall find plenty of fuel for their purpoſe.

The firſt practice that was made of it was in the *Iſle of Wight*, a place, in my opinion, ill choſen by the projectors; firſt, for uttering of their ſalt, if they had brought it to perfection; for the greateſt quantity they could vend, is at *Yarmouth* in *Norfolk*, and the coaſt towns thereabouts, to the northermoſt part of all *Scotland*; which was almoſt as great a voyage as to bring it from the coaſt of *Britany*, where it is made.

Neither had the weſt country any advantage in the tranſportation; for that all the ports of *Dartmouth*, *Plimouth*, and all parts of *Severn*, which only uſe the fiſhing of *Ireland* and *Newfoundland*, ſhall be eaſier and more conveniently ſerved out of *Britany* with ſalt, than from the *Iſle of Wight*; *Southampton* and *Portſmouth* alone would receive benefit, by reaſon of their nearneſs; and not conſiderable, in reſpect of the little fiſhing they uſe.

The *Iſle of Wight* was a place as ill choſen, in reſpect of the brackiſhneſs of the ſea, and ſcarcity of fuel, in compariſon of the northern parts, that can be ſupply'd with coals at an eaſier rate; and for proof of the freſhneſs of the ſea, in compariſon of other ſeas, theſe are my reaſons: where two lands make a ſtreight ſo ſmall, as betwixt *England* and *France*, and both the kingdoms ſend forth many freſh rivers which fall into the ſea, the ſea cannot have ſuch force of ſtrength or ſaltneſs, as the northern coaſt has, where the ocean comes pouring in upon them.

We ſee by experience in *Holland*, that the ſalt they make, is not with the water that comes near thoſe towns where they make it; though a man that knew not the contrary would ſenſibly think it had ſufficient ſaltneſs for that purpoſe; but they find it otherwiſe, and have ſhips purpoſely made to fill themſelves with the ſalt water off at ſea, and not near the land.

And if the *Hollanders* make ſo great a profit as they do, by their ſalt, imagine what we ſhall make of it, when we have obtained the uſe of making it, conſidering our water by proof is ſalter, nearer hand, and our coals at a far cheaper rate, if our works be ſet up at *Yarmouth*, *Lynn*, *Boſton*, *Hull*, *Tinmouth*, the *Holy Iſland*, and all the parts of *Scotland*; in which harbours our fiſhermen either dwell, or will reſort thither daily for ſalt.

Therefore I conclude, if the perfection of the work may be brought to paſs, either in making ſalt of ſufficient ſtrength, out of invention; or if not, in imitation of the *Hollanders* to make ſalt upon ſalt, the towns aforeſaid are the meeteſt to ſet up that trade of ſalt; and the rather becauſe they have now in practiſe the making of white ſalt, and the other will be the ſooner effected by it.

And for ſuch ſalt as ſhall be uſed in the *Leuant*, there is no place lies more conveni[ent] for the making of ſalt of any kind, [than] that iſland, the ſea having an extraordinary ſaltneſs, and the country affording ſo great plenty of fuel.

The *Engliſh* and *Scotch* fiſhermen that ſhall uſe that fiſhing, ſhall find as great, and as extraordinary profit and gain, by receiving their ſalt at the iſland when they ſhall there arrive, [as the] moſt part of their ſhips will come to [it] as they uſe now to bring in their ſhip the moſt part of their lading in ſalt, finding [it] ready to their hands, inſtead [whereof] they ſhall lade themſelves with [ſalt], wanting for their uſe.

Salt upon ſalt is made out of the [ſtrength] of ſalt that cometh out of other [countries]. *France* ſends out the greateſt part of [theirs]; and according to its ſtrength, the ſalt it makes is of leſs virtue and operation, and the more of it is ſpent in the ſalting of fiſh.

The *Portugueſe* and *Spaniſh* ſalt is the ſtronger in ſubſtance, by reaſon of the ſun's power; for according to the heat and force of the ſun, ſalt increaſeth in ſtrength.

To the ſouthward of *Spain*, and as far as cape *Verde*, and the iſland of *May*; as alſo weſtward from thence to cape *de Ray*, and other places in the *Weſt Indies*, the ſalt is far ſtronger than in *Spain*, by reaſon of the force of the ſun; and it will make double ſalt to the other.

But whereas it is alledged by ſome that know not what belongs to the buſineſs, that the going ſo far, as to the places aforeſaid for ſalt, will not quit the charge: to anſwer that objection they muſt know, that if profit ariſe by this trade, it muſt be in the built and bigneſs of ſhips they imploy; for I would not adviſe a ſhip of leſs than three hundred tons, but as much bigger as they pleaſe, to be ſent upon that voyage; and ſuch ſhips to be provided out of *Holland*, till we get uſe in building them; for they will ſail with two thirds leſs men than ours.

And moreover it is to be conſidered, that the ſalt they there fetch coſts nothing; for it is there naturally made of the ſea water and the ſun, and nothing is required but their labour and pains in bringing it aboard.

If we hit of our ſalt-making in *England*, it will prove a great benefit to us; for the king of *France*, and the king of *Spain*, lately finding a neceſſity for all nations to take of their ſalt, have laid a gabel and cuſtom upon it, and thereby increaſed the price ſo much, that we and all *Europe* beſides find it.

For

For ſuch parts of the weſt country as border upon the *South Sea*, or upon the river of *Severn*, either on the *Engliſh* or *Welſh* ſhore, I will refer to their conſideration, whether they will be ſerved out of *France*, *Spain*, and the *Iſle of May*, or other places; or whether they will follow the example of the northern parts in making ſalt upon ſalt, as I have ſhewed. If they intend this latter, their country lies very conveniently by the help of coals they ſhall have from *Swanzey* in *Wales*.

After this work is ſettled and brought to perfection, I adviſe there may be an equal carriage of it, betwixt the buyer and the ſeller, that they may both live with an indifferent profit and gain; and ſo to accommodate it, that the buyer may be certain of the price; if not, this inconvenience will follow, That the ſalt-maſter will tranſport the ſalt beyond ſea, where it goes at the greateſt rate: like corn-maſters, if they were not prohibited by a law, not reſpecting the good that would redound to their country; ſo much is their covetuous deſire of profit: but being bound to ſerve the kingdom at a certain price, and that we ſhall find no want or ſcarcity of it, let them after have liberty to diſpoſe of it for the beſt benefit; but according to the old ſaying, charity ſhould begin at home.

There muſt be a penalty alſo upon him that will buy or be furniſhed with ſalt, under colour of fiſhing, and ſhall notwithſtanding tranſport the ſame into any parts beyond the ſeas, or otherwiſe, for his private gain. As well this abuſe, as many others that can be imagined to creep in, muſt be foreſeen and prevented.

According to the ſtrength of our ſalt, you may rate the quantity that goes to the ſalting a barrel of herrings, and ſo eſtimate it from one barrel to one hundred laſt, *viz.* a weigh of ſalt is forty buſhels, and every buſhel will ſalt a barrel of herrings; ſo that twelve buſhels will ſalt a laſt of herrings, being twelve barrels of thirty two gallons to a barrel. A laſt of herrings is two tons after the *Engliſh* account.

And if you can bring the ſalt to the proportion of three pounds ten ſhillings the weigh, it were a price indifferent betwixt the buyer and ſeller; yea, though you proportion the *Spaniſh* ſalt at a greater price, and our white ſalt at a leſſer, yet, if betwixt both it may be rated equal, as I have ſaid, at three pounds ten ſhillings the weigh, it were very well.

The ſame proportion of ſalt you muſt uſe to the cod, *viz.* a buſhel of ſalt to a barrel of cod. And as for ling, it is not to be barrelled up, but to be ſalted in bulk, which will take up much the leſs ſalt.

The next conſideration about our fiſhing, is, How to make our proviſion of cask, as well for herrings as for cod; the greateſt quantity which furniſhes the *Hollanders*, is brought out of *Norway*, *Sweden*, and other parts of the *Sound*, which they return in their ſhips, after they have made ſale of their fiſh in thoſe parts.

The ſame courſe we may take, if we be ſo pleaſed, or that we cannot return a better freight for our ſhips: but we have an eaſier and a nearer way to be ſupplied with cask; for no country of *Europe* affords better proviſion of timber, or aſh to make them, or more conveniency to tranſport them to what coaſt ſoever we ſhall fiſh on in his majeſty's dominions: this benefit we enjoy above the *Hollanders*, who have not in their country one whole timber-tree for this purpoſe, but are ſerved from abroad, as I have formerly ſaid.

All kind of wood that belongs to the building of ſhips, or other works that have relation to timber, we do, and ſhall find, in a little time, a great want of; for wood is now utterly decay'd in *England*, and begins to be no leſs in *Ireland*, if there be not a ſpeedy courſe taken to redreſs it, and a prohibition againſt the tranſporting of it out of *Ireland* into *Holland*, which the *Hollanders* make a continual trade of, not only of timber, but alſo of all other commodities *Ireland* affords, greatly to the prejudice of the *Engliſh*; and for the better proof thereof they have erected a company in *Amſterdam*, by the name of the *Iriſh Company*.

And therefore I would to God his majeſty would take theſe things into conſideration; as alſo to reſtrain the felling of timber in *England*, which is too common by the liberty that is given to widows, to fell and ſell without impeachment or waſte; and to young heirs, after they come to poſſeſs their father's lands; for the readieſt monies they can think on towards their waſteful expences, is a ſale of timber; and whilſt this is ſuffered, and no proviſion for preſerving or planting of trees, as the law provides for in that caſe, what can be imagined will fall to *England* hereafter in ſucceeding times? for if money, or wealth, decay in a kingdom, there may be means by trade to recover it again; if ſeamen die, ſo long as there are ſhips and navigation, they will ſoon increaſe, and make their deaths forgotten; but if our timber be conſumed, and ſpent, it will require the age of three or four generations before it can grow again for uſe; which we ought the more to reſpect, becauſe the *Engliſh* timber far exceeds the *Iriſh* in lightneſs and goodneſs.

Though the carriage of ſhip-timber be prohibited, and as daily executed, yet there are divers abuſes that muſt be looked to and prevented, as well in this kind of timber, as in vent of our own red herrings; the deceits whereof, betwixt the *Engliſh* and the *Hollanders*, combiners, you ſhall underſtand by this that follows.

The *Hollanders* have gotten a late practice, by their inwardneſs and friendſhip with ſome men of *Yarmouth*; (for naturally that town is more inclined to *Holland* than *England*, as deſcended from thence;) theſe *Engliſh* dwellers take upon them the building of ſhips, according to the direction of the other, who underhand diſburſe the money; and the ſhip being built, the *Engliſh* in ſhew make ſale of her to the *Hollander*; when his title in the ſhip is, perhaps, thirty pounds, to colour the deceit. There are many other things to be proved, that upon examination would diſcover many abuſes offered both to the king and ſubjects.

Theſe combiners ſtop not here, but craftily avoid his majeſty's proclamation; for whereas, as I have formerly delivered, the red herring is only made in *Yarmouth*, and the *Hollanders* have in a manner the abſolute carriage of them into the *Streights*; and although the ſtate is many times willing to prevent the carriage of them by ſtrangers, yet craftily they uſe this policy, ſpeedily to ſend away the herrings in *Engliſh* veſſels to *Holland*, as ſoon as they are made, from whence they immediately ſhip them for the *Streights*, before our great ſhips can take them in at *Yarmouth*: other times they meet ſuch ſhips as come from *Yarmouth* laden with herrings, off the ſands of *Yarmouth*, where they ride, take them in, and carry them directly to the *Streights* many days before ours can be ready at *Yarmouth* in our great ſhips; by which advantage of time, they get their port, and make ſale of their herrings, long before our arrival there, and ſell them at a double price to us at our coming, to an ineſtimable loſs, both to his majeſty's ſubjects and to his cuſtoms, as I have ſaid before; by the precedent of a ſhip freighted from *Yarmouth* to *Marſeilles*.

And therefore to avoid this cunning and cozenage, it is fitting his majeſty prohibit the tranſportation of fiſh, except in his ſubjects bottoms, and a day to be limited for the tranſportation, that we may be ſure to be near our port, before the ſtrangers can follow us out of *England*; ſo ſhall we be ſure to make our market before the ſtrangers can depart *England*, which will be a great advantage to us.

As this deceit appears in the vent of our red herrings, ſo there is no leſs an unconſcionable courſe held betwixt the *Hollanders* and *Engliſh* fiſhermen, that take the pilchards and poor-john, the one in *England*, the other in *Newfoundland*; for ſuch is the neceſſity of the poor fiſhermen, that they receive impreſs of part of their money beforehand, to perform ſtrict conditions they are bound to, much to their prejudice, and the *Hollanders* advantage; whereas, if the *Engliſh* had the abſolute carriage of fiſh, they would attain to the ſecrets of that trade, and deal more reaſonably with poor men than the others do.

I have before in this book computed the value of ſixty ſhips, of two hundred and fifty tons each, what the *Hollanders* gain by the trade of our fiſh into the *Streights*, and not one penny thereof returned into *England*; and for a more authentick proof, I deſire that merchants may be examined upon the truth thereof, and then you ſhall find my computation to fall out right; and for your better ſatisfaction, I will ſet down the ſeveral ports within the *Streights*, and the number of ſhips that repair to them; by which it will appear what loſs this kingdom has for ſo many years ſuſtained, and what gain and profit may be made by it, if it be reduced into our hands; beſides the ſtrength of ſhips, the increaſe of mariners, and fame this nation will reap by it.

An Eſtimate of what went before.

	l.
A ſhip of two hundred and fifty tons, will carry, in fiſh, to the value of	1600
Freight for the ſame, at 5 *l.* the ton	1250
Aſſurance, 5 *l. per Cent.*	80
Charges at *Venice* at the leaſt	400
All this is loſt by the ſtranger's carrying of it, and calculating ſixty ſhips after this proportion, there is loſt the ſum of	621750

Twelve for *Venice*; eight with pilchards, four with red herrings.

Four to *Ancona*; whereof three with pilchards, one with red herrings.

Six to *Civita Vecchia*.

Six to *Genoa*.

Eight to *Naples*.

Twenty to *Legborn*.

Three to *Villa Franca*.

Forty ſix to *Marſeilles*, whereof thirty with dry fiſh.

In all one hundred and five ſhips, beſides many more ſmaller for *Spain* and *France*; as I have ſhewed.

Here

Here ſhall follow ſome indirect dealings of the *Hollanders*, which I forbore to inſert in the former diſcourſe of fiſhing, and ſhall be inſerted at the end of this book, calling it an addition to my ſixth book; but I will ſtill proſecute the ſubject of fiſh and fiſhing, and will not ceaſe till I have laid open every coaſt of the known world, whither fiſh reſorts, and ſhew the benefit that is or may be made of it, as well by the inhabitants as ſtrangers.

Concerning Fiſh and Fiſhing.

There are two natural foods for man to feed on; the one is fleſh, maintained and increaſed by the fruitfulneſs of the land and ſoil of the earth; the other is fiſh, ſwimming in the common, ſpacious, and open ſea, which no man can challenge a right to, as to the land they may; and therefore it may be called common.

This fiſh requires no head, as beaſts and cattle do, to overlook them, or to keep them in their limits or bounds; no man can ſet his mark upon them, to challenge a property in them: no body that caſts a net into the ſea can ſay what belongs to them, till it be drawn again: no difficulty or care can be required to nouriſh it, ſeeing there is ſuch abundance increaſed over all the ſeas and coaſts in the world, as experience teaches us.

The difficulty in making uſe of this food is in the taking it, which is done by art, engines, and pains; for unleſs the prerogative of princes in ſome caſes, and upon ſome coaſts, prohibit the ſufferance of taking fiſh, it is as lawful for a beggar as a king to challenge a right to it, after it is taken.

The uſe of fiſhing and the benefit that ariſes by it, needs no other repetition, than in my former declaration.

There now only remains my labour and obſervation to collect the ſorts of fiſhes every country affords, and which are uſed for preſent food, and which are ſent abroad by way of trade; and then I will refer it to conſideration, what penury *Europe*, which is the moſt flouriſhing part of the world, would be brought to, were it not for the endeavours and labours of the poor fiſhermen.

Beſides the general fiſhes of herring and cod, taken upon the coaſt of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and vended as in the narration aforeſaid, there are many excellent fiſhes upon every maritime ſhire in *England*, which are of great ſuſtenance to the inhabitants, and which I forbear to name, but will ſet down only ſuch fiſh as is vended abroad, and returns gain and commodity to the kingdom by way of traffick.

As the northern parts of *England* yield both cod and herring, as aforeſaid, ſo do the weſtern coaſts pilchards in ſuch abundance, that many times they are not able to ſave the third part of them, for want of ſalt, as appears in the laſt wars with *France*.

Ireland affords theſe three kinds of fiſhes in as great numbers as *England*; and the herrings and pilchards exceed ours, which makes them valued above the *Engliſh* in other countries. They have another fiſh which frequents not our ſhores, called the hake, taken in the deeps betwixt *England* and *Ireland*, much prized in *Biſcay*: they have plenty of kay, or thornback, and buckorm, which is dried whiting, much deſired in *Britany*.

The ſeveral parts of *England* have ſeveral ſeaſons of fiſhing, ſome whereof I have ſhewed; but will add to it our fiſhing at the *Sow*, a rocky ground, a league and more in length, and ſix leagues ſouth off at ſea to *Rye*. This is the principal place that yields that primeſt freſh fiſh that ſerves *London*, and the place *France* did lately incroach upon, under colour of five boats licenſed by king *James*, at the requeſt of the *French* king. But his ſubjects increaſed almoſt to as many ſcores as boats, till by order of the ſtate, I reduced it to the allowed proportion, as is to be ſeen in my ſecond book.

Upon the coaſt of *Lancaſhire*, the fiſhing for cod begins at *Eaſter*, and continues till *Midſummer*; for hake in the deeps, as I have ſaid, betwixt *Whitſuntide* and *St. James's*; about *Padſtow* for cod and ling, from *Chriſtmas* to the middle of *Lent*; on the north part of *Ireland*, from *Chriſtmas* to *March*.

Engliſhmen have not the uſe of barrelling up of cod; and if it be not barrelled, it is not vendible in *France*; neither can they make haberdine; for if they could, it would be well ſold in *Spain* and *Portugal*.

Now to the fiſhing upon the coaſt of *Holland*, *France*, *Flanders*, *Portugal*, *Spain*, and other countries, where the ſea affords fiſh, but no great uſe is made thereof, more than for preſent food; for neither herrings nor cod are there to be found, which are the ſtaple and vendible fiſh for profit.

The coaſt of *Holland* yields the leaſt quantity, and the worſt choice of fiſh of all the reſt; and yet fiſh is there moſt eaten out of neceſſity, having ſo many people that inhabit the country, and ſo little quantity of land for their ſuſtenance. The greateſt ſtore of fiſh that maintains them is taken upon our ſeas, and kept in well-boats, and brought into *Holland*, where it is vended and ſold.

Coming

Coming upon the coaſt of *France*, the firſt town you ſhall find to entertain you, will be *Calais*, which in truth exceeds all other places of that kingdom for the preſent food of fiſh; not that they are ſuch fiſhes as I have named before, either for quality, for quantity taken, or proviſion to take them; for their boats are only ſhallops, not above a ton burden, unleſs it be in *October*, when their bigger veſſels reſort thither to take the laſt ſhoal of herrings that comes from the northward. And it happened in the year 1610. that fifty ſail of thoſe veſſels were ſunk, and eight hundred people in them, as they were there fiſhing.

If you keep along the ſhore of *France* till you arrive at *St. John de Luz*, the furthermoſt part thereof, it affords no other fiſh, but for preſent ſpending, except at ſome time of the year that they ſalt their ſpare mackrels, which at the time of the year they take.

Biſcay is like *France* in the nature of fiſh, and fiſhing upon their own coaſt: but what profit either of them make by their fiſhing upon the ſhores of *America*, I will after ſhew; only I muſt ſay, that *Biſcay* is often viſited with monſtrous fiſhes, as whales and grampoſſes, which none of the reſt I have ſpoken of are, in abundance, which yields the taker of them more commodity by the oil, than the value of other fiſh.

The next in order is *Galicia*, and *Portugal*, as far as cape *St. Vincent*, the ſouthermoſt promontory of all that coaſt, or of *Europe*. I will join them in one, becauſe they are all one continent, and ſubject to one king. They both afford fiſh alike in a reaſonable quantity, but eſpecially of pilchards; and here they are ſo excellent above others, and ſo neceſſary to the people of *Portugal*, that the country had better want their *Eaſt India* trade, than their fiſhing for pilchards upon that coaſt.

Doubling the cape of *St. Vincent*, you tend eaſt, as far as the *Streights* of *Gibraltar*. Beſides the fiſh theſe ſeas afford to equal the reſt of *Portugal*, it is haunted with a fiſh called *Tunney*, a victual of great uſe, in that it is pickled up in barrels, and ſerves for ſea-ſtore, beſides a great quantity that is tranſported into the *Streights*. The cuſtom of this fiſh is worth in value to the duke of *Medina Sidonia*, forty thouſand pound ſterling a year. The fatteſt *Tunney* is near *Gibraltar*.

After you enter the *Streights*, that ſea cannot be compared to the others, neither in quantity, nor in goodneſs of fiſh, though one kind of fiſh they have, which the others have not, which is anchovies, eſteemed for a great dainty amongſt us, becauſe of the rareneſs of it, and coming ſo far; and yet I think our ſprats and young herrings in *England* might be made to equal them in taſte.

In returning out of the *Streights*, we will keep the coaſt of *Barbary* weſtward, as high as cape *Canteene*, in which circuit there is very little fiſh taken, though no doubt but the ſea affords as good fiſh as upon the chriſtian ſhore, oppoſite to it, but that the *Moors* are no fiſhermen, nor have proviſion or harbours for it.

The chriſtians enjoy all theſe ſports, except *Sally*; ſo that if the *Moors* had conveniency of fiſhing, yet the chriſtians would have hindered them, that they ſhould have reaped no benefit by it.

From *Canteene* to the ſouthward there are two roads upon the coaſt of *Barbary*, *Saſin*, and *Santa Cruz*; and in the middle betwixt them there is a ſmall iſland, called *Mogotbore*; but no manner of fiſh in any of thoſe places, nor veſſels for that purpoſe.

To the ſouthward of *Santa Cruz*, there is plenty of hake taken by the *Spaniards*, who go purpoſely out of *Spain* thither to fiſh: ſomewhat I can ſay hereof, by proof of a bark of mine that was freighted from *Seville*, and fitted with ſalt, hooks, and lines, and made a good return of her fiſh into *Spain* back again.

To the ſouthward of this place, and as far as cape *Blanco*, the hithermoſt part of *Guinea*, there is an excellent fiſhing for porgus, ſomewhat like to an over-grown ſea-bream, but much bigger. There are yearly employed out of *Spain* fifty or ſixty veſſels, called canters, upon that fiſhing only; and if they eſcape taking at their return, they make commonly a good voyage. The only inconveniency is, That upon that coaſt the winds hang continually betwixt the north and the eaſt; ſo that many times they are forced to run a weſterly courſe as far as the iſlands of *Tercera*, which makes the voyage the longer and more dangerous for meeting with the enemies.

From this part of *Guinea*, to the ſouthermoſt place thereof, which is the cape of *Good Hope*, the coaſt is inhabited by negroes, except it be in ſome few places, where the *Portugueſe* have their abode; but the negroes are ſo ignorant in fiſhing in boats, that they know not what belongs to it, though there is plenty of fiſh for food, if fiſhing were exerciſed.

It is an old ſaying, *That there is water enough in the ſea*, but of no uſe, becauſe of the ſaltneſs; and *Fiſh ſufficient in the ocean*, but not poſſible to take it. The greateſt ſtore of fiſh for food is upon coaſts, eſpecially iſlands, where they have ſpace to ſwim about it; or in ſhoal water, where a line

a line may reach the bottom; for in the main and large ocean it's impoſſible to find ground with all the lines you can lengthen. Yet in the hot and ſouthern ſeas, there are theſe kinds of fiſhes for food, which ſwim high, and ſometimes appear above the water, (*viz.*) the dolphin, the bonito, the dorado, and ſhark; the laſt whereof does not ſpawn, but whelp like bitches: ſhe is ravenous, unwholeſome to eat, and ſo eager upon a bait, or a thing ſhe ſhall ſnatch at, as I have known them bite a man's leg and thigh away at a bite, as he has been ſwimming. Theſe fiſhes are taken with harping-irons, fiſhgigs, and hooks made purpoſely.

Beſides theſe fiſhes, which are good ſuſtenance to long voyages, there are alſo flying fiſhes, but never taken but accidentally, when they are chaſed by the dolphin, and forced to put themſelves to flight; but as ſoon as their wings or fins grow dry, they may by chance light into a ſhip, for longer they cannot fly.

There are no iſlands to the ſouthward, great or ſmall, beginning with the *Tercera's*, the *Canaries*, cape *Verde*, all the iſlands of the *Weſt Indies*, the *Bermuda's*, *St. Hellena*, *&c.* but have great ſtore of fiſh flocking about them; but the leaſt number in all the ſeas, is betwixt the two tropicks, where there is no uſe made of them, for want of harbours, fear of enemies, and other inconveniencies. Such fiſh as are taken about the iſland of *St. Hellena*, or the coaſt of *Braſil*, the next weſterly land to it, have a virtue above all fiſhes for delicious taſte and wholeſomeneſs, in both equal to the beſt fleſh with us.

Having followed and chaſed the fiſh as far to the ſouthward as any known land has given light, let me once more return to know what the northern ſeas and the iſlands yield in that cold climate and habitation, and we ſhall find it a great proportion for the food of man. The fiſh more naturally deſire the cold and northern ſeas, than the hot and ſouthern ſhores, where the ſun has ſo predominant a power and heat.

And to begin with the northern parts of *Europe*, I will arrive at *Denmark*, *Norway* and *Lieſland*, whoſe coaſts abound in fiſh, as well for their own food, as for ſale abroad: I will call it food to them; for in many places of *Norway* and *Finland* it ſerves for bread to the inhabitants, after it is dry'd in the froſt, and made ſtock-fiſh.

Now let us leave theſe ſhores, and ſtand over to the iſlands placed in thoſe northern ſeas, a great many whereof belong to the crown of *Denmark*; as namely *Northſare*, containing thirty in number; *Frizeland*, *Iceland*, and others. And it is a marvellous thing to ſee with what abundance of fiſh they are frequented, and what a number of ſhips reſort thither to take them, and after to vend them: for to ſpeak of *England* alone, there go yearly from the northern and eaſtern coaſt one hundred and fifty ſhips, which imploy two thouſand five hundred ſeafaring men, that upon all occaſions are ready to ſerve their prince and country.

All theſe trades aforeſaid are not to be told like new ſtories, to breed wonders; for time has approved it ever ſince thoſe lands have been known to us: but as God gave a new light of a new world by the diſcovery of *America*, now daily known and frequented by us of *Europe*, and whoſe ſoil yields benefit to the chriſtian world; ſo did that God, that was the maker of the land, ſhew himſelf the ſame God, in pouring forth his bleſſing upon the ſea, by the riches and increaſe thereof, wherein *England* had ſome honour thereby in the diſcovery of *Newfoundland*, that ſince proved moſt commodious to the commonwealth, and moſt eſpecially to the weſtern parts thereof, by their yearly imployment of two hundred ſail of ſhips thither.

The *French*, the *Biſcainers*, and the *Portugueſe*, were ſo much encouraged at our diſcovery of *Newfoundland*, as from that time, till this very day, they have upheld the trade thereof, by the fiſh they call *Baccallao*, and we *Poor-John*; but by our continual haunting that coaſt, we have found an inconvenience alike, that the fiſh grows leſs, the old ſtore being conſumed by our continual fiſhing.

The *Biſcainers* not being contented with this trade, where they found ſo many neighbours to join with them, went farther to the northward, and poſſeſſed themſelves of a harbour which they named the *Grand Bay*, where they find, beſides their *Baccallao* abundance of whales, where they make more advantage by their oil than of the other.

The *French* being deſirous to try experiments, as well as the *Biſcainers*, found a fiſhing-land fifty leagues off to ſea from *Newfoundland*, and called it the *Bank*, where commonly they make two voyages yearly, without reſorting aſhore to dry their fiſh, and therefore it is called wet-fiſh: and this I hold one of the beſt means to maintain their mariners in all *France*; which, if in time of war we ſeek to beat them from this fiſhing, we ſhall find them but indifferent enemies at ſea.

The *French* alone, and no other nation, have continued a footing in theſe countries, though we have often attempted to do the like, and failed. But in the late years of our wars with *France*, in 1628. we took their port, and poſſeſſed it ſome time.

The *Engliſh* have had more abſolute trade to *Newfoundland*, ſince the year 1585. than ever before; for in that year the war broke out betwixt *Spain* and us: whereupon the queen ſent certain ſhips to take ſuch *Biſcainers* and *Portugueſe* as fiſhed there; a ſervice of great conſequence, to take away the ſhips and victuals from our enemies ſubjects; and ſince that they have almoſt abandoned their fiſhing thereabouts. Out from theſe men thus taken, and brought for *England*, came the great ſickneſs that the judges and juſtices died of at *Exeter*.

Going ſouthward from *Newfoundland*, the *Engliſh* have had a new plantation, by the favour of the ſea, that yields them great ſtore of better and a larger ſort of fiſh than the other coaſt does; only it is too thick to dry; and therefore not to be vended in the *Streights*, or the ſouthernmoſt part of *Spain*.

As you ſail from thence farther to the ſouthward, though it be as far as the *Streights* of *Magellan*, you ſhall find all that coaſt in the nature of the ſhores of *Africk*, as low as the cape of *Good Hope*, both in the condition of the fiſh, and in taking it: but ſomething I will ſay of ſtrange fiſh found in the *Weſt Indies*, and the coaſt of *Brazil*, not known to us in theſe parts.

There is a fiſh in the *Weſt Indies* called the *Malatia*, that has a ſtone in its head the moſt ſovereign remedy for the cholick in the world.

The tortoiſe, now familiar to us, by our uſual navigations into the *Indies*. They lay very large eggs, and a great quantity together, which are hatched in the ſand by the heat and operation of the ſun: the young ones as ſoon as hatched creep into the ſea.

I will not ſpeak of the *Remora* that ſtays and ſtops a ſhip in her courſe under ſail, becauſe I have ſpoken ſufficiently of it, treating of the *Eaſt Indies*.

Upon the coaſt of *Braſil*, theſe ſeveral fiſhes are of account and name; the *Varania*, good meat to eat, and as big as any ox.

The ox-fiſh, a fiſh royal, eſteemed above all fiſhes, and healthful to eat; of a good taſte, either freſh or ſalt; it eats rather like beef than fiſh.

The *Benaperia*, like a ſturgeon, of a good taſte and wholeſome; abundance of them are taken in the ſea with hooks and lines.

The ox-eye, is like the tunney, an excellent fiſh, and looks like the eye of an ox.

The canury, a royal fiſh, and much eſteemed; it is fat, wholeſome, and of a good taſte; it yields good ſtore of butter.

The wild fiſh, which the *Indians* call *Peckanube*, and know where it lies by its ſnoring: it is of a good bigneſs, taſte, and much eſteemed: all fiſhes found upon the coaſt of *Portugal*, are there alſo in abundance.

There are many ſword-fiſhes and whales, betwixt whom there are frequent battles, as I have ſhewed before.

The whales upon theſe ſouthern coaſts are more furious and dangerous than in the northern, though the northern be the bigger, but not ſo nimble with the tail, which is the peril of the whale; for if a boat come a-head of her, ſhe cannot do much hurt, but in riſing from the bottom, as I have ſhewed before.

There are many venemous fiſhes upon that coaſt, as, namely, the toad-fiſh, of no ſmall bigneſs; taking it out of the water it ſnorts, and poiſon lies in its skin, and whoſoever eats it with the skin dies.

There are other fiſhes of the ſame nature like toad-fiſhes.

The *Prachie* is like a ſcate, and whoſoever toucheth it has the palſy, or is benummed; the *Camaruma*, the *Amoriatie*, the *Anicurub*, the *Irepourungo*; beſides many others that are venomous.

There are many mermaids and ſtrange ſhell-fiſhes, as well thoſe that are known to our coaſt, as others unknown.

I have ſeen a fiſh very monſtrous in the iſland of *Flores*, that appears with its fins about the gills, above the water four or five yards, and its jaws gaping above a yard broad, which puts the beholders in fear. This kind of fiſh I never knew nor heard of but in that place.

Something concerning Whales, and ſeveral ſorts of Monſtrous Fiſhes.

And now another while I will ſpeak of monſtrous fiſhes, that are uſeful and profitable, but not to be valued or eaten for food, and theſe they are: the whale, the grampus, the porpoiſe, the ſea-horſe, the morſe, the ſeal, *&c.* All theſe affords the commodity of oil which is made of them, when dead; and the manner to kill them is ſo commonly known, that I need not repeat it. The whale yields, beſides her oil, bones, which are for divers uſes, imploy'd in ſeveral trades; ſhe yields *Sperma Ceti*, the virtue whereof is known to us, and is ſold by apothecaries. Some are of opinion that the ambergreaſe comes from the whale, and is caſt aſhore where it is found.

Some there are likewiſe that believe the teeth of the ſea horſe are medicinal; but for my part I believe the contrary, and that the only uſe to be made of them, is for hafts of knives, and other works that ivory is put to.

The

The whale and moſt of the other fiſhes are as frequent and common in the hot and ſouthern climates, as in the cold and northern countries, though we only uſe the cold, as *Greenland*, where we kill and make great benefit of them.

The *European* ſhores have the leaſt number of whales; which I impute to ſhole-water, becauſe the greateſt quantity known are about the great bay of *Biſcay*, from which place we were inſtructed in our whale-fiſhing, when we began it in *Greenland*.

The whales that are found dead amongſt us, of which I have had ſome proof by one or two caſt upon land, come dead aſhore by ſome hurt received at ſea; for the nature of the whale, after ſhe is hurt, is to ſeek the land, where ſhe leaves her body to enrich him that has right to her, by her coming upon his ſhore.

Beſides the great number of whales that make their habitation in the north ſeas, and the farther northward the greater ſtore, there are abundance of them upon the coaſt of *Braſil*, the *Weſt Indies*, and *Guinea*, which may the better appear by the *Indians* conceit, who thought the firſt ſhips they ſaw, when the *Spaniards* came thither upon the diſcovery, had been whales.

Upon the coaſt of *Braſil* there are ſuch abundance, that if the *Portugueſe* who dwell there would employ themſelves in killing them, it would prove a commodious thing; but, I conceive, the reaſon they put it not in practice, is the maſs of gain they make by their wood and ſugars, holding the other not worth their labour, and having no vent for it but in *Portugal*.

By this you may perceive the pains and induſtry of man, and the difference betwixt men and nations; for if the *Hollanders* were planted in *Braſil*, and had that benefit of the whale the others have, they would, and might very well, with their cheapneſs of freight, ſerve *Europe* with their train-oil from thence; for I remember that two ſhips of *Holland* went to *Saldanna*'s bay, as far as the cape of *Good Hope*, to kill whale, (for upon that coaſt there are abundance;) but it happened that one of the two ſhips was there wrecked, which perhaps might diſcourage farther proceedings upon that voyage.

But if we conſider the induſtry of the *Hollanders*, and compare it with the ſloth of the *Portugueſe*, that the *Hollanders* went two thouſand leagues to lade themſelves with train-oil, when the *Portugueſe* might have done the like at their own home, and rejected it, we muſt conſequently attribute as great praiſe to the one, as we may blame and ſloth to the other.

There are many dangers that may happen, and have happened to ſhips, by their accidental meeting with whales at ſea, ſome whereof I will mention upon my own knowledge. The nature of a whale is, when ſhe receives a hurt, to ſeek the bottom of the ſea, and with fury to riſe up again, and ſhew her ſelf above water; if in riſing ſhe chance to come under the keel of a ſhip, ſhe utterly deſtroys the ſhip, and the men in her.

I remember, that being upon the coaſt of *Barbary*, and not far from a whale, in 1587. I ſaw her mount above the water as high as the top of a ſhip, occaſioned, as we conceived, by the ſword-fiſh, who is an enemy to the whale, and upon their encounter cunningly gets under the belly of the whale, and with his ſword vexeth, and forceth her to mount above the water, as I have ſaid: this whale, upon her falling down again into the water, made a greater noiſe than the report of a cannon.

A whale in a calm betokens foul weather; for there cannot be a truer ſign of a ſtorm, than whales and porpoiſes playing upon the water. It happened in the ſhip in which I was taken priſoner off the *Burlings*, in 1591. the day ſevennight before my taking, in the night-time the ſhip gave ſtem to a whale that lay aſleep with her back above the water; the accident was ſo ſtrange and rare, that it amazed the company, who gave a ſudden ſhriek, thinking the ſhip had been founder'd upon a rock; but looking over-board they beheld the ſea all bloody, which comforted them, conceiving it to be, as they found it was, a ſtem upon a whale.

In the year 1589. being at the iſlands *Azores* with my lord of *Cumberland*, after our overthrow at *St. Mary's*, as I have ſhew'd in my firſt book, and have had more particular occaſion to ſpeak of it in my fifth book, to bring this for an example of the greateſt hazard I ever endured in my life, occaſioned by a whale there, as you ſhall underſtand; to which place I refer you, becauſe I will not be too tedious in this diſcourſe.

In the reign of king *James* there was a ſhip of *Portſmouth*, the owner thereof my good friend, captain *Towerſon* by name, who in her way, in company of other ſhips, to a fiſhing in *Newfoundland*, gave ſtem to a whale as ſhe lay aſleep; the ſhip had all her ſails drawing, and a large wind, but for want of the company's looking out, ſhe gave ſuch a blow to the whale, that ſhe preſently founder'd; but by the help of other ſhips of her company the men were preſerved, who otherwiſe had periſhed.

Many other accidents of this kind have happened to ſhips, which I need make no repetition

repetition of, they are ſo common; and this ſhall ſuffice for the ſubject of fiſhing, as well for food, as others that yield the commodity of oil.

I will ſpeak little of the mermaid, becauſe there are diverſities of opinions: ſome think there are none; others that there are, though there be little doubt thereof; for we ſhall find in the year 1322. in our *Engliſh* chronicles, one taken in *England*, another in *Holland*, and a third in *Britany*; for the relation whereof I refer you to the authors aforeſaid.

There is a tradition to this day in *Galicia*, one of the kingdoms of *Spain*, that a mermaid coming out of the ſea, engender'd with a woman aſhore, and begat on her a child: and to ſpeak of later times, I ſee divers have ſeen them, who are now alive, and can juſtify it.

There are other ſtrange fiſhes to be ſeen on the coaſt of *Norway*, and eſpecially in ſixty eight degrees of latitude, which are very wonderful, beſides the great dangers and other particularities belonging to that ſea, more than any other yet diſcovered.

In the country and height aforeſaid there is a well called by the name of *Neal-ſtream*, which well draws the water to it with an in-drought, and with ſo great a fore-noiſe and dread to the hearers, during the time of the flood, which is ſix hours, that it is to be wonder'd at, above all wonders a man can report.

The force and violence of this flood is ſuch, that its power reaches two miles about it every way; ſo that if a ſhip or veſſel happen to be within that compaſs, it draws her into its bottomleſs gulph, where ſhe is ſwallow'd up, and periſhes.

The ebb has the contrary effect, which endures the ſaid ſpace of ſix hours, and ſets off with the ſame violence the flood draws to it, inſomuch that it will not ſuffer the heavieſt thing that can be thrown overboard to ſink. At this ebb the fiſhermen uſe to take away many ſorts of ſtrange deformed fiſhes, not ſeen elſewhere upon any coaſt whatſoever; one whereof I will take ſpecial notice of, which has been avowed to me by a very ſufficient man who ſaw it; it is like an eel, and one hundred fathom long, which has ſometimes entered a boat on the ſide, and paſſed through her on the other ſide; and if it be cut aſunder, which a knife may well do, it caſts forth the greateſt ſtink in the world, and enough to poiſon a man that ſmells it.

Some are of opinion, that the ſtream paſſes under the ground through the parts of *Norway*, and burſts out again at the northermoſt part of *Finland*, where is another *Neal-ſtream*, though not ſo violent or dangerous as this, and where the ſame kind of fiſh are taken as in the other aforeſaid.

This place is called by ſome the *Navel of the ſea*; and ſome think the ebbs and floods upon all the coaſts on this ſide the equinoctial are cauſed out of this miraculous *Neal-ſtream*. I ſet this down but as a conjecture, not to be rely'd on; for the ſecret of ebbing and flowing is only known to God, and not to be apprehended by man; and ſo the philoſophers acknowledge.

There are other dangers appearing upon our coaſt, but not ſo terrible and fearful as thoſe of *Norway*; and for which, there may be reaſons given, (as namely,) the race of *Portland* in *Dorſetſhire*, the race of *Conquet* in *Britany*, the race of *Lyons* in *Italy*; and I have ſeen another, not much inferior to the leaſt of theſe, at the iſle of *Palma* in the *Canaries*.

That of *Portland* has been the deſtruction of many a ſhip and man, though it may be avoided, either by going within it towards the land, or without it to ſea. The ſhip of war wherein I went the firſt time to ſea, in her return from the coaſt of *Spain*, in her ſecond voyage after, where ſhe had made a profitable voyage, taking ſundry *Spaniards*, as her lading would have witneſſed, out of a covetouſneſs to gain a league or two, though ſhe might have eaſily avoided it, put herſelf into the race, little valuing the danger, and was preſently ſwallowed up in view of her conforts, and neither man nor boy eſcaped.

The cauſe of theſe races that makes the bubbling and turning of the water and ſtreams is the meeting of tides, and the foulneſs and rockineſs of the ground, which makes that ſpace of the ſea, where this happens, to boil up like a pot upon the fire.

There are other places where the tide ſets with wonderful force and ſwiftneſs, as well upon the ebb as flood; and namely, *Pintley Frith*, which divides the whole continent of *Britany* from the iſlands of *Orkney*: I have paſſed it, and found ſuch admirable tides, that I was amazed. I have heard people thereabouts ſay, that the force of that tide is ſuch, that if a ſhip chance to anchor in it, and the cable and anchors hold, the ſtrength of the ſtream is ſo violent, that ſhe will be ſwallowed up at an anchor.

In the iſland of *Orkney* joining to it, as alſo upon the coaſt of *Norway*, the tide ſets with that force, that he who knows not the nature of it will be afraid to approach near the ſhore; and yet experience tells us, that the tide ſets from the land, and keeps a ſhip from running on ſhore.

The

The ſea produces many other ſtrange things of nature, which I forbear to repeat; but the thing I covet to know, is what wonders the ſea produces under the north pole, not yet attempted by any nation, though the *Engliſh* have approached neareſt it, ſince the diſcovery of the iſland of *Greenland*, whither they reſort to kill their whale.

Philoſophers mention four indraughts in the ocean ſea, in the four quarters of the world; from whence many conjecture, that as well the flowing of the ſea, as the blaſts of the wind, have their original: but theſe being myſteries above my capacity or reading, and nothing tending to the ſubject of fiſhing, which at laſt I have brought to an end, I will draw to a concluſion of my whole ſix books, making account, after a long and tedious navigation, I am at laſt arrived in a ſafe and ſecure port, where I have leaſure to recollect my ſelf, and think of my errors paſt, in taking ſo great pains to ſo little purpoſe, as to write ſo many lines and leaves of the ſea only, few gentlemen delighting in it, or making profeſſion of it: but before I end, as in my former navigation I have ſpoke of the profit of fiſhing, I will ſet down the enemy to fiſhermen and fiſhing in this that followeth.

There is no action at ſea, be it great or ſmall, that brings not with it both charge and danger; nor no buſineſs ſo eaſy that can be done, without pains and difficulty: and this ſubject we are now upon, that is, fiſhing, the only thing that is required in it, is labour and pains; for danger is little to be regarded, conſidering it is not far from home we are to ſeek our profit, nor our harbours ſo few, but they may be entered for our ſafeties both day and night, by erecting lights.

But indeed the greateſt danger that may be feared to our fiſhermen, is interruption of pirates, who are the very ſcum of a commonwealth, and people to be abhorred by all honeſt and laborious men. It is uſual, when theſe miſcreants fail of relief of victuals, and are made deſperate by want of it, to place all their hopes of food upon the poor painful fiſhermen, who, we may truly ſay, get their living with more hazard, with more pains, with more cold and watching, than any other trade or people whatſoever: their labour produces nothing that is ill, but the beſt help for man, which is food to live on.

Husbandmen and fiſhermen are the upholders of commonwealths; all other people live by their labours. They are ſtewards to provide ſuſtenance to feed on; and yet comparing them together, there is great difference betwixt their lives and pains: the huſbandman's work is without danger or hazard; and if he be wet, he has preſent help of fire to dry him; he is allowed a bed inſtead of the other's board to lie on; his diet is certain, and in a quiet manner, when the others are toſt to and fro without a ſtedfaſt ſtanding: if the one be cold, he may recover himſelf with exerciſe and work; if the other be cold, he is made colder, his labour being in cold water; the one keeps his certain hours for ſleep, the other has no certain time to reſt, but muſt attend his danger, which he is never free from: every hour he muſt be ready to look out for his ſhoal of fiſh, and watch his opportunity of weather and tide to take them: the one has pleaſure on holidays, and is free from labour; all days are alike to the other; and the *Sunday* can give no more content or comfort, than the reſt of the week.

What heart can be ſo hardened, or pirates ſo pitileſs, as to diſturb thoſe harmleſs and innocent creatures, that make pains their pleaſure, and their labour their countries plenty, procuring good for it by their own toils. And becauſe ſuch wickedneſs will never eſcape unpuniſhed or unrevenged, as theſe pirates commit upon ſuch harmleſs people, I will a while digreſs from the ſubject I have in hand, and relate a ſtrange and tragical accident that deſervedly befel two pirates that were diſturbers of the innocent fiſhing.

A Story of two Pirates.

After my return from *Ireland*, in 1614. where I had been imploy'd to ſuppreſs the arrogance and inſolence of pirates, and where I puniſhed the conniving that was betwixt thoſe people and the inhabitants of that kingdom, I once again ſent a bark for that coaſt, to be informed how things ſtood after I left them, and whether the ſevere courſe I had taken againſt them, in doing juſtice by death upon one of them, wrought better effect than before.

The firſt harbour my bark arrived in, ſhe met a pirate named *Tucker*, a ſeaman bred from his youth, and continual practice made him excellent in his art and profeſſion: he was very glad upon this occaſion of meeting my bark to inſinuate into my man's acquaintance, thinking thereby it would be a means for him to bewail himſelf to me, and to obtain the thing next to life he deſired, which was his pardon, though he departed with the beſt part of his ſpoils, which were things of good value.

His perſuaſion prevailed ſo far with my ſervant, that though his directions were to view the northern parts of *Ireland*, where I had lately been, and there to inquire after the

behaviour of pirates, and the entertainment the country gave them; yet, as I have ſaid, by the importunity of *Tucker*, my man was diverted from his imployment, and perſuaded to return with his letter of ſubmiſſion to me, on whom he wholly caſt himſelf to diſpoſe of, with promiſe there to ſtay a certain time to expect my anſwer; and to ſweeten me the more, he preſented me with a token worth accepting, but that I was always cautious in ſuch caſes how to connive at pirates, as in my letter I expreſſed. I miſtruſted, before he could receive my anſwer, the winds then hanging contrary, he would depart from *Ireland*; whereupon I directed divers letters to one effect, and ſent them by ſeveral ſhips, if they ſhould chance to meet *Tucker* upon their way in their voyages. But as I have ſhewed the laſt refuge pirates have for victuals, is to feed upon the fiſhermen; and *Tucker* finding that *Ireland* could not ſupply him, by the ſtrict courſe I had formerly taken, was forced to go to the northward, to ſeek ſuccour of the poor fiſhermen, a contrary courſe to the ſhips that carry'd my letters: and coming to the north *Farro*, there he met with another pirate of the ſame ſort, but far leſs honeſt, as it proved. Theſe two concerted together, as thieves uſe to do in miſchief.

The iſlands of *Farro* are dangerous, by reaſon of the great tides, and their ſetting; and it happened that *Tucker*'s ſhip was wrecked upon one of them, in company of his companion, the other pirate; who ſeeing it, did not degenerate from his kind, for all ſpoils were alike to him, friend or foe; inſtead of help in that caſe of diſtreſs, play'd the part of a hawk over his prey, and had no more pity of him than of a *Spaniard*, who were moſt obnoxious to pirates in thoſe days.

To be ſhort, this pirate, who falſly called himſelf *Monnocho*, ſuddenly poſſeſſed himſelf of *Tucker*'s ſhip, himſelf, his wealth and company; and uſed them with that rigorous cruelty, as though his action had been lawful, and allowed by authority to puniſh delinquents and offenders, and rather out of fear than pity, he ſhewed mercy to their lives; and miſtruſting if he ſhould detain them in his own ſhip, they might make a party and faction; for the condition of ſuch people, is never to be conſtant, or honeſt, no longer than their deviliſh humours hold; therefore to avoid any ſuch tumult, *Monnocho* ſeized upon an *Engliſh* fiſherman, amongſt many others he had taken, and put *Tucker* and his company into her, to ſeek a new fortune; which you muſt think was like to thrive, if you conſider their courſe of life. And here they parted company like two wolves that ſhould ſeparate themſelves to ſeek their prey, they care not where, nor of whom, purpoſing never to ſee one another, unleſs the gallows gave them a meeting. *Monnocho* was a fellow of as baſe a condition as his preſent profeſſion made him, being not long before a ſurgeon's mate, in a pinnace ſerving under me. And now hovering about thoſe iſlands, it was his hap to meet a ſhip of the king of *Denmark*'s, to whom the iſlands belong: this ſhip, after a little encounter, apprehended, and knew well what to do with him, ſo juſt that nation is to the deteſtable courſe of ſea-rovers.

Here *Monnocho* found worſe uſage than he gave *Tucker*; for the time was not long before his ſhip made a return into *Denmark*, and in as ſhort a while after he taſted deſerved death upon the gallows; where he hung a ſpectacle for all men to behold.

Now *Monnocho* is brought to the deſtiny by right due to him; I will go ſcour the ſeas, and look if I can ſpy *Tucker*, being out of hope to find his ſhip put to that uſe for which ſhe was firſt deſigned; I mean fiſhing.

After *Tucker* had ſpent ſome time at ſea, domineering over the poor fiſhermen; they now tired with the uſurping tyranny of the pirates, and being deſirous to live by honeſt labour, rather than by evil pains, privately practiſed, and watching their opportunity, effected that they had determined to put in execution; which was, ſuddenly to ſurprize and ſeize upon the pirates perſons, when they ſhould leaſt ſuſpect it.

The attempt proved fortunate; for ſome they ſlew, and others they hurt; and *Tucker* they took priſoner, and inſulted over him, as he had done before over them.

This lucky accident made the fiſhermen repair to ſhore, to ſupply their wants, their proviſions being conſumed by the pirates; as alſo to deliver the men, as delinquents, into the hands of juſtice, who were after conveyed to the *Marſhalſea* in *Southwark*, where they daily expected the doom of death.

The poor man, captain *Tucker*, being hopeleſs and friendleſs, ſent me word of his misfortunes after his departure from *Ireland*, bewailing his hard hap and heavy chance, not to meet with any of my letters, written to him as aforeſaid: He ſhewed the comfort of life was taken from him, and confeſſed his offences were above ſatisfaction; and that I was the only ſheet-anchor he was to rely on; otherwiſe he was to periſh.

I confeſs I was much moved and grieved with his calamity, when I remember'd how his

his penitency appeared in his former letter to me, repenting his misdoings, and deteſting his kind of life, with a deſire of pardon and forgiveneſs of his offences paſt.

This complaint came at an unlucky hour, both for him and me, it being in the midſt of the time that malice ſet herſelf againſt me; for in few days after I was unjuſtly committed to the *Tower*; and yet I thank God by his providence, not an hour before I was impriſoned, I had finiſhed and ended his pardon, that I might ſay the ending of his trouble was the beginning of my own; but not through his cauſe or occaſion.

Tucker being ſet at liberty, was to diſpoſe of himſelf as he ſhould be guided by grace. And to give ſome ſign of his thankfulneſs for the favour I did him, he reſolved not to depart *London*, what ſhift ſoever he made to live, till he had acknowledged his life from me; and though at that time there was a general reſtraint of all people's reſorting to me in the *Tower*, yet that prohibition was no ſooner taken off, but *Tucker* was one of the firſt that repaired to viſit me, with that proteſtation of thankfulneſs, and vows of amendment of his life, that he gave me ſatisfaction it proceeded from a penitent heart. It joy'd me much to ſee his reformation, and I held myſelf happy for the deed I had done in regaining a loſt ſheep that had ſtray'd out of the flock.

His credit being loſt, which made him unfit for employment, moved pity in me what courſe to put him into; for no beginner can ſet up a trade without a ſtock to enable him: and to requite his remembrance of me, by the token he ſent me from *Ireland*, I returned him the better part of that gift, wiſhing that good fortune would attend his happy beginning.

He was not long determining with himſelf, but immediately took a voyage to *Denmark*, whither he had often before traded. Arriving there, and having occaſion to go about his affairs, it happened, that paſſing a river, the ferryman of the boat knew him by an infallible token; for not long before the man was taken by *Tucker* at ſea. The fellow had no ſooner landed him and his fare, but ſpeedily he haſtened to the magiſtrate, requiring a warrant for his apprehenſion, alledging the cauſe; which was no ſooner demanded than granted, all people of that country being naturally bent to revenge themſelves upon offenders in that kind.

Being thus arreſted, he was carried to priſon, where he received the rigour of juſtice; and upon trial, by the witneſs of the ferryman was ſentenced to die. The gibbet was erected near joining to that where *Monnocko*, his former companion, was ſtill hanging for him to behold, which was very odd; for it is not the greatneſs of the perſon, nor of the accident, makes a wonder the greater; for all things, be they great or little, are at the diſpoſal of God alone, who many times advances the mean, and caſts down the mighty. And it is worthy of obſervation, how in many caſes he gives light to men, to diſcern his juſt puniſhment to ſome, for example of amendment of life to others.

And amongſt the reſt, this accident of theſe mean and ungodly pirates is no leſs ſtrange, if we call to mind God's juſtice towards them, if you will conſider the firſt progreſs of their beginning, till death cut them off, as it does all people that commit unnatural crimes; for ſuch men never eſcape without cruel revenge: for a father of the church ſaith, *He ceaſes to be a man, and becomes a brute beaſt, that leaves the rules of reaſon and honeſty, and gives his mind to miſchief and ſenſuality.*

Theſe two mens curſed courſes are not unlike a novel; firſt in their unexpected meeting in remote iſlands, where they were both ſtrangers; ſecondly, that upon their meeting they proteſted and vowed friendſhip, though I muſt ſay, that the agreement of ill men in miſchief cannot be called friendſhip: but call it what you will, it did not long continue; for there was a bone caſt betwixt them, as it were, betwixt two ravenous maſtiffs, to ſtrive for, and the ſtronger to carry it away.

After theſe two pirates had parted company, the one ſtood to the northward, the other to the ſouthward, a quite oppoſite courſe to one another, and where there was never likelihood of meeting more; but rather to avoid and eſchew each other, their quarrel was ſo mortal: and yet both of them taſted one fortune alike; firſt in their apprehenſion, and after in their manner of execution; but above all, the place never doubted or feared by them; and where, perhaps, in many ages the like will not happen again, it being out of the road-way for ſuch people to reſort to.

This ſhall ſuffice for God's juſtice by example of theſe two miſcreant pirates, and his deteſtation to their wicked courſes againſt the ſilly and innocent fiſhermen, who, we may truly affirm and ſay, of all other people, get their living with the painful ſweat of their brows.

I muſt not omit to give divers precedents of God's miraculous working in the example of fiſhing. Some I have heard avowed in the places where theſe accidents have happen'd; others I have by report, which is not ſo much to be credited, as, namely,

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at *Tenbigh* in *Wales*, a place not inferior to any that I know in his majeſty's three kingdoms, for ſituation, air, plenty, and pleaſure, which in times paſt enjoy'd a plentiful fiſhing; the other is the iſland of the *Lewes*, I have ſo often treated of.

Theſe two places abounding at ſeveral times with an extraordinary quantity of fiſh, the miniſter of the one, and the biſhop of the other, envying the proſperity of the poor fiſhermen, being led out of a covetous deſire, ſought to impoſe a greater tax by way of tythe, than had ever been before paid to their predeceſſors, which was no ſooner queſtioned, but the fiſh vaniſhed, and for a time became ſtrangers to thoſe ſhores where this happened; and as I will not conclude of the cauſe thereof, yet I will ſay with a father of the church, *Non eſt bonum ludere cum ſanctis.*

This ſhall ſuffice for ſo much as is contained in my ſixth book, touching fiſh and fiſhing, and the merchantable commodity ariſing out of it; in which I will compare myſelf to a merchant, that freights his ſhip with ſundry and ſeveral commodities, and ſends them to ſeveral ports, thinking by the variety of wars to countervail the charge of the reſt; for what commodity is deſired in one country, is commonly little eſteemed in another, as by example of gold, which above all other things is coveted in theſe parts of the world where we live, and nothing accounted of by the *Indians* where it is produced: hatchets, knives, and glaſſes, are held groſs, baſe, and of little value by us; and yet eſteemed in the higheſt degree of treaſure amongſt them: and ſo fares it with theſe ſix books, which are freighted and ſtuffed with ſuperfluity of needleſs collections. Some perhaps may be delighted, and take advantage of them, how unworthy ſoever they may ſeem of themſelves; for I remember the ſaying of that matchleſs and generous gentleman Sir *Philip Sidney*, That there was no book ſo bad, but had ſomething in it that was commendable.

Whoſoever is deſirous to be informed in ſea affairs, and actions in the late wars betwixt *Spain* and *England*, will find it in one of my ſix books: Whoever will ſeek to avoid errors and overſights by example of that war, may learn it: Whoever ſhall deſire to know how a general ought to carry himſelf in the government of his fleet, will be inſtructed in it: Whoſoever covets to underſtand how to defend his country, and offend others by ſea, ſhall be taught it: Whoſoever is deſirous to ſail into any of the four quarters of the world, as *America*, *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Africk*, ſhall find the ſea open, and diſcovered to his hands: Whoſoever will delight himſelf with the paſſages, troubles, and conqueſts of the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe*, and their enterprizes upon new worlds, ſhall underſtand it: Whoſoever will hear how the *Indians* were reduced to civility and chriſtianity, he ſhall not be ignorant in it: Whoſoever will put his hand to further ſuch projects as are contained in the ſix books, ſhall not only ſee reaſons to induce him, but ſhall deſerve everlaſting praiſe of his country, for his forwardneſs in them: Whoſoever of an *Engliſhman* will live no longer in ignorance of what our ſeas produce to inrich them, ſhall have it diſcovered to their hands. Things to be admired at, when they ſhall remember their former errors.

I will ſay with Sir *Philip Sidney*, if any of theſe prove profitable, commendable, or delightful, the author is not to be condemned or blamed; for indeed he is like the merchant, ſpoken of before, that muſt ſeek to put off his ware, not by words, but worth; and as he refers himſelf to the buyer, ſo do I this diſcourſe to the reader, to judge at his pleaſure; for things give better counſel to men, than men to things; and in recompence for my labour and pains, I only crave a favourable conſtruction, howſoever they ſhall appear in your conceit.

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A D D I T I O N

TO THE

Sixth and Laſt Book of FISHING,

AND THE

Reaſons why it was divided from the other former Diſcourſe.

I Forbear to annex this addition to the former relation of fiſhing, to avoid giving publick offence to the *Hollanders*; for it is an old ſaying, *That truth many times turns a Man to Ruth*; and I ſee that the preſent policy of our ſtate is rather to diſſemble an injury, than to revenge it, though the *Hollanders* ſecret envy is more to be feared, than when they declare themſelves openly againſt us: but yet it ſhall appear that I have not been altogether ignorant of their beginnings and riſe, but have carefully beheld their proceedings and actions, and can judge of their malicious detractions to us, and others; which is the nature of faction, at firſt to ſhew itſelf humble, till it mount to the top of ambition.

Our eyes and ſenſes make it clearly appear, that they and their cunning courſes are the mediate cauſes of the poverty that daily aſſails our glorious kingdom, as I ſhall inſtance ſome particulars within the land, before I ingulf myſelf into the open ſea; which are as follow:

What trades and artificers of all kinds do they ſet up, to the ruin of many a poor *Engliſhman*, that has lived an apprentice and bondman ſeven years to attain his art and occupation?

What trades are there in which they have not ſtocks going, or ſcriveners with money to lend?

What land is to be ſold, or mortgage to be had, that they have not the firſt refuſal of?

What marriages of man or woman falls amongſt them, that they will inrich the *Engliſh* with, ſo long as any of their country or tribe is found amongſt them?

What maritime town, or other of account, within twenty miles of the ſea, oppoſite to *Holland*, that is not ſtuffed and filled with their people, to the impoveriſhing of the inhabitants and dwellers?

What maſſes of money and gold have they, againſt the laws of the realm, tranſported out of it, as truth has made it plain?

What loſs did they to the king and kingdom, when they and their faction oppoſed the brave work of dying and dreſſing of cloths, after it was in a good way of going forward?

What hurt or hindrance do they to our navigation, when they freight ſtrange veſſels, and refuſe the *Engliſh* ſhips?

What an innumerable wealth have theſe people attained to, whoſe beginning was nothing when they made their firſt entrance into this kingdom? If it be conſider'd, it will appear to be admirable.

And for all theſe domeſtick damages the ſubjects receive, his majeſty has no more

more benefit by them, than if they were natural *Engliſh*.

Theſe are the leaſt to what ſhall appear when I launch into the ocean, and there encounter them; but in the mean time I will unmask their craft and cunning, and diſcover the ſubtilty of their *Engliſh* friends to intrap us in the ſnares of their policy, under the falſe colours and pretence of ſecurity to the ſtate.

As well the one as the other deſires it may be held a maxim of ſtate, That the ſecurity of *England* muſt depend upon the fortunes of *Holland*; a foul imputation they caſt upon us, when we remember the noble and victorious actions of our forefathers, who made other nations fear them, and they to fear none: But this poſition is deviſed to ſerve private mens purpoſes, contrary to truth or reaſon, as I will make it appear to the judgment of wiſe men. But under this conceived colour the *Hollander* plays the part of a *Panther*, which has a ſweet ſcent, but a loathſome face, which makes other beaſts follow till he has got them into his clutches. And the *Hollanders* have ſo entrapped us, that we are caught in their nets, and by nets we muſt be freed: we are made ſilly fiſhes, to be enſnared by the ſubtilty of thoſe fiſhermen; but I hope we ſhall be releaſed and relieved by fiſh, with our endeavour and pains.

Now to hoiſt ſail and put to ſea, to encounter, at leaſt to diſcover, the *Hollanders* inſolencies, their practices, their deceits, and deſigns, wherein I will make the indifferent reader wonder, and after judge, how dangerous a thing it was to put arms into their hands, and how neceſſary it is to bring them into the ſame ſtate of ſhipping they were before the wars.

I will begin with the days of queen *Elizabeth*, ſpeaking to the watchmen of our commonwealth of that time, and uſe an old phraſe without application, *That profit and bribery makes a judge blind.*

Was it diſcretion and ſafety in thoſe men, after the *Hollanders* had ingaged us in the war with *Spain*, that our ſhips were arreſted, our goods forfeited, and from thenceforward prohibited traffick, yet to ſuffer the *Hollanders* to continue as abſolute a trade into *Spain* as in time of peace, and ſupply them with ammunition, ſhipping, mariners, and intelligence againſt us? and rather than their manner of war ſhould ceaſe, by which they ingroſſed the intire trade into their hands, if ever the king of *Spain*'s army in *Flanders*, or his armado in *Spain*, ſhould have wanted powder, or other abiliments for the war, they would have ſupply'd him: for all their drift was no more than to keep us ſevered from *Spain*, and to prolong the war for their benefit of commerce and traffick. This was the beginning of their riſing, to our ruin; and from this very day we muſt reckon, as from the birth of a child, their firſt life and proſperity.

Was it ſecurity for us, when our watchmen gave way to Monſieur, brother, and next heir apparent to the crown of *France*, and who had ſucceeded his brother, if he had outlived him, to be inveſted duke of *Brabant*, who had then enjoy'd the *Low Countries* with *France*, and who was no ſooner placed in it, but he began treacherouſly to practiſe, by example of *Antwerp*, and other places?

Was it the part of friends, and with whom they had lately leagued, that when the king of *Spain* imploy'd a fleet againſt *England*, or upon defence of his own coaſt, he had ſhips, men, and his principal pilots, *Hollanders*, who were either preſt in *Spain*, or willingly ſerved againſt us?

Was it not cunning in the *Hollanders*, and fraud to us, when the greateſt trade of the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe* into the *Weſt Indies*, *Guinea*, and *Braſil*, was in *Holland* ſhips, which defended the *Spaniards* goods from the *Engliſh*, with more ſlaughter to the *Engliſh* when they encountered, than ever we received from *Spain*? Here they ſupported an enemy by nature, to hurt and injure a friend by fact and proof.

Was it ſafety to us, or honeſty in the *Hollanders*, in the year 1599. that her majeſty rigged and furniſhed a royal navy upon a ſudden ſervice, and expected aſſiſtance of ſhips from them by contract, that in concluſion they ſent but ſeven ſhips, and ſuch, that the worſt of ours was better than the beſt of them? Here they left us unprovided to encounter a danger; for a foe is as good that hurts not, as a friend that helps not.

Was it ſecurity, honour, or profit to us, that with an expence of more men and money than we have conquered kingdoms heretofore, we have maintained their principality, making mechanick perſons equal with princes, raiſed a rabble commonwealth againſt the monarchy, trained up their people in diſcipline of war? that of a mean and timerous generation, we have put valour and knowledge of arms into their hands? And for all theſe unſpeakable good turns done them, we have no more aſſurance from them, than diſcourteſies we receive in all parts where we meet: and no marvel; for popular ſtates write favours in duſt, injuries in marble.

Was it ſecurity, in all the time of war, to ſuffer our prime ſoldiers, and of all degrees, to be under their ſubjection, the moſt part

part of our wealth exhauſted thither; and by conſequence to be in their power to diſpoſe of this kingdom as pleaſed moſt voices of their ſelect council, which in their government is oppoſite to monarchy? For whereas monarchy propounds honour as the firſt thing, the ſecond the publick good, and the third intereſt; a popular ſtate prefers private profit, makes the common good the ſecond, and honour the laſt.

Was it ſecurity to let go the cautionary towns, *Fluſhing* and *Brill*, being bridles to their inſolencies? For by them we could at any time either curb, or give them their reins, as ſince we find by enjoying that liberty all their injuries towards us began, which before they durſt not offer outwardly.

Was it, or is it ſecurity to us to ſuffer yearly three thouſand veſſels of theirs to fiſh upon his majeſty's ſeas, and infringe his majeſty's laws of *England* and *Scotland*, in which ſeas they are bound to acknowledge a ſovereignty to the kings of both kingdoms? and under that pretence of fiſhing, they may uſe this ſtratagem, cunningly and ſecretly to put ten or twelve ſoldiers in every buſs? and under colour of fiſhing, to land in ſome of his majeſty's dominions, where it is to be feared they will not want a party?

Is it ſafety, when we enter into conſideration, (by the multitude of their veſſels increaſed out of fiſhing,) how they inſult upon us at our own home and abroad, as, namely, in the *Eaſt Indies*, a thing able to move pity for the fact, and revenge for the doing it? and beſides many other ſcorns and diſgraces they put upon us, which need no repetition, becauſe they are freſh in our memory? They reſemble *Hecuba*, that has a human voice, ſpeaking, like a friend, but is a wolf ravening like a feind.

Is it good and beneficial to us to ſee the *Hollanders* enjoy our abſolute trade of the world, and firſt diſcovered by us; and not contented with the moderate gain to themſelves, labour by all indirect means to impoveriſh us, in uttering their commodities at an under rate, whereby to weary us of all ſuch trades? For ſuch is their covetouſneſs, and ſuch their unthankfulneſs, that they regard neither favours done, nor to be done them; and when there is no fear of revenge, there is little conſcience of offence in a covetous man. *Lycurgus* ſays, *That riches and trade produce a ſcarcity of virtue.* And it is a rule, *That prove a man unthankful, and diſprove him in all his other actions.*

By this falſe poſition, That *England*'s ſafety muſt depend upon *Holland*'s proſperity, we were driven to a war with *Spain*, and by that war to defend their commerce; for they never undertook hoſtile act by ſea againſt *Spain* till obliged by neceſſity that they were prohibited that trade: but the greateſt miſchief of all others, was tolerating their fiſhing, which we only might have enjoy'd; by means whereof we have reſign'd our weapons, which are the ſhips increaſed out of it, into their hands out of our own, to diſpoſe of to their advantage and our hurt, if at any time they comply with their king, and make him thereby mighty by ſea, or if they caſt themſelves upon the protection of *France*, as they will do if *France* can beſtead them more than we. This is a way, out of our cinders, to kindle a fire to burn and conſume us.

It may be compared to a ſubtile woman, who, to abuſe the ſimplicity of her weak husband with her hypocriſy and indirect practices, draws him to rely on her for the managing of his eſtate, being made believe he cannot otherwiſe ſubſiſt, according to the former propoſition; but he dying, her voluptuous deſires diſcover her foul intentions, and ſhe deſpiſes his friends and children. In this ſimile *Holland* is the unnatural mother; this kingdom the ſilly huſband; and the ſubjects the outcaſt and unreſpected children.

Our watchmen, in their wiſdoms, might have foreſeen this, and prevented it by enjoying the fiſhing; for then had *England* kept the ſame ſtrength by ſea, which *Holland* has ſince attained to; then had *England* undertaken the ſame courſes in fiſhing, as the *Hollanders* did; then would not *England* only have outſtripped them, but all the world in ſtrength of ſhips and wealth of ſubjects; and by conſequence have cauſed not only an admiration, but a terror to all the world that ſhould but hear of us, as now we are brought to reproach and ſcorn, by that mean nation of *Holland*, in remote countries, as far as the *Indies*, where they caſt the imputation of a petty nation, and poor people upon us, and make themſelves ſovereigns and kings over this part of the world; and as vermine gnaw upon meat, ſo do they detract from the worthieſt perſons.

In this trade, as in all others, they either deprave us, or deceive us; by example of a mercha. . of note, who above five years ſince freighted a ſhip of red herrings, from *Yarmouth* to *Marſeilles*, and departed in company of ſome *Hollanders*. It happened that by advantage of wind and weather the *Hollanders* arrived at their port, and made ſale of their herrings to an exceeding gain before the other's coming. The *Engliſh* finding the *Hollanders* unburthened of their lading, ſome two hundred barrels excepted, deſired to buy them at the rate the others had

had been ſold, thinking thereby to keep up the price; but the *Hollanders* ſold them at a low price to hinder and prejudice the others ſale. This envy of the *Hollanders* was the greater, in that it was grounded upon malice, and not founded upon injury: for *Macrobius* ſays, *That anger is increaſed upon occaſion, but malice upon ill condition.*

But if we enter into conſideration of our other trades, which they ſeek to deprive us of, let their carriages in *Greenland*, in *Newfoundland*, and *Ruſſia* appear, three places firſt known to us: in *Greenland* they conteſted with us in our whale-fiſhing, and were like to bring it to a naval battle, though the law of nations caſts it upon us as the firſt diſcoverers. Here their envy appeared, and they ſhewed there is no ſuch dangerous foe as the ſeeming friend.

Newfoundland being our ancient diſcovery, and that no nation could challenge intereſt therein but ourſelves; not many years ſince the *Hollanders* practiſed to convey threeſcore or fourſcore mariners, out of the weſt country, to inſtruct them in that manner of fiſhing; but it was diſcovered and prevented; beware therefore of them; for they are like a ſerpent, that never ſtings ſo deadly, as when it bites without hiſſing.

Notwithſtanding, as I have ſhewed before, that they have brought the trade of *Ruſſia*, from two ſhips of theirs to ſixty, and the decreaſe of ours from fifteen to two, yet this would not ſatisfy them, but they practiſed with the *Muſcovia* ambaſſador at the emperor's court at *Prague*, to forbid us the abſolute trade of *Ruſſia*; like envious perſons that deſire no good to any but themſelves.

It is no leſs admirable how they take advantage of us, upon all occaſions offered, as namely in the year 1628. when our wars with *France* prohibited our trading thither, whereby we were compelled to be ſerved by the ſhips of *Holland* with the greateſt part of wine that furniſhed this kingdom.

This prohibition much increaſed the *Holland* ſhipping; and they thereby raiſed their freight to their own price, and brought it from twenty four ſhillings to four pounds a ton; a ſum never heard of, but upon that occaſion.

One inſtance I will make apparent by a merchant of great account, himſelf being witneſs, and to whom it happened: a *Holland* ſhip being in the river of *Thames* to be ſold, this merchant offered two hundred and fifty pounds for her, but could not have her under three hundred pounds; whereupon they parted for this difference of price, and the *Hollander* repaired to *Bourdeaux* with his ſhip, and there procured a freight for *England*, which cleared three times the value of what he would have ſold her for; for to this merchant's knowledge, he gained nine hundred pounds by that voyage.

One great advantage the *Hollanders* have of us, is the built of their ſhips; there being little difference betwixt the *Hamburgers*, or *Eaſterlings*, and them. This gives them a freedom of trade into all parts, as well friends as foes: as friends they paſs for *Hollanders*, as enemies, they take upon them the name of *Eaſterlings*; ſo that betwixt the one and the other, they circumvent us in our freights of ſhips, and have juſt occaſion to laugh at us; as, indeed, I confeſs we deſerve it, when I conſider what they do is under pretence of ſafety to this kingdom: for good words, and ill deeds, deceive the wiſeſt.

They have many inticements to draw people and trade to them; they debar no man, be he *Turk*, *Jew*, or *Chriſtian*, the freedom of religion; which made one truly ſay, That the true religion was profeſſed in *Amſterdam*; for all ſects, be they never ſo diabolical, are there allowed and maintained by ſome or other.

As for their cuſtoms and excifes, though they be high, and indeed intolerable within the land, (for thoſe mechanick people being in love with the word liberty, though they find it not in effect, live in exceſſive ſlavery, and pay impoſitions for every thing they eat or wear;) yet any thing brought in by ſea, goes at a low rate; as for example of wine from *Bourdeaux*, that which pays nine hundred pounds cuſtom in *England*, will not come to above fifty pounds in *Holland*; and all other merchandize after that proportion. And this is the only cauſe of their great trade in their provinces above all other parts.

As theſe are their policies at home, ſo have they no leſs deceits abroad, but far leſs juſtifiable by the rules of honeſty; for to make a man honeſt, is to take away the occaſion of being diſhoneſt; but contrary to the law of honeſty, they injure, and will give no redreſs; they will ſuffer no wrong, nor yet give ſatisfaction in things of right: the thing they call good in themſelves, how ill ſoever it is to others. But to come to them more particularly,

You ſhall not be ignorant of a policy of theirs, wherein they ſhewed craft and cruelty to the *Dunkirkers* they took at ſea, only to abuſe us; for when they had the chance to take one of them, which was not often, and that with the advantage of three ſhips to one, moſt inhumanly they would ſlay them, purpoſely to make us believe, their malice was implacable, and irreconcileable; and yet notwithſtanding

notwithſtanding theſe barbarous acts, they made their daily reſort and trade into the ports of *Dunkirk* and *Flanders*, where they ſupplied them with victuals, powder, ſhot, or any other things they ſtood in need of.

And ſince then, as in the days of king *James*, in the view of all people; and though our articles of peace with the archduke did warrant our traffick thither, yet they would forbid it, and ſeize upon ſhips of ours as they entered the ports of *Flanders*, ſeeking to force us to *Calais*, from whence they knew our merchandiſe would be carried to *Flanders*, their drift being only to enrich *France* by our loſs, with the cuſtoms we there paid: to thankful people the remembrance of benefits ſhould never wax old; for no man is more bound to be grateful than they who have received ſuch deep obligations, as I have proved the *Hollanders* have done from us.

Many grievances our merchants have received from *Spain* came by their foul practices, as namely, by their carrying counterfeit braſs money into that kingdom, and laying it upon us; for which we have found a diſpleaſure and puniſhment due for ſuch an offence.

In time of peace, in the reign of king *James*, the *Hollanders* ſpared not to diſperſe rumours throughout this kingdom of fleets and preparations in *Spain* againſt us, to our no ſmall ſcandal, as though we were born to fear, or that our intelligence ſeemed ſo weak as to receive it from them; when indeed they did it to nouriſh jealouſies betwixt the two ſtates, to eat us out of that trade, as they have done in all others.

He that ſhall read what is gone before, ſhall find that their ingratitude does as much appear, as a crow that picks out the eyes of him that firſt nouriſhed him. And now I will apply my ſelf to the watchmen of our time, to conſider of theſe collections following;

1. Whether the ground and foundation of their poſitions, to make *Holland* equal in power with *England*, was laid with mature judgment, yea, or no? or out of ſome private ends to advance themſelves, fortunes, and credit?

2. In the ſecond I would have them conſider, in what eſtate *Holland*, and the people in it was in, before they conteſted with their lawful prince for ſovereignty, to that they are now brought to?

3. The third, is to conſider what a height they are now in, by our conniving with them; and we leſſened and diminiſhed by it.

4. The fourth, is the damage and hazard we have run in labouring to continue their greatneſs, and not ſeeking to abate it.

5. The fifth, is the diſcourteſies done us out of a covetous deſire of gain, and we ſtill to bear and permit them?

6. The ſixth, is the condition of their *Engliſh* friends that ſtill uphold their faction, and what the end of their deſigns are like to prove, if they be not let alone?

7. The ſeventh, is their ſtrength by ſea, and to think of a means to equal them in number of ſhipping, and how to bring their fiſhing and other trades into our hands; which may eaſily be effected, if my former propoſition of fiſhing be proſecuted.

8. And laſtly, it is to be conſider'd, what tie or ſecurity we can have of them, longer than we yield to their inſufferable injuries and inſolencies? For they may well preſume, that we bearing ſo many blows at their hands without revenge, demand the more.

And this ſhall ſuffice for a diſcovery of the *Hollanders* firſt beginning in greatneſs; their ſixty and odd years of continuance, and their preſent ſtate now in being; wherein their ingratitude to *England* is laid open, which the *Perſians* define to be a ſpring of vice, the enemy of nature, the poiſon of amity, the ruin of gentleneſs and benignity. All men muſt confeſs they have found the true affection of friendſhip in us, deſcribed by *Plato*, *That he is a good friend who does his friend good, but a mighty friend that defends him from harm.*

Some other Things I forbore to inſert in this Sixth Book of Fiſhing, concerning the Iſlands Hebrides, *and eſpecially the* Lewes, *worthy of Conſideration.*

I Forbore to handle the conditions of thoſe iſlands, and the uſe the *Hollanders* may make of them, for the ſame reaſons expreſſed before, as too tart a ſauce for *Hollanders* taſtes, and unfit to be publiſhed to the view of the vulgar ſort.

But before I look ſo far to the northward as thoſe iſlands, I will take a ſurvey of my own country of *England*, and gather ſuch collections as to make me underſtand the other the better.

I will not ſpeak, as I am an *Engliſhman*; for all men naturally are partial to the country and ſoil that firſt gave them life and food; but I will ſpeak according to ſenſe and truth, to make my argument and reaſon the ſtronger, in what I ſhall ſay of the ſtate of the iſlands *Hebrides*.

As God hath given a bleſſing to *England* above all other lands he hath placed and ſeated in this world; for, as it were, with his own finger he hath ſettled it in a ſea for its own ſecurity, an annoyance to all other countries, in permitting and impeaching univerſal trades and navigations, as that we may truly ſay to that point, that we are only happy above all others.

For whereas the ſouthern and richeſt part of *Europe* cannot ſubſiſt, nor the traffick of the *Indies* be maintained and upheld without ſuch materials as are ſent out of the northern regions; as alſo, that there is a neceſſity in the ſame caſe for the north to receive benefit of the ſouth; all theſe navigations, as well the one as the other, muſt neceſſarily have their paſſage through our ſeas and channel, and by conſequence fall into our mercies, as I have handled in my firſt book.

And as it has been an ancient poſition of ſtate, for the kingdom of *England* to have an eye to its back-door, which was then *Scotland*, till both the kingdoms were bleſſed and united in one, whereby the occaſion of jealouſy, and the opportunity and practice of *France* ceaſed, that was wont to ſtir up coals, and ſet one nation againſt the other.

So I may ſay of theſe iſlands *Hebrides*, that they may be made as dangerous a back-door to *Scotland* and *Ireland*, as *Scotland* has been in former ages to *England*, being placed and ſeated with moſt advantage to annoy the two kingdoms aforeſaid, if the *Hollanders* hold their footing they now have in them: the condition of the people of *Holland* being conſidered with their popular government, which other nations begin naturally to affect, by the example and encouragement of their late ſucceſſes and fortunes, by their wealth increaſed out of their trade, and by the exceſſive number of ſhipping, which are the dangers of iſlands; for without ſhipping they cannot be invaded.

By the *Hollanders* poſſeſſing thoſe iſlands, they may make their rendezvous and ſtaple of all their ſouthern navigations, as well in peace as war; they ſhall find ſufficient ſuccours in thoſe iſlands of victuals, both fleſh and fiſh, to give them relief; they ſhall find that in thoſe iſlands they ſhall be ſecured with ſeveral harbours of more importance and goodneſs, than their own coaſt can afford them; thoſe iſlands will furniſh them more natural helps againſt an enemy to defend themſelves, if any attempt ſhould be made againſt them; but above all, when they have thus ſettled and ſeated themſelves, we ſhall loſe our ancient and accuſtomed advantage of their paſſage through the *Narrow Seas*, which is the only awing power we have over them and all other nations; for they enjoying thoſe iſlands, will be enabled to reſort to them nine months in the year, and ſo to paſs to *Holland* by the northern parts of *Ireland* and *Scotland*, and avoid our channel and us, and our means to intercept them.

Moreover, in thoſe iſlands, which are ſeated as a back-door to *Scotland* and *Ireland*, as I have ſaid, and in ſo remote a place and diſtance from *England*, the danger is, that the people who are untamed, uncivil, will eaſily rebel by the inſinuating practices and inſtigation of the *Hollanders*, who are ready to allure, entice, and undertake any unlawful action, which ſhall tend to the overthrow of monarchy, and to ſettle their own form of uſurped government.

And therefore it behoves us to have a circumſpect eye over the *Hollanders*; for if errors and dangers are not remedy'd in the beginning, after follows great and unavoidable miſchiefs, like what is paſt; which is ſooner to be repented than recalled.

This ſhall ſuffice to thoſe points I have treated of in this ſixth book, wherein I have unmask'd and diſcover'd, out of my own experience and obſervations, the *Hollanders* long and ſubtle deceits to abuſe us; for all true-

true-minded *Engliſhmen* to behold with an eye of indifference, how with cunning and craft they have ſtill laboured to nouriſh diviſions betwixt the two mighty kingdoms of *England* and *Spain*, merely for their own profit and gain, till the death of queen *Elizabeth*; when they could no longer ſupport their politick practice, king *James* ſucceeding, who brought the bleſſed effect of his motto, *Beati pacifici*.

I could follow this ſubject of the *Hollanders*, but for making the bulk of this book too big; and that I would not do injury to another book that is written by the ſame author, entitled, *Certain Obſervations that are not worthy the name of hiſtory, that happened to* England *ſince the year of our Lord* 1558. *and a little before.* Which book contains theſe particulars:

The favours *England* hath done *Holland*.

The ſtate of *Holland* from the beginning of their inſurrections. The continuance, and what the end is like to prove.

Collections gathered out of a book written by Sir *Roger Williams*, and printed 1618.

Whether *Holland* do injury to their prince, yea, or no?

The deſperate condition *Holland* has been often reduced to.

The difference of times betwixt the beginning of queen *Elizabeth*'s reign, and the latter end.

A Relation of ſome Things that happened in the Reign of Queen Mary *and Queen* Elizabeth.

THough I have made a deſcription at large of the *Hollanders* inconſtancy, faithleſſneſs, and manifeſt injuries they have offered to us, yet I muſt ſay there is no man ſo wicked or vicious, but ſome kind of virtue will appear in him, for which he deſerves cheriſhment, as well as chaſtiſement for the other; but naturally they are people that deſire rather to live without virtue, than die without money; and this that followeth ſhall ſet forth their praiſes in the worldly carriages.

They are frugal in expence, the benefit whereof themſelves and country find; they are induſtrious, as their actions at home and abroad do witneſs; they are juſt in contracts, holding a conſcience in the little religion they have, not to defraud any man; they labour to ſeek out the ſecrets of lands not inhabited, and countries undiſcovered; they are inventors of arts, which to their praiſe they have enriched the world with; they are willing without excuſe to contribute for the good of the ſtate, not ſtanding ſo much upon privileges or petition of right, as to neglect any occaſion of advantage to benefit their commonwealth; they are laborious and painful of body, not admitting a beggar in their provinces, and willing to relieve and comfort one another in ſtrange countries; they are enemies to the expence of law and the griping of lawyers, and end moſt of their controverſies by arbitration of friends: their expences in drinking are ſaved, and mitigated by their miſery in eating: for out of their exceſſive covetouſneſs they almoſt ſtarve their bellies, and by their unmeaſurable frugality they ſcarce cloath their bodies; for it is verily believed the people in one of their chief cities ſpend not ſo much in apparel as is ſpent in a prince's court.

But all theſe virtues are drowned in a covetous ingratitude, that holds friendſhip with no body but for intereſt, which ends in the ſelf-ſame intereſt: and no marvel; for popular ſtates are no longer thankful, than they receive benefits; nor nothing is of ſhorter life amongſt them, than the memory of pleaſures or favours paſt: they are ſo careleſs to give ſatisfaction for the ill they do, that if it be demanded, it is as much as to ſpeak of valour to a faint-heart, or charity to an unmerciful man, or of courteſy to a churliſh diſpoſition; for it will prove but the telling a tale to him that is aſleep. The definition by a philoſopher in matters of friendſhip is as followeth:

A friend is long ſought for, ſcarce to find, and hard to keep; a friend is always ready to comfort in adverſity, to help in neceſſity, to bear with one's infirmity, and reprove his errors gently. But the *Hollanders* are contrary in their friendſhip; for they are like an ill bird that lays an ill egg, an ill tree that brings forth ill fruit, or a young cub that grows crafty like his dam; they practiſe and follow the ſteps of their predeceſſors; they make riches the heaven of their thoughts; and as it is held no hurt to know ill, but to do it, theſe people are perfect artiſts as well in doing as knowing miſchief.

Yet, to ſpeak truth, their natural ill has been nouriſhed and made worſe by us; for if we had not connived at them and their actions, to our own prejudice, they had wanted power to have executed their ingratitude: therefore it had behoved us to conſider

conſider what we gave, before we gave; as alſo to whom we gave, and how we gave it; for ſtates ought to be governed by wiſdom, and not by popular affection or paſſion. Wiſe men ſhould not meaſure things by outward appearance, but by diſcretion and reaſon, or elſe they behold their actions in a falſe glaſs.

But now let us at laſt ſeek to avoid that evil we have done in making the *Hollanders* too great for us to tolerate, leſt we feel the effect of repentance. It is not the meaneſt point of wiſdom to doubt and miſtruſt the worſt; for doubts beget underſtanding, and thereby prevention: and as in natural bodies the longer one lives in health, ſickneſs is the more dangerous when it comes, ſo it is with us and the *Hollanders*; the longer we have lived in a mutual and inſeparable peace, now that they have over-wrought us with cunning, and made us feeble by the ſtrength they have ſuck'd from us, it will behove us to recover our ancient vigour and valour, and be no longer deluded with falſe pretences of ſafety to us and the commonwealth. Let us follow the old rule in ſeeking to put out the fire of our neighbour's houſe, though he be our enemy, leſt it ſhould flame into our own; for it is an eaſier thing to oppoſe danger abroad than repulſe is at home.

I have had occaſion to inſert ſome part of this laſt leaf in my former fourth book, which is there to be ſeen.

The End of the Sixth Book.

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PHILIPPUS BALDÆUS DELPHENSIS V. D. M.
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IN REGNO IAFFNAPATNAM IN INSULA CEY:
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Vol. III. Facing the Frontisp. Descrip. East India.

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MALABAR
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with their adjacent
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A True and Exact

DESCRIPTION

OF THE

Moſt Celebrated *Eaſt-India* Coaſts

OF

MALABAR and *COROMANDEL*;

As alſo of the

ISLE of *CEYLON*:

With all the adjacent Kingdoms, Principalities, Provinces, Cities, Chief Harbours, Structures, Pagan Temples, Products, and living Creatures: The Manners, Habits, OEconomies and Ceremonies of the Inhabitants. As likewiſe the moſt remarkable warlike Exploits, Sieges, Sea and Field-Engagements betwixt the *Portugueſe* and *Dutch*; with their Traffick and Commerce.

The Whole adorned with new Maps and Draughts of the chief Cities, Forts, Habits, Living Creatures, Fruits, *&c.* of the Product of the *Indies*, drawn to the Life, and cut in Copper Plates.

Alſo a moſt circumſtantial and compleat Account of the Idolatry of the Pagans in the *Eaſt Indies*, the *Malabars*, *Benjans*, *Gentives*, *Brahmans*, &c. Taken partly from their own *Vedam*, or Law-Book, and authentick Manuſcripts; partly from frequent Converſation with their Prieſts and Divines: With the Draughts of their Idols, done after their Originals.

By PHILIP BALDÆUS, *Miniſter of the Word of God in* Ceylon.

Tranſlated from the *High Dutch*, printed at *Amſterdam* 1672.

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THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

MOST of the modern *Eaſt-India* voyages that have been publiſhed of late years, being very defective either in reſpect of the many fabulous relations that are inſerted frequently, rather to pleaſe the reader, than to purſue the ſtrict rules of truth, (not to mention the errors in the computation of the diſtances of places, and frequent unneceſſary digreſſions,) it is no wonder, if the moſt curious in hiſtory have conceived a very indifferent opinion, if not an intire averſion to them. It was upon this conſideration that the enſuing treatiſe coming to our hands, we thought it abſolutely worthy the publick view, it being agreed by all who have had the opportunity of travelling in thoſe countries, that the ſame may, in reſpect of its ſincerity and exactneſs, challenge the prerogative before any other hitherto publiſhed upon the ſame ſubject. For, conſidering that the author thereof lived not only in the ſtation of a miniſter in divers places of *Malabar* and *Coromandel*, and eſpecially for ſeveral years in the kingdom of *Jafnapatnam* in the iſle of *Ceylon*, but alſo aſſiſted in perſon in divers ſieges and expeditions, and thereby had more than ordinary opportunity to be informed concerning the nature and conſtitution of thoſe countries, their products, inhabitants, manners, cuſtoms, religion, ceremonies, œconomy, traffick, manufacturies, civil and military exploits, and what elſe may be requiſite for the accompliſhment of a good hiſtory, founded upon the faith of one who had been an eye witneſs of thoſe tranſactions; conſequently he may challenge the preference before many, who relate matters chiefly upon hearſay. As to thoſe things which are not grounded upon his ocular teſtimony, the ſame were taken from authentick records and manuſcripts, and illuſtrated with maps and draughts of thoſe ſeveral countries, cities, nations, *&c.* done to the life. What relates to the idolatry of theſe *Pagans*, we are convinced, by his own teſtimony, that beſides the opportunity he had of viſiting their *Pagodes*, or temples, (a thing rarely allowed there

there,) one of their moſt learned *Brahmans* lived with him in the ſame houſe for a conſiderable time, from whom he, by conſtant converſation, as well as out of their own records, learned the moſt ſecret receſſes of their religion, and had the exact draughts of their idols, much beyond what *Abraham Royerius* (who writ upon the ſame ſubject) can pretend to upon that account. As for our part, we have made it our chiefeſt care to give you an exact delineation of the before-mentioned draughts in the beſt copper plates that could be procured; and that with all imaginable exactneſs, according to the true originals, contrary to what is practiſed by many, who ſtudy to repreſent matters of this kind, rather according to their own fancy, than to truth. We have only this to add, that to avoid all unneceſſary prolixity, it was judged requiſite to omit many digreſſions, tending not ſo much towards the elucidation of the hiſtory, (as we ſuppoſe,) to ſhew the author's criticiſm in the holy ſcripture.

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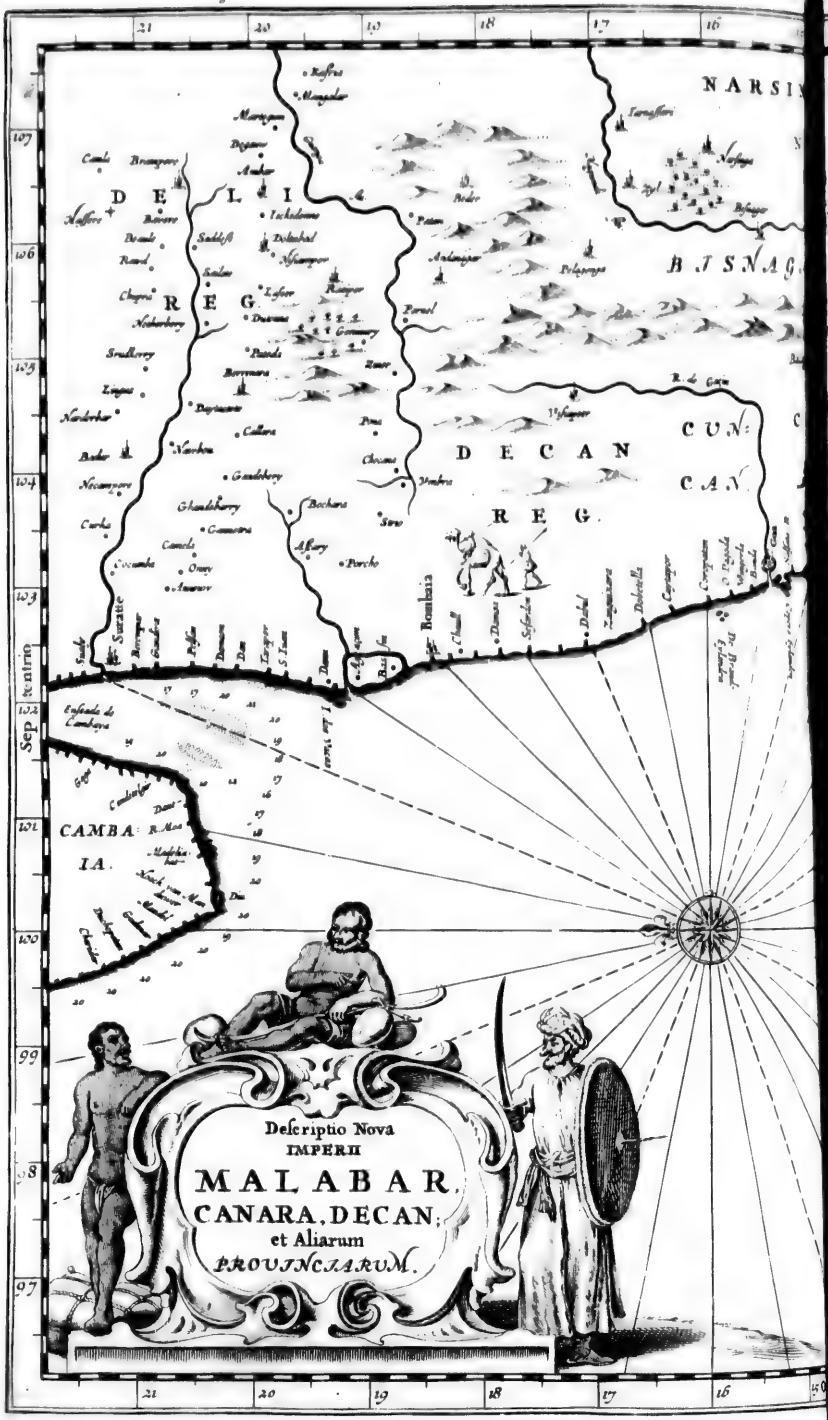
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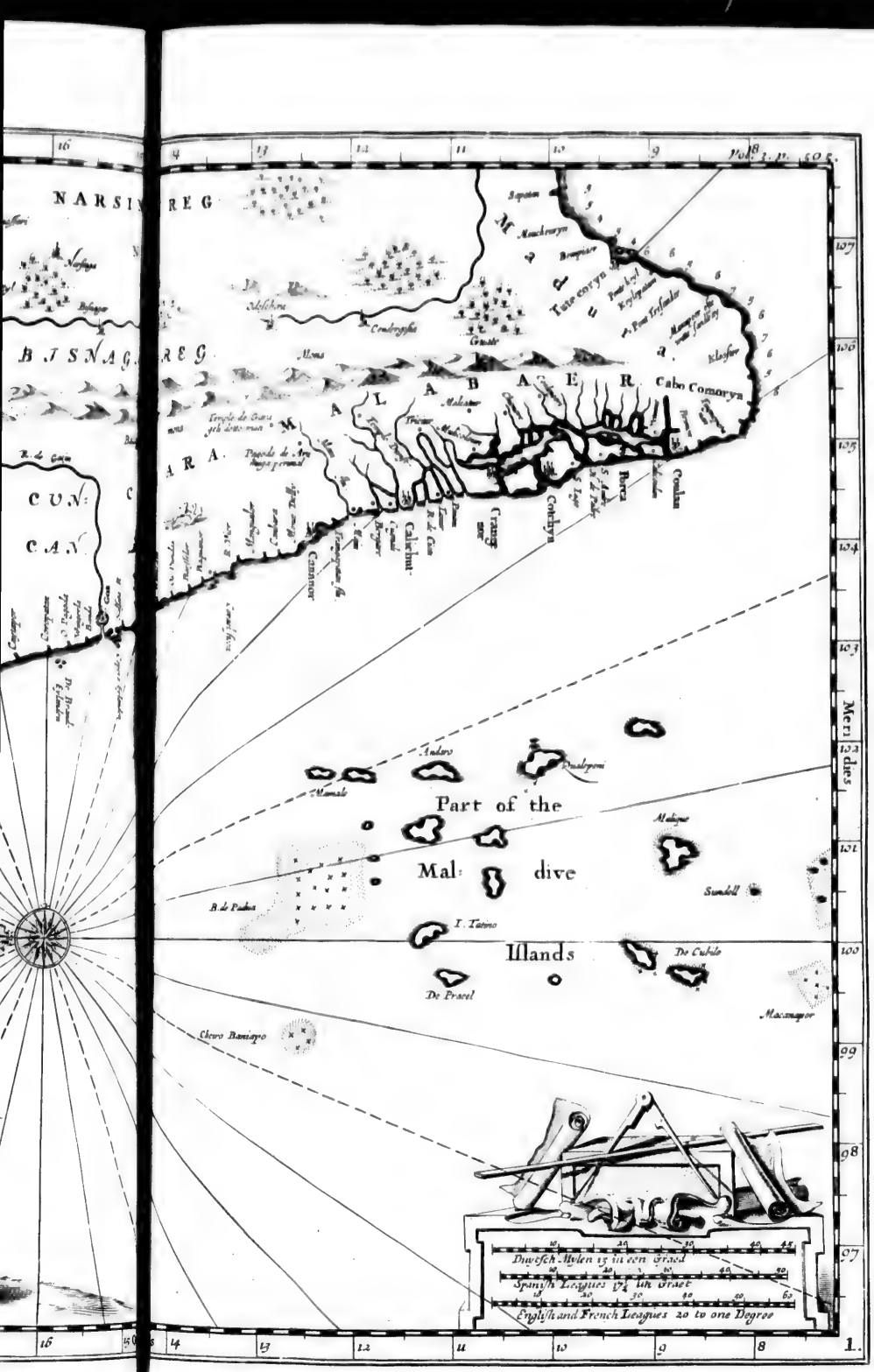
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An Exact

DESCRIPTION

Of the COASTS of

MALABAR and COROMANDEL

IN THE

EAST-INDIES.

CHAP. I.

The Diviſion and Limits of the Indies. *The Author's Purpoſe in the enſuing Treatiſe. A Deſcription of* Cambaja *and* Suratte. *The Treaty with the* Great Mogul, *by Mr.* Van Teylingen.

Baldæus.

THE main deſign of the enſuing treatiſe being to give an exact account of the *Indies*, as far as is come to our knowledge, either by our own experience, or the conſtant converſation with people of unqueſtionable credit, *viz.* the coaſts of *Malabar* and *Coromandel*, together with the iſle of *Ceylon*, and places thereunto belonging; we thought it not beyond our ſcope to inſert the true limits and diviſion of the whole *Indies*, whereby the reader (together with the annexed map) may form to himſelf the more clear idea of the ſituation of theſe places.

The limits of the Indies.

India therefore borders to the weſt upon the river *Indus*, towards the *Arabian Sea*; to the north it is incloſed by the mount *Taurus*, on the eaſt ſide by the vaſt *Eaſtern Ocean*, and to the ſouth by the *Indian Sea*. *India* was anciently divided into two parts by the river *Ganges*; thence the more eaſtern part was called *India* beyond the *Ganges*, and the weſtern part *India* on this ſide of the *Ganges*, now known by the name of *Indoſtan*, and, according to the opinion of ſome authors, is the ſame mentioned in the ſcripture by the name of *Havila*.

India is beſides this divided into ſeveral kingdoms and provinces, to wit, the empire of the *Great Mogul*, *Decan*, *Malabar*, *Coromandel*, *Crika*, *Bengale*, *Pegu*, *Siam*, and *Cambaja*, beſides the *Maldive* iſles, (of which there is a vaſt number,) the iſlands of *Ceylon*, (of which in the ſecond book,) of *Sumatra*, *Borneo*, *Celebes*, *Amboina*, *Banda*, and the *Molucque* iſles, viz. *Termate*, *Machian*, *Bachian*, *Tidor*, *Motir*, *Potbacker*, and divers others. *Baldæus.*

The author's intentions.

As it is not my intention to treat of the whole *Indies*, but to confine my ſelf to thoſe parts I have for the moſt part ſeen my ſelf, and to give you a relation of ſuch remarkable tranſactions, both of peace and war, as have happened there; ſo I will begin with the kingdom of *Cambaja*, and its capital city, having the ſame name, and end with *Bimilipatam* upon the coaſt of *Orixa*, bordering upon *Bengale*.

The province of Cambaja.

Cambaja is a different province from *Guſuratte*, ſituate at twenty two degrees of northern latitude; it has got its name from its capital city named *Cambaja*, (formerly the *Indian Cayrus*,) ſeated at the mouth of the river *Indus*, (or *Sandus*,) known by different names among divers nations: it riſes among the mountains of *Paramiſus*, and being augmented by at leaſt nineteen other rivers, (among which are the *Hydaſpes* and *Hypaſis*, whither *Alexander the Great* carried his arms,) it falls by ſeven different channels, or, as ſome will have it, by five, into the ſea, two of which paſs through and exonerate themſelves into the ſea in this kingdom of *Cambaja*. It borders to the

The River Indus was formerly alſo called Sandus and Pangab, from its five branches.

Baldæus. the eaſt upon the country of *Mandoa*, to the weſt upon the country of the *Nautakers* or *Gedroſiers*, to the north it has the kingdoms of *Sanga* and *Dulcinga*, and to the ſouth that of *Decan*. It is one of the moſt fruitful provinces of the *Indies*, which furniſhes the circumjacent places with corn, wheat, rice, peaſe, butter, oil, and divers other proviſions. The inhabitants are generally either *Guſurattiens* or *Benjans*, being much addicted to traffick, and very quick in their dealings. They make here the beſt calicoes of all ſorts; and the country abounds in indigoe, granates, hyacinths, amethiſts, and divers other precious commodities. According to *Cluver*'s computation, *Cambaja* is one hundred and fifty *German* leagues long, and as many broad.

The limits and fertility of Cambaja.

Its extent.

The city of *Cambaja* (called the *Benjan Paradiſe*) lies, according to the common computation, ſixteen leagues to the weſt of *Brochia*, ſeated at the entrance of one of the largeſt channels of the river *Indus*. About three leagues thence, on the oppoſite ſhore, is a great village, inhabited by the rebellious *Raſſpoutes*, a perverſe generation, living for the moſt part upon rapine. This river is almoſt dry all the winter, though at high tide it riſes ſeveral fathoms deep, ſo that then ſhips may come up to the very walls of the city, where at low tide it is fordable. This city is reckoned as big again as *Suratte*, being well built, and fortify'd with a tripple wall: it has three *Bazars*, or great market-places, for the ſale of all ſorts of merchandizes, and twelve gates; beſides that almoſt every ſtreet has a peculiar gate, which is ſhut up every night, to prevent diſorders: its whole circuit is about ſix or ſeven *Engliſh* miles; and without the gates are four very delicious large ciſterns or ponds, and fifteen gardens, for the diverſion of ſuch of the inhabitants as are pleaſed to divert themſelves there with walking in the cool of the evening. They are for the moſt part pagans, and addicted to traffick, eſpecially in all ſorts of ſtuffs for clothing, which they tranſport to *Diu*, *Goa*, *Atchin*, *Mecha* and *Perſia*.

A deſcription of the city of Cambaja, *formerly a rich city, but ſomewhat decay'd ſince, by the ill conduct of the* Moors.

Amadabath, the capital city of the province of *Guſuratte*, lies eighteen leagues from *Cambaja*, about twenty three degrees and a half northern latitude, and conſequently directly under the tropick of *Cancer*: it is ſeated in a great and moſt delightful plain, juſt on the bank of a very fine river; it is both ſtrong and populous, being fortified with a goodly wall with round turrets and twelve gates.

A deſcription of Amadabath.

The ſtreets are very broad, the houſes very handſome, and the pagan temples ſtately built. In the center of the city is the caſtle, the reſidence of the governor, ſurrounded with a very high wall; the gates whereof are guarded by a certain body of troops, who let no body paſs or repaſs without leave, this being formerly the ordinary ſeat of their kings. The commodities found at *Amadabath* are girdles, turbants, gold tiſſues, ſilk ſtuffs, ſatins, damasks, tapeſtries, ſuchar, amſpien or opium, gummi lacca, borax, preſerv'd ginger, mirabolans, ſal-armoniack, and indigo. Under the juriſdiction of *Amadabath* are twenty five conſiderable towns, and two thouſand nine hundred and ninety eight villages.

Baldæus.

The city of *Suratte* is a place of great traffick, both the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* having factories here: it lies open to the water-ſide, except that the caſtle is well provided with cannon brought from the ſhip *Middleburgh*, which was loſt there 1617. But on the land-ſide it is fortified by a wall of ſtone, the old fortifications being only of earth: it has no more than three gates, but two governors independent on one another, one of the caſtle, the other of the city. Next adjacent to the palace of the laſt ſtands the cuſtom-houſe, where all goods imported or exported pay three and a half *per Cent.* cuſtom, except gold and ſilver, which pay only two *per Cent.*

The city of Suratte.

Theſe cuſtom-houſe officers are very troubleſome and injurious to ſtrangers, and have often given great cauſe of complaint to our company, as will appear from the following petition, and the *Mogul*'s patent (or *Firman*) granted to the ſaid company, and dated the 15th day of the month *Rammaſay*, in the 16th year of the king's reign, and ſince that of *Mahomet* 1052.

Differences about the cuſtom.

"THE *Dutch* are approached to the gates of your majeſty's court, expecting at the feet of your majeſty's throne (whoſe brightneſs is like that of the ſun, and reaches to the skies) the happineſs of ſeeing the eyes of the greateſt monarch, to offer their juſt complaints againſt the officers of your majeſty at *Suratte*, who have been extremely troubleſome to them, in exacting from them illegal duties of their goods bought at *Agra* and *Amadabath*, and thence brought to *Suratte*: they humbly requeſt your majeſty to ſend your orders by your *Duwan* or commiſſioner to the cuſtom-houſe officers at *Suratte*, with ſtrict command to regulate themſelves accordingly, as they expect to be accountable for it to your majeſty."

The Dutch petition the Great Mogul.

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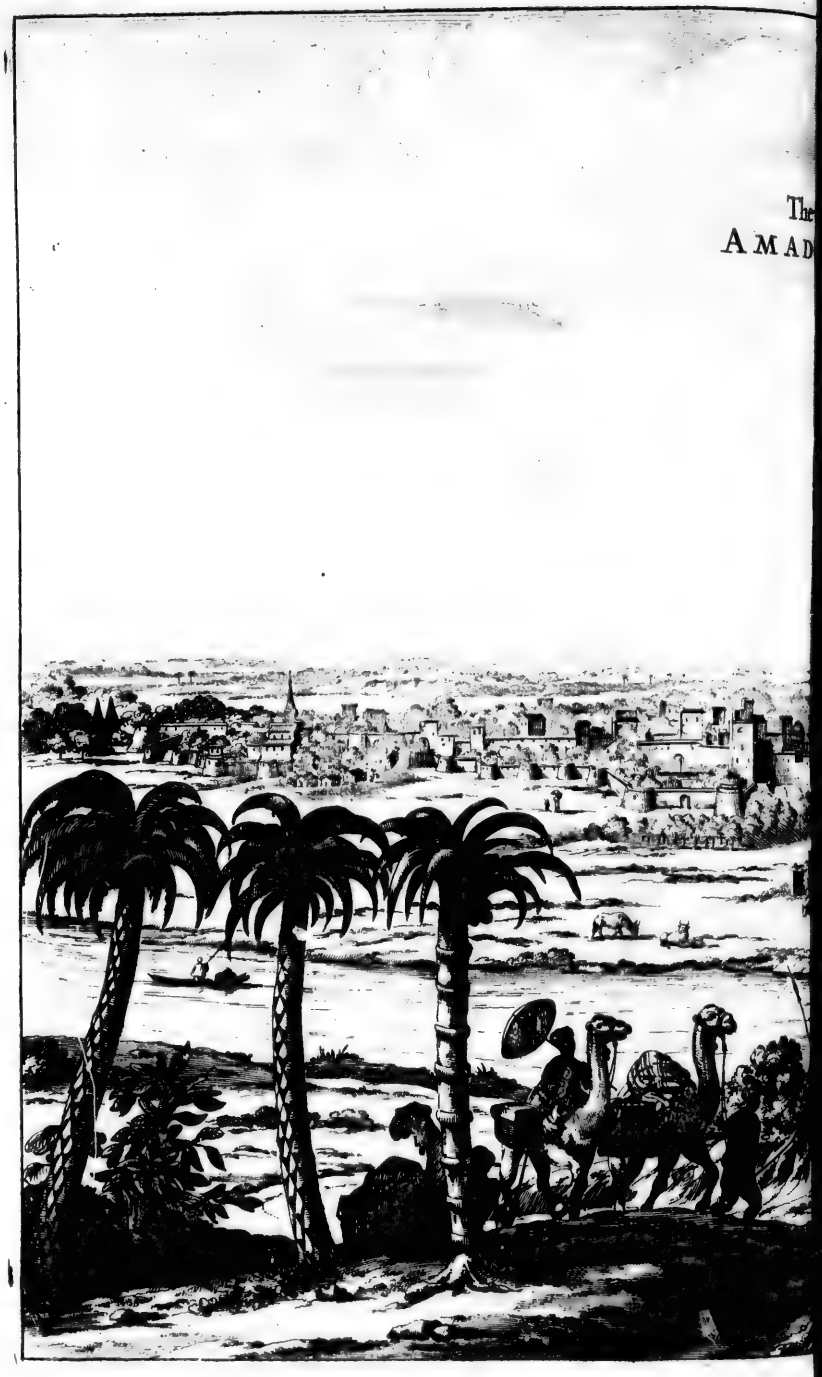
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The City of
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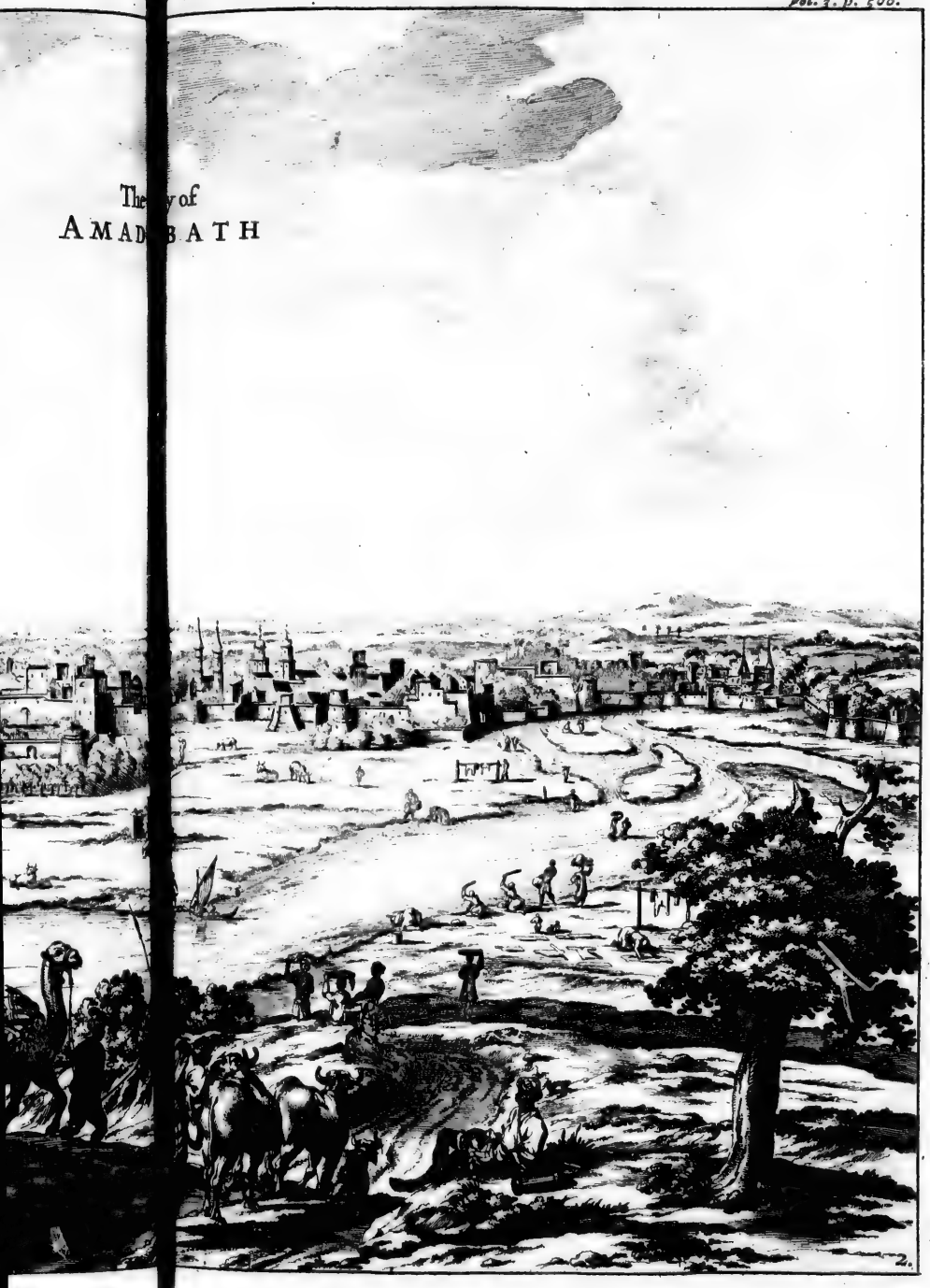

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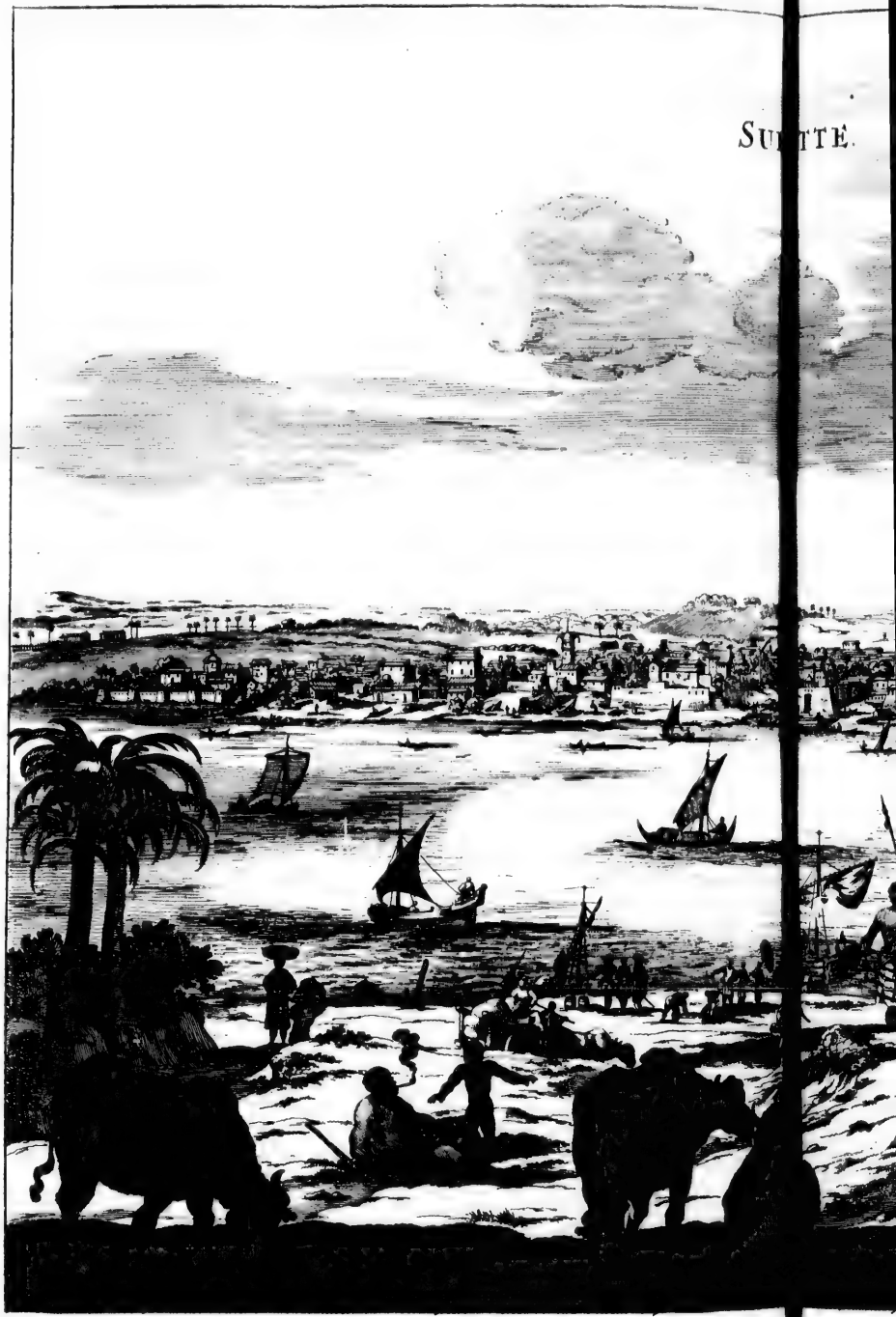

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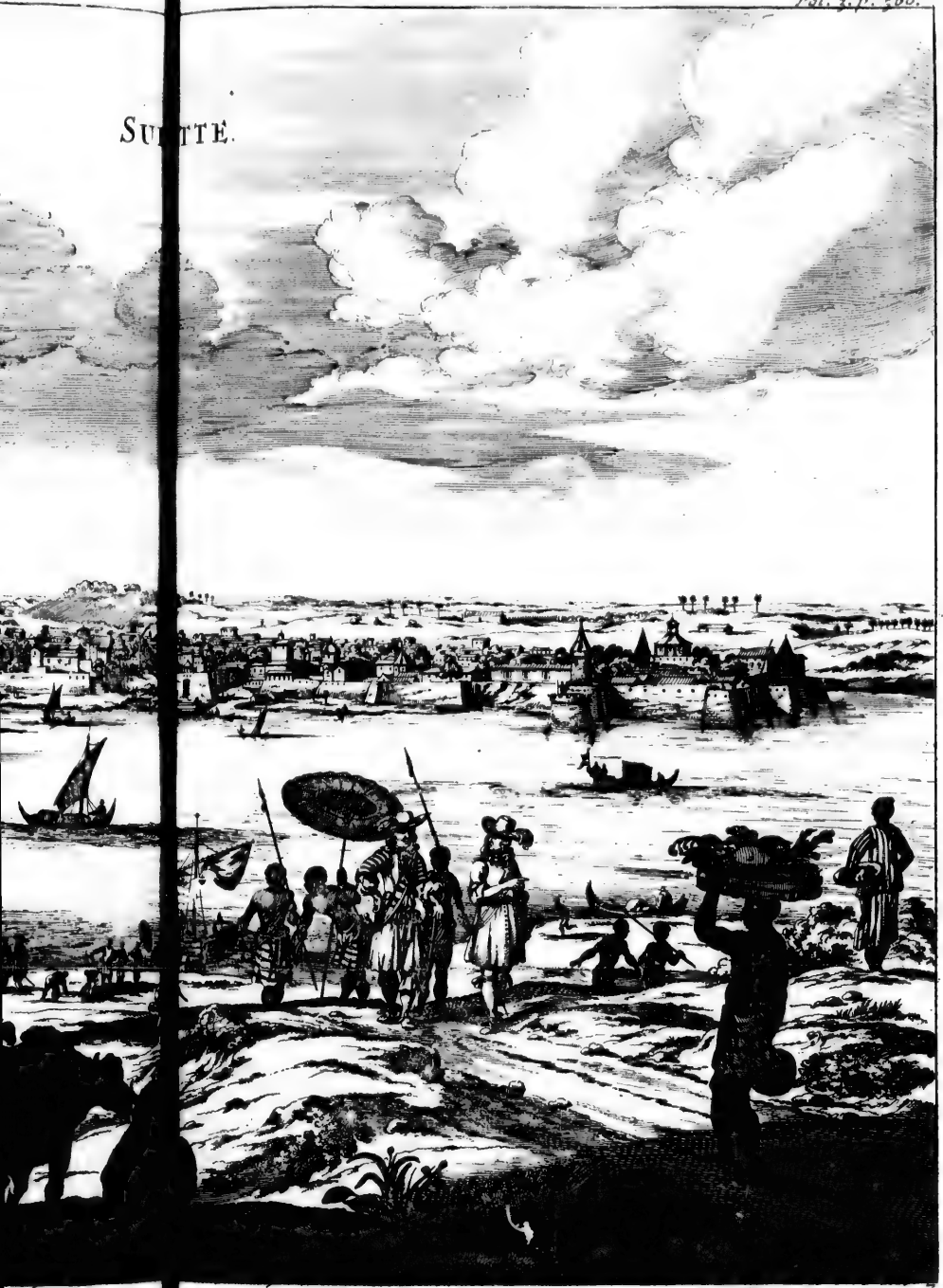

Baldæus. The king did immediately diſpatch his orders, that the cuſtom-houſe officers ſhould not take from the commodities bought at *Agra*, and belonging to the *Dutch*, from ten to twelve *per Cent.* and thoſe bought at *Amadabath* ten, or ten and one half *per Cent.* that they ſhould be obliged to reſt ſatisfied with the bills of loading given them by the *Dutch* merchants, and exact no more cuſtom under any other pretence; that furthermore, all commodities bought at *Brodera* and *Suratte* ſhould pay according to the price they were bought for; and that they ſhould avoid giving any juſt reaſon of complaint to the *Dutch*. But theſe promiſes had not the deſired effect, as will appear out of the next following letter of Mr. *John van Teylingen* preſident and governor of the *Dutch* factories in *Guſuratte*, *Indoſtan*, and *Mocha*.

Mr Van Teylingen's Letter.

"WHereas by the manifold exactions and injuries, the robbing of the factory of our company, the detention of *Daniel Maſſouw*, barber's mate, and divers other enormous proceedings, the perſons in the ſervice of the company, in the empire of the *Great Mogul*, have received conſiderable detriment from divers of the *Great Mogul*'s officers, (contrary to the intent of his *Firman*, or letters patents,) which muſt needs tend to the great damage of the company in general: it has, after mature deliberation, been thought expedient, by Mr. *Cornel. van der Lijn* governor-general, and the reſt of the members of the council of the *Indies*, to redreſs the ſaid affronts and injuries by force of arms. The yachts, the *Larck*, the *Sluice*, the *Lillo*, and the *Eight Churches*, being equipped lately for that purpoſe, and to be joined by divers other ſhips from *Batavia*, we give the command thereof, during my abſence from the fleet, to the head factor *Gerard Pelgrim*, which however ſhall ceaſe that minute, when I come aboard any one of theſe ſhips in perſon. To prevent all diſorders, rapine, and other enormities, I do by theſe preſents give a ſtrict charge to all the officers, of what degree ſoever, and to all the ſoldiers and ſeamen aboard theſe veſſels, not to hurt the *Moors*, either in their lives or eſtates, (this being contrary to the intention of the council,) but only to ſeize upon their ſhips, money, and goods, and to ſecure them, till ſatisfaction be obtained by the company upon their juſt pretenſions. We therefore once more command all the officers, ſoldiers, and ſeamen, without exception, not to injure or rob (after the ſeizing of any of theſe ſhips) the *Moors* in their perſons or goods, under the penalty of corporal puniſhment, and (according to the nature of the crime) of the loſs of their lives, as they will anſwer the ſame to the contrary at their peril." *Baldæus.*

Given at the Dutch *Factory at* Suratte, Feb. 10. 1649.

JOHN VAN TEYLINGEN.

The following Order was likewiſe directed to the Head Factor Gerard Pelgrim, *and the Factor* Peter Ruttens.

Secret orders to Mr. G. Pelgrim and P. Ruttens.

"IT being firmly reſolved in council, the 25th of *October*, to proſecute with the utmoſt vigour the deſign laid formerly by the governor-general, and the council of the *Indies*, (which was delay'd by our long ſtay,) with the firſt opportunity, the yachts, the *Sluice*, *Larck*, *Lillo*, and *Eight Churches*, are choſen for that purpoſe: but two of them being now at *Mocha*, and the other two ordered to ſtay there the winter at *Dabul*, we conſtitute the head factor Mr. *Gerard Pelgrim* commodore over the ſaid ſhips, as ſoon as they are rejoined aboard the *Larck*, or any other of theſe ſhips he ſhall be pleaſed to chuſe, where he ſhall carry the flag, with authority to call on board the council of war when occaſion requires. In his abſence, or ſeparation of the ſhips, the factor, *Peter Ruttens*, ſhall exerciſe the ſame authority as *Gerard Pelgrim*, both which however ſhall ceaſe with the arrival of the preſident Mr. *John van Teylingen*. Whether the two before-mentioned yachts ſhall leave *Mocha* together, or not, is not yet determined; but in the mean while we ſtrictly charge you, that ſo ſoon as you have notice that the *Chaſirovan*, (a ſhip of a vaſt bulk,) or any of the other ſhips belonging to *Suratte*, are preparing to depart you ſet ſail ſome days before them, under pretence of being bound (according as we uſed to do) for *Gamron*. All which is to be underſtood, provided matters be not brought to a happy concluſion before that time; for if that were, you have nothing to do but to proſecute your voyage in good earneſt thither, unleſs you had a ſure proſpect of gaining conſiderably by your ſtay, and increaſing the price of your cargo. For the reſt, it is to be your main concern, to take effectual care that none of the *Great Mogul*'s ſhips, nay, even ſuch as trade thither from *Diu*, eſcape your hands; and eſpecially to keep a watchful eye over the *Chaſirovan*, which commonly ſails ſooner than the reſt, and has more ready money

Baldæus. " money aboard. In caſe it ſhould happen " (which we hope it will not,) that the " yacht the *Eight Churches*, which is to " return from *Gamron*, ſhould, by ſome " accident or other, be detained in her " voyage, we have provided againſt it, by " diſpatching to the commanders thereof a " copy of theſe orders for their direction up- " on occaſion; which after the return from " their voyage they are to deliver, ſealed " up, into your cuſtody, where the ſame is " to remain till you ſet ſail again; which " is to be redelivered to them to ſerve for " a ſure direction, in caſe you ſhould be " ſeparated at ſea. Silence ought to be " your moſt peculiar care in this caſe, for " fear the ſecret coming to the ears of the " *Moors*, they ſhould ſtop the departure " of their ſhips. The *Larck* and the *Lillo*, " and in default of thoſe, the *Poſt*, after " their firſt appearance here, ſhall be ſent " to *Gamron*, whence they ſhall ſail pret- " ty late, as if bound for *Batavia*; but un- " der pretence of being unable to proſecute " their voyage, come to an anchor in the " road before *Dabul*, from whence they " ſhall ſail, *Aug.* 15. ſteering their courſe " directly for the river of *Suratte*; where " they are to ſtay till the arrival of the " preſident Mr. *John van Teylingen* a- " board them; and in the mean while " ſeize upon all the *Moors* veſſels coming " from *Mocha*; yet ſo, as not to commit " any further outrages againſt them, ex- " cept only to keep them in ſafe cuſtody " till the company ſhall have received ſa- " tisfaction from the king *Chaſtiaan*. So " ſoon as they have retaken a veſſel, they " ſhall take the *Nachodas* merchants and " ſeamen over in their ſhips, and keep " them under a good guard, yet without " any moleſtation, rather ſhewing them " all the marks of reſpect and civility " that can be; and ſhall put as many ſol- " diers and ſeamen of ours aboard ſuch a " ſhip as ſhall be thought ſufficient to keep " her: and proclamation is to be made, " enjoining every body to abſtain from " doing the leaſt injury to the ſeized " *Moors*, either in their perſons or goods; " and officers are to be appointed to ſee " the ſame put in execution. After we " have got all, or moſt of the *Mooriſh* " veſſels into our hands, you ſhall take " care to embark all the *Facquiers*, and " other looſe people in one ſhip, and to *Baldæus.* " let them ſail their ways where they " pleaſe, they being not worth our keep- " ing. This done, you ſhall take the firſt " opportunity of fair weather to tranſ- " port, firſt the ready money, and after- " wards the merchandizes aboard our veſ- " ſels; but ſo, as that they be well pack- " ed and ſealed up firſt, an exact in- " ventory made, with the names or marks " of the reſpective owners; each parcel " is to be marked with a peculiar letter, " a copy of which is to be given to the " owners, and a written acknowledgment " to be taken from the *Nachodas* of what " is thus taken, and to be redelivered, " in caſe matters be adjuſted hereafter, " that ſo every one may know where to " look for his own; the factor being to " be careful in this point, in the tranſpor- " tation, as well as the maſter of the " ſhip in receiving, as they will anſwer for " the loſs at their peril. The *Engliſh* " yacht coming from *Mocha* you are to " let paſs unmoleſted for weighty reaſons, " purſuant to the reſolution taken in " council the fourteenth. The ſame is to " be done in reſpect of all *French*, *Da-* " *niſh*, and all other ſhips in amity with " the ſtates, provided they don't attempt " any thing upon the *Moors* in your cuſto- " dy; in which caſe you ſhall defend your- " ſelves to the laſt extremity. Laſtly, if " the matter could be ſo contrived, that " our veſſels coming from *Mocha* might " intercept and ſeize the ſhips of *Cambija*, " and carry them to the river of *Suratte*, " it would be a ſingular piece of ſervice, " and much haſten the accommodation. I " conclude, wiſhing you health and hap- " pineſs in your voyage and undertaking, " for your own glory, and the intereſt of " the company."

From the Dutch *Factory at* Suratte, Feb. 20. 1649.

Signed, *Arent Barentſz*,
John van Teylingen,
Jooſt Dirik,
Adrian van der Burgh,
Daniel van der Hagen,
Gerardo Pelgrim, and
Elias Boudaan.

CHAP.

Baldæus. *Baldæus.*

CHAP. II.

The Treaty carried on. What Articles were propoſed by the Dutch, *and agreed to by the King. His Patent, or* Firman, *and Ratification of the Treaty.*

FOR fear of exaſperating the *Great Mogul* beyond redreſs, it was thought fit to diſpatch the following letter to his majeſty.

" MOST renowned, moſt potent, " and moſt illuſtrious king, and " lord, filled with majeſty and wealth, the " brighteſt princes among the moſt power- " ful; As an unjuſt war is deſervedly de- " teſted by all nations, and ſeldom comes " to a happy concluſion; ſo our being ob- " liged to act againſt your majeſty (pur- " ſuant to the command of our general, " and the council of the *Indies*,) is founded " upon very juſt and legal pretenſions. " Had your officers thought fit to treat us " according to the tenour of your majeſ- " ty's patent, or *Firman*, granted to us, " we ſhould never have attempted to raiſe " any differences betwixt your majeſty and " us, much leſs have had recourſe to open " hoſtilities. But when we were forced to " ſee our traffick, not only in this place, " but alſo at *Bengale*, interrupted and ſpoil- " ed by moſt injurious monopolies (to the " great detriment of the company) by in- " tolerable affronts, and refuſing our juſt " requeſt, and humble petitions, to have " the two fugitives, and ſince circumciſed " ſervants of the company, delivered into " our hands; and to have due reparation " made for the damage ſuſtained by the " company in the robbery committed up- " on their factory. All theſe injurious pro- " ceedings have obliged our governor-ge- " neral, and the council of the *Indies*, to " have recourſe to the law of arms, to pro- " cure us reaſonable ſatisfaction; and ha- " ving for this purpoſe ſent us four ſhips " from *Batavia*, we did the 12th and 16th " of this month, ſeize your majeſty's ſhips " the *Genjawer* and *Sababbi*, (coming from " *Mocha*,) and after having taken out of " them all the ready money they had " aboard, and underſtanding that the ſaid " *Genjawer* and *Sababbi* belonged properly " to your majeſty, we thought fit (out of " reſpect to your perſon) to have them " carried by our ſeamen into the river, and " under the caſtle of *Suratte*, not queſtion- " ing but what we have been forced to un- " dertake upon this account, for the main- " taining of our juſt rights, will meet with " a favourable conſtruction from your ma- " jeſty. The money ſeized by our veſſels, " ſhall not ſuffer the leaſt diminution, but " be kept with all ſecurity, till ſuch time " that your majeſty ſhall grant us a new " patent in due form, purſuant to ſuch ar- " ticles as we have orders from our ſupe- " riors to repreſent to your majeſty, and " are as follows:

" I. It is deſired that leave be given to *Articles propoſed by the* Dutch *to the* Great Mogul. " build a warehouſe for our own uſe, ei- " ther in or near the ſquare of the caſtle, " where we may lay up ſafely our mer- " chandizes at the firſt hand free from thoſe " diminutions and loſſes we ſuſtained year- " ly in the *Alphandigo*, paying exactly the " uſual cuſtoms; that done, we ſhall be " at liberty to carry on our traffick, as " formerly, undiſturbed and unmoleſted.

The governor's anſwer was, " That ei- *The anſwer.* " ther a place or houſe ſhould be granted " us juſt without the caſtle, not far from " the *Alphandigo*, for our proper uſe only.

" II. We deſire that our traffick may be " carried on without diſturbance at *Bengale*, " and in the circumjacent places, free from " paying any duties, except what is paid " uſually at *Pipeli*, (the place where goods " are imbarked,) purſuant to the patent " formerly granted by his majeſty, but " contravened by the avaritious governors.

Hereunto it was anſwered, " That the " governor *Miermoſa* ſhould endeavour to " obtain this point from the king.

" III. Reſtitution was required of ſuch " ſums of money, as of late years had been " unjuſtly detained, both at *Suratte* and " *Amadabath*, and full ſatisfaction deſired " for what cuſtoms had been extorted from " our ſhips betwixt *Agra* and *Amadabath*, " contrary to the expreſs words of his ma- " jeſty's patent; the whole ſum amounting " to forty one thouſand four hundred and " ſeventy nine *Ropias*.

" IV. His majeſty was requeſted to iſſue " his orders for the full reſtitution of what " money was taken out of our factory at " *Suratte*; and that a certain ſum (as his " majeſty ſhould direct) might be allotted in " lieu of ſatisfaction for the robbery com- " mitted upon the ſaid factory, the mur- " dering of the company's ſervants, and " the injuries and affronts put upon us: the " ſum of the money taken away from thence " amounting to ſixty ſix thouſand *Ropias*.

Baldæus. Unto theſe two points the anſwer was made; "That the reſtitution of what was "taken from us was a reaſonable requeſt; "but to give ſatisfaction, for that other "enormities were committed by robbers, "(ſince fled from juſtice,) was not in their "power; but if any of theſe criminals "could be taken, they ſhould be delivered "into our hands.

"V. That for the future none of his ma-"jeſty's ſhips, or any others belonging to "thoſe of *Suratte*, *Bengale*, or other places, "ſhould traffick to *Achin*, *Pera*, *Queda*, "*Oedjang-Salang*, *Malacca*, &c. and in caſe "they ſhould, they might be ſeized and "declared as good prizes by our veſſels, "by reaſon that the company being then "ingaged in a war againſt theſe places, "were reſolved to block up their rivers, "and to keep all foreigners from traffick-"ing with them by ſea, till they have "received entire ſatisfaction at their hands.

"VI. It was deſired that his majeſty "would deliver to us the (beforementioned) "two circumciſed ſervants of the compa-"ny; and if they were at preſent out of "reach, to depoſite into our hands, in lieu "of them, four hundred thouſand *Ropias*; "which ſum ſhall be reſtored immediate-"ly after the delivery of theſe two per-"ſons.

The anſwer was; "That one of theſe "circumciſed fellows was retreated many "years before into *Perſia*; and the laſt died "in his flight about eight months before: "but if they would have his bones, they "would endeavour to procure them.

"VII. That if ever any of the com-"pany's ſervants ſhall run away hereafter, "they ſhall not be protected, much leſs be "circumciſed; and in caſe any of the in-"ferior officers ſhould notwithſtanding this "detain any of them, (contrary to your "majeſty's knowledge) they ſhall be obliged "to deliver the ſame to us.

"This article was granted, provided "they did not take refuge among the "*Raſpoutes*, then in rebellion againſt the "*Mogul*.

"VIII. That ſatisfaction ſhould be gi-"ven for what expences the company had "been forced to be at both by ſea and "land, ſince the robbery committed upon "their factory.

"This article was rejected, a general "ſatisfaction being promiſed already.

"IX. That for the future a ſufficient "guard ſhould be kept to protect the ſer-"vants and goods of the company from the "like danger; and that in caſe any ſuch "thing ſhould ever happen again, the "governor ſhall be obliged to make ſa-"tisfaction.

"It was promiſed, that for the future a *Baldæus.* "guard ſhould be kept to ſecure the com-"pany againſt all danger.

"X. If our *Caffila*, or caravan, (which "God forbid,) ſhould be plundered by the "way, that the governor ſhall be obliged "to find out the goods; and if found, re-"ſtore them to us, and in caſe of neglect, "to make ſatisfaction for them.

It was anſwered; "That we muſt ſue "for a *Firman*, or patent, on that ac-"count, which would without queſtion be "granted.

"XI. That in all the cities, towns, and "territories under his majeſty's juriſdiction, "we ſhall be exempted from paying any "duties, cuſtom, or impoſitions, except "the cuſtoms at *Suratte* and *Brochia*; and "in caſe any money ſhould be exacted from "the ſervants upon that account, the mo-"ney ſhall be made good by his majeſty's "*Duwan*, or commiſſioner, at *Suratte*.

"XII. That the cuſtom payable from "ſuch goods as are to be exported, ſhall "continue on the ſame foot as ſettled by "the king's laſt *Firman*, or patent.

"This article was granted without the "leaſt limitation.

"XIII. That the cuſtoms of the mer-"chandizes imported, ſhall (as formerly) "be ſatisfy'd with merchandizes each in "its kind.

"This was alſo granted.

"XIV. That we ſhall be at liberty to "diſpoſe and ſell our cargo's and goods "where and when we pleaſe, without be-"ing controuled therein by the governor, "or any other merchant.

"This was likewiſe agreed to.

"XV. That no governor, of what quality "or degree ſoever, ſhall obſtruct us in the "buying up what commodities we have "occaſion for, or imploying of brokers "and other ſervants for that purpoſe, ſuch "as we judge may be moſt ſerviceable to "us; neither ſhall they be taxed, or other-"wiſe moleſted on that ſcore.

It was anſwered; "That doubtleſs his "majeſty would grant that article; and "that in the mean time no body ſhould "intermeddle with the traffick belonging "to the company.

"XVI. That no body, of what degree "or quality whatever, ſhall pretend to ob-"ſtruct us in the ſending away of our "goods, or ſtop our *Caffilas* (caravans) or "carts, and camels thereunto belonging, "much leſs to endeavour to detain the "ſame after they have been hired.

Unto this it was anſwered, "That the "king would doubtleſs grant this requeſt.

"XVII. In caſe of any conteſts ariſing "betwixt both the nations, whereby mur-

"der

Baldæus. "der or manſlaughter may enſue, (which "God forbid,) the governors ſhall have "power only to puniſh the criminal, if he "be one of his ſubjects; but if he belong "to the company, he is to be put into the "hands of our directory, in order to be "puniſhed according to the laws of our "country; and if any of our people en-"gage with any of the *Indian* women, the "ſame ſhall be delivered up to us to ſuf-"fer condign puniſhment.

Unto this it was anſwered, "That this "article muſt be referred to the king's de-"termination; but that further ſatisfac-"tion ſhould be given upon this head to "the *Dutch* company at *Suratte*.

"XVIII. If by tempeſts, or other acci-"dent, ſome of our ſhips ſhould be ſtrand-"ed, or otherwiſe be loſt in theſe coaſts, "the goods ſaved by your majeſty's ſub-"jects ſhall be reſtored to the owners.

"This was granted.

"XIX. That we ſhall be maintained and "protected in the quiet enjoyment of the "propagating and refining of the ſalt-pe-"tre; and that we ſhall meet with no op-"poſition from the governors in tranſport-"ing the ſame, or be burdened with new "exactions, as it happened two years be-"fore when the prince of *Zaatſchan* ſqueezed "ſix hundred ropias out of the company.

"This article was referred to the king.

"XX. That ſuch as ſhall be injurious in "words to any of our nation, ſhall be pu-"niſhed by the governor, in the preſence of "the affronted party, to prevent further "inconveniencies, which otherwiſe might "ariſe from thence.

"This article being very juſt, was agreed "to.

"XXI. That we ſhall have full liberty "to keep and maintain the yatch we always "have had upon the river of *Suratte*, and "(in caſe this becomes uſeleſs) to build an-"other, and uſe it as formerly, for our di-"verſion, or other occaſions.

"We don't in the leaſt doubt, but that "your majeſty, according to your wonted "bounty, will take into ſerious conſidera-"tion this our humble, but nevertheleſs juſt "and equitable requeſt; it being our con-"ſtant wiſh, that matters may be brought "to a ſpeedy accommodation: and we "promiſe that immediately on the receipt "of your majeſty's *Firman*, or letters pa-"tent, we will diſcharge what money and "perſons are in our cuſtody, and carry on "our traffick in your majeſty's dominions, "as before: but in caſe your majeſty "(which we hope not) ſhould refuſe our "petition, we deſire notice may be given "us thereof, that we may in time (with "your majeſty's conſent) remove our ef-"fects, and quit your territories; it being "our firm reſolution not to ſtay here, unleſs *Baldæus.* "your majeſty will be pleaſed to grant "our juſt requeſt; notwithſtanding which "we live in hopes of a favourable anſwer "from your majeſty's goodneſs."

Unto this was affixed another paper, as follows.

Moſt potent King!

"JUST upon the concluſion of our "humble petition, the deputies impowered by *Miermoſa* the governor, to "treat with us concerning the differences on "foot betwixt us, *viz. Mierſia Mamoeth*, "*Hagie Siasbeecq*; *Zabandaar*, and ſeveral "other perſons of note, have promiſed us "to give ſatisfaction for the money (pur-"ſuant to your majeſty's orders) taken from "us, to ſtop all traffick from *Bengale*, and "this place, *&c.* to *Achin*, *Pera*, *Queda*, "and *Oedjang-Salang*, &c. till the diffe-"rences betwixt us and thoſe places be "brought to a concluſion; concerning "which we expect further orders from our "governor-general of the *Indies*. It was "further promiſed us, that a place ſhould "be aſſigned us for the builing of a ware-"houſe, near the *Alphandigo*; which as well "as the other articles being confirm'd to us "by oath of the before-mentioned depu-"ties, we were on our ſide willing to re-"leaſe the goods ſeized by our ſhips, which "we have done accordingly, and reſettled "our traffick at *Suratte* as before: all "which we hope will not be unacceptable "to your majeſty; humbly begging your "majeſty to be pleaſed to take our farther "propoſals into conſideration, and to fa-"vour us with your royal *Firman*, to avoid "all further differences, and to eſtabliſh a "mutual, firm, and everlaſting correſpon-"dence betwixt us, which we ſhall very "religiouſly obſerve, (as long as your ma-"jeſty's governors don't act contrary to the "ſaid *Firman*,) without the leaſt interrup-"tion on our ſide. We wiſh your maje-"ſty a proſperous and long life, and vic-"tory over your enemies.

Dated in your majeſty's city of *Suratte*, *September* 28. in the year 1649. after the birth of Chriſt.

The King's Letter was thus.:

The King Chaasjan *ſends the following Directions to* Mierſia Arep, *his Governor of* Suratte.

"JUST as the *Sajetes* are eſteemed *King's let-*
"among the ſaints, ſo is *Mierſia Arep* *ter, or Fir-*
"reſpected in his family. I would have *man.*
"you reſt ſecure of my royal favour: be-

"ſides

Baldæus. " ſides what dignities you were poſſeſſed " of before, we have thought fit to beſtow " upon you the reward of *Paans Zeddi*, " and three hundred horſes for your ſer- " vices, in the government of the open " country; and ſince the departure of *Mi-* " *ermoſa* have put you into his place; and " for the better maintaining of your gran- " deur, have allotted you the royal reve- " nues of both your governments, in the " adminiſtration of which you ſhall be very " vigilant and courteous; towards the " chief merchants you ſhall comport your " ſelf very obligingly, and give a helping " hand to all the foreign nations traffick- " ing there, as tending to the no ſmall " increaſe of our treaſury. Your authori- " ty ſhall not extend to exact more than " the uſual cuſtoms, even of the meaneſt " perſons, but you ſhall act in every thing " as a man of honour and conſcience: what " rarities you happen to meet with coming " from foreign places, you ſhall (like your " predeceſſor *Miermoſa*) ſend to my daugh- " ter *Sahebbejen*, who twice a month pays " her reſpect before my throne; whatever " is extraordinary fine and rare, let it be " valued, and purchaſe it of the owner ac- " cordingly; but if you cannot agree, ſend " him hither, that he may be ſatisfied in " his juſt demands. So ſoon as my royal " *Firman* comes to your hands, you ſhall " endeavour to liſt ten chriſtian conſtables, " well verſed in their art, into our ſervice, " and you ſhall ſpare no coſt to have ſome " great cannon caſt for our uſe. We have " been informed, that about two years ago, " the *Dutch* factory was robbed of fifty " thouſand *Ropias*, for which they have " ſeized divers ſums of money belonging " to our merchants, and coming in their " ſhips from *Mocha*, and have thereupon " declared their ſentiments to the governor " *Miermoſa*; it is therefore that I com- " mand you to oblige the *Hollanders* to " reſtore the ſaid money to the owners, " who have neither the leaſt ſhare or know- " ledge in what relates to their loſs: and " in caſe you ſhould not be able to bring " things to an agreement with the *Hollan-* " *ders*, we command you to demand the " ſaid ſums of money of *Miermoſa* and " *Ommerchan*, and pay the ſame to the ſaid " merchants, (whoſe effects are ſeized,) in " recompence of their loſs. *Baldæus.* *He makes it leſs than it is.*

Theſe are the contents of the king's let- ter, as it was tranſlated from the *Perſian*.

CHAP. III.

The Chom *of* Suhali, *or the Road before* Suratte. *Traffick of the* Dutch, Engliſh, Moors, *and* Portugueſe *to* Suratte, Guſuratte, Brochia, Goga, Pattepatane, Mangerol, Brodera, *and other places.*

Deſcription of Suratte. THE city of *Suratte* did (purſuant to their ancient records) pay a yearly tribute of two millions *Mamoidys*, or one million of livres, or four hundred thouſand crowns, to their king *Achabaar*, one *Ganna Ganna* being then their governor, who had eighteen hundred villages under his juriſ- diction. All about *Suratte* are abundance of very pleaſant and ſtately ſummer-ſeats, and magnificent burying-places, (a thing much in requeſt among the *Moors*,) beſides ſeveral large ciſterns, or rather ponds, faced with freeſtone. Among the reſt one de- ſerves particularly to be taken notice of, as having no leſs than a hundred angles of twenty eight yards each, with ſtone ſteps to lead you down into the ciſtern; in the midſt of which ſtands the tomb of the founder.

About an hour and a half to the north from the mouth of the river of *Suratte* (named *Tap-gyly*) is a road, where ſhips may ride at anchor near a ridge of ſand- banks, which, together with part of the continent, breaks the force of the winds. This road, commonly called *Chom Suhali*, or *Sualicom*, lies at twenty one degrees fif- ty minutes north latitude, extending from north-eaſt to north, and again ſouth-weſt to ſouth: the entrance of it is but narrow, and at high water not above ſeven, but at low water ſcarce five fathoms deep, with a hard ſandy bottom: the north-north-eaſt, and ſouth-ſouth-weſt winds make here the higheſt tides. The harbour of *Suhali* is not above a muſket-ſhot broad: the ſouth- ſouth-weſt winds make this road unſafe, the land-ſhelves lying then almoſt dry. The *Engliſh* ſettled their factory there 1609. and the *Dutch* 1616. who carry their merchan- dizes upon waggons drawn by oxen from the ſaid road four leagues to the city. *The Chom of Suhali.*

It is to the ſettlements of thoſe two na- tions *Suratte* owes its chief increaſe in trade, many rich merchants and artiſans having been drawn thither ſince that time, who ſend their commodities thence by the *Red-Sea* to *Arabia*, *Aden*, *Mocha*, *Hideda*, *Juda*, *Mecca*, *Chibiry*, *Catziny*, *Doffer*, and *Souakin*, (in *Ethiopia*,) conſiſting in fine and coarſe *Indian*, *Guſuratte*, *Decan*, and *Bengale* *Traffick of Suratte.*

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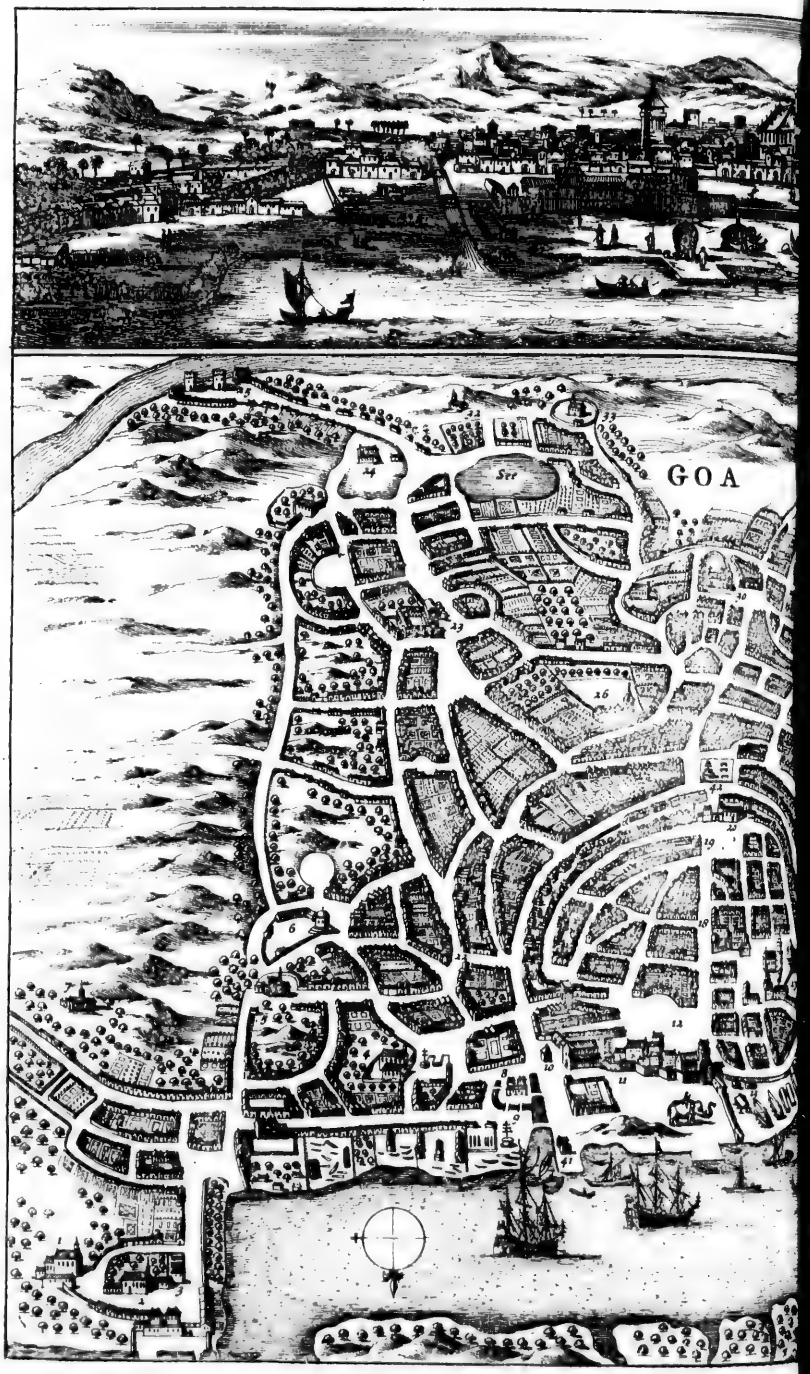
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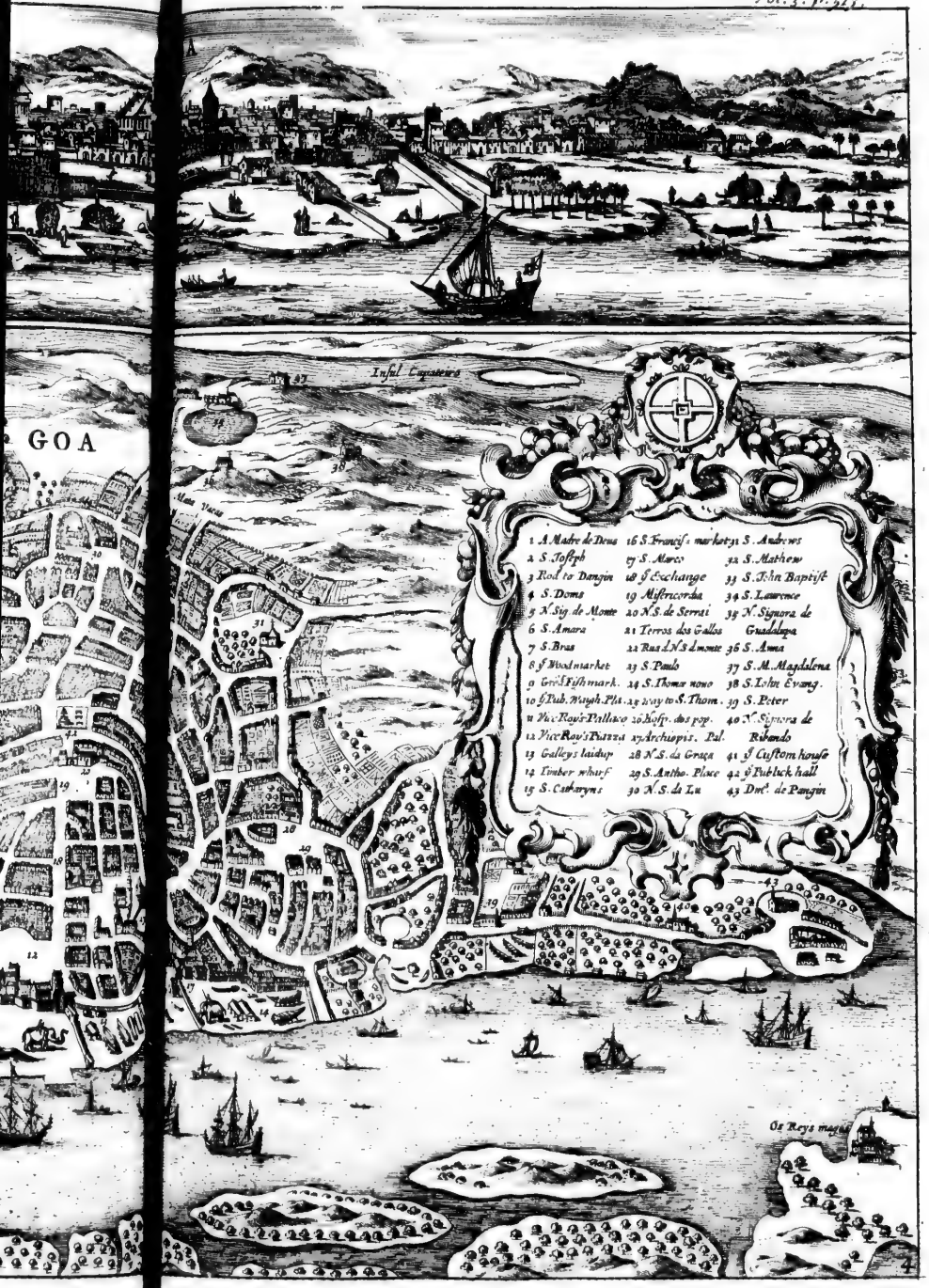


1 A Madre de Deus
2 S. Joseph
3 Rod to Dangin
4 S. Doms
5 N. Sig. de Monte
6 S. Amara
7 S. Bras
8 ſt Wood market
9 Grē ſt Fish mark.
10 ſt Pub. Wagh. Pla.
11 Vice Roys Pallace
12 Vice Roys Pazza
13 Galleys laidup
14 Timber wharf
15 S. Catharyns
16 S. Francis. market
17 S. Marco
18 ſt Exchange
19 Miſericordia
20 N.S. de Serrai
21 Terros dos Gallos
22 Ras d N.S Imonte
23 S. Paulo
24 S. Thomas nouo
25 Way to S. Thom.
26 Hoſp. dos pog.
27 Archiepis. Pal.
28 N.S. da Graça
29 S. Antho. Place
30 N.S. da Lu
31 S. Andrews
32 S. Mathew
33 S. John Baptiſt
34 S. Laurence
35 N. Signora de Guadalupa
36 S. Anna
37 S. M. Magdalena
38 S. John Evang.
39 S. Peter
40 N. Signora de Rosendo
41 ſt Custom house
42 ſt Publick hall
43 Dm. de Pangin

Baldæus. *Bengale* ſtuffs and cloths, callicoes, indigo, ſugar, gums, ginger, tobacco, wheat, rice, butter, and other proviſions, in which this country abounds. Beſides that two or three of the king's ſhips trade into theſe parts, and tranſport certain precious commodities belonging to ſome peculiar merchants and perſons of the firſt rank; theſe are generally obliged to the company, for furniſhing them with ſome able ſeamen and conſtables, (the *Moors* being but ill verſed in theſe things;) eſpecially while they were at enmity with the *Danes*.

One of the king's ſhips, named *Saby*, arrived here 1618. in its return from the *Red Sea*; the cargo whereof conſiſted in coral, camblets, ſattins, velvets, woollen and linen cloths, tin, quickſilver, cinabar, leather, ſaffron, ſlaves, (both black and white) gum arabic, aloes of *Socotora*, amber, civet, ſanguis draconis, myrrh, raiſins, almonds, dates, coffee-berries, and about ſix or ſeven hundred paſſengers returning from *Mahomet*'s tomb at *Mecca* and *Medina*; the whole valued at two millions five hundred thouſand *Ropia's*, each *Ropia* being about half a rix-dollar.

The value of a Ropia.

Theſe ſhips ſet ſail in *March* and *April* for the *Red Sea*, and return in *September* or *October*; they ſeldom ſpend above twenty five days in their paſſage. The inhabitants of *Goa*, *Dabul*, *Baſſain*, *Daman*, and *Diu*, do alſo ſend their ſhips to *Mocha* and ſome other places in the *Red Sea*, and the *Benjans* and *Armenians* uſed to come thence to *Suratte* in their light ſhips loaden with all all ſorts of trifles, which they exchange for wheat, linen, rice, and coffee-berries.

Traffick of the Red Sea.

Towards the latter end of the *Mouſſon*, *viz.* in *March* and *April*, abundance of *Malabars* reſort hither: theſe being mortal enemies of the *Portugueſe*, are commonly well armed with fire-locks and ſcymitars, and formerly uſed to be very miſchievous to them. The commodities they bring to ſale here, are coarſe ſugar, cardamon, pepper, and cayr, (of which they make cables and ropes,) and coco-nuts.

The Malabars are enemies of the Portugueſe.

Formerly the inhabitants of *Suratte* uſed to ſend yearly one or two ſhips in *May* or *June* (when the *Portugueſe* ſhips were in harbour) to *Achin*, *Tanaſſeri*, *Queda*, and the *Malawe* iſlands, laden with ſtuffs, and cloths, and callicoes; and returned with pepper, camphire, cloves, nutmegs, mace, ſandel-wood, porcelain, *Chineſe* ſilks, (brought thither by thoſe of *Malacca*,) tin, benzorn, elephants teeth, and coco-nuts; the laſt being almoſt the only product of the *Maldive* iſles.

The men in power here are generally very haughty and fierce; and though ſufficiently curbed by the king's abſolute ſway, yet by reaſon of the diſtance of the provinces from his reſidence, commit many enormities; his territories bordering upon *Perſia*, *Auwa*, the river *Ganges*, and *Bengale*, thence to *Decan*, and to the weſt by the ſea. *Baldæus.*

Extent of Guſuratte.

The province of *Guſuratte* (in which all the beforementioned cities lie) extends in length from ſouth to north; it begins at *Damana*, and reaches forty *Cos* beyond *Amadabath*, bordering upon the country of *Patbane* inhabited by pagans, ſo that its whole length is one hundred and eighty *Cos*, or ninety *Dutch* leagues: to the eaſt it borders upon the country of *Parta Baſſia*, or at leaſt within forty *Cos* or twenty leagues of it, extending further eaſtward for three days journey towards *Amadabath*, and to the weſt to the ſea, and the kingdom of *Suadi*, which is divided from *Perſia* by a great deſart. It was a moſt fruitful and populous country, before it was reduced by the *Great Mogul*.

Two Indian Cos one Dutch leagues.

About twelve leagues to the north of *Suratte* lies the city of *Brochia* about nine or ten leagues from the ſea, and twenty one degrees fifty ſix minutes upon the river *Nardabath*, which coming down by *Decan* and *Mandouw*, affords a good paſſage for ſhips, about half way from the ſea towards *Brochia*, the paſſage being ſtopt up there by a ſand-bank, which has not above nine or ten foot water. The ſituation of this city is both very convenient and pleaſant, upon a hill, being ſurrounded by a ſtrong ſtone wall: this place is famous for its manufactories of linen and cloths, of which they make more here than in any other place of the *Indies*; and they have the beſt way of whitening the firſt. The *Malabars* uſed formerly to come hither every year with nine or ten ſhips. The *Dutch* and *Engliſh* have had their factories here a conſiderable time ago. Its inhabitants are for the moſt part *Benjans*, who are very expert in managing the linen manufactory: the two ſuburbs of the city are chiefly inhabited by callico-weavers and merchants: *Brochia* is reckoned to contain eighty ſeven villages in its territories, the country round about being all low grounds, except that about five or ſix leagues to the ſouth-eaſt, the mountains of *Vindat* have their beginning, which are very rich in *Achatſtens*. All merchandizes paſſing through *Brochia* pay two *per Cent.* cuſtom.

The city of Brochia.

Goga is a ſmall city ſeated in the bay of *Cambaja*, where it grows ſo ſtreight, that it rather reſembles a river than an arm of the ſea: it has neither walls nor gates to the land-ſide, but is defended by a ſtone wall towards the ſea. Here all the ſhips deſigned for *Arabia*, and the ſouthern parts, (by the merchants of *Cambaja*

Goga thirty leagues from Cambaja.

Baldæus. *baja* and *Amadabath*,) are careen'd and victualled, there being a ſafe road here, though ſomewhat ſhallow: here alſo the *Portugueſe* convoys uſed to keep their ſtation to expect the coming of their merchantmen.

There are beſides theſe ſeveral other places of leſs note belonging to this province, as *Pattapatane*, *Mangerol*, (mentioned by ſome under other names,) the inhabitants whereof live upon husbandry and managing of cotton: *Brodera*, an inland town, inhabited by husbandmen and clothiers; the [illegible] uſed to keep ſome [illegible] to buy up coarſe cloth [illegible] and *Ethiopians*; not to [illegible] its fortifications, gardens, [illegible]

Pattapatane and Mangerol.

Brodera.

Mamadabath.

Mamadabath was for its pleaſant ſituation, ſometimes honoured with the reſidence of its kings, but is ſince come to decay to that degree, that it is no more than a poor village now. We will alſo make mention only of *Nariau*, *Waſſet*, (a very ancient caſtle,) *Iſſempour*, *Batona*, and their products, ſuch as indigo, ſaltpetre, borax, aſa-fœtida, amſion or opium, gummi-lacca, and divers other commodities.

But before we leave the province of *Guſuratte*, and take our way thence over *Din*, *Daman*, &c. to *Goa*, and ſo to the *Malabars*, we may ſay ſomething of its traffick. It is beyond all diſpute, that the traffick of *Suratte*, and adjacent places, is of great conſequence, provided there be no want of ready money, and the management thereof be committed to perſons of underſtanding. I remember that the college of XVII. give theſe following by-rules to their factors: to inform themſelves of the conſtitution and manners of the inhabitants; what commodities are vended, and beſt to be vended there; who, and how potent our enemies are; what religion and coin is moſt regarded, and the true ſituation of the place where they ſettle, in reſpect to its northern or ſouthern latitude. Certain it is, that the inhabitants of the province of *Guſuratte* are a cunning and ſubtile generation, who muſt therefore be managed with dexterity and much reſervedneſs, mixed with a becoming gravity and outward ſplendor, wherewith theſe people are much taken, yet without ever attempting to lord it over them; a thing which after has proved detrimental, if not deſtructive to the undertakers. It is to the wiſe conduct of our forefathers that we are obliged for the eſtabliſhment and improvement of our traffick at *Suratte*, where our factory was no ſooner ſettled, but we ſent from thence, 1624. *Jan.* 20. our firſt ſhip, called the *Heuſden*, along the coaſt of *Melinde* and *Soffala*, and thence to the *Cape of Good Hope*, and ſo to *Holland*.

Traffick of Guſuratte.

Baldæus.

This was followed the ſame year, *March* 12. by another, called the *Peuca*, but was forced to winter on the coaſt of *Coromandel*. Theſe were followed, *April* 23. 1625. by the ſhip the *City of Dort*, and the *Weſop* yacht, but were obliged to winter in the iſle of *St. Maurice*. In the year 1626. the following ſhips were ſent to *Holland*, taking their way through the *South Sea*, *viz.* the *Golden Lion*, *Walcheren*, and *Orange*. 1628. the *City of Dort* was ſent thence to *Holland* through the ſtraits of *Madagaſcar*, along the coaſt of *Fuſſalia*.

Our *Dutch* veſſels generally arrive here from *Batavia* about the end of *Auguſt*, in *October*, or beginning of *November*, and ſometimes towards the middle of *December*; the *Dutch* factors at *Suratte* taking always care to ſend their ſhips into *Perſia* in *January*, or about the middle of *February* at fartheſt, that they may be at *Batavia* before the end of *March*.

CHAP. IV.

Of what Conſequence the Traffick of Suratte *is. A particular Deſcription of the City of* Mocha; *and of its peculiar Cuſtoms. The City of* Agra, *and its Strength. The Deſcent of the* Great Mogul; *his Pomp and Riches.*

OF what conſequence the traffick of *Suratte* is to the *Dutch*, they have been ſufficiently made ſenſible by their factors ever ſince 1616. The chief commodities to be vended here are, lead, quickſilver, cinabar, ivory, tin, copper, cumeta's, cloves, nutmegs, mace, pepper, porcelain, &c. And this traffick is the more conſiderable, in reſpect of the communication it maintains with our other factories in thoſe parts, with *Agra*, *Mocha*, and divers other places upon the coaſt of the *Happy Arabia*, where our traffick ſeems to be well eſtabliſhed, provided we take care to live in good correſpondence with thoſe nations, which muſt be maintained by all poſſible

Baldæus. possible means, by avoiding such things as tend to the dissolution thereof. Amongst these, the seizing of the *Moorish* ships has several times brought our traffick into no small jeopardy, as it happened 1621. when our ships the *Samson* and *Wesos* having made reprisals upon some *Moorish* vessels, our trade into *Arabia* was quite interrupted, and likely to have been quite lost. And we run the same danger 1628. after the yacht the *Grottenbroeck* had taken a ship of *Gusuratte* upon the coast of *Coromandel*; and though our late seizure happened not to prove much to our disadvantage, yet can't we at all times promise our selves the same success, it being certain, that though the *Moors* court our friendship, yet are they, on the other hand, very stubborn, and not easily reconciled.

Some remarks upon the traffick in those parts.

Another thing absolutely requisite for the carrying on of the trade here, is the king's *Firman*, or patent, to keep the avaricious governors of *Cambaja*, *Suratte*, *Brochia*, and other places, in awe; besides that the *Portuguese* priests are always busy to create an ill opinion of us in the *Moors*: they must be carefully watched in their measures and weights, without which they will play you the same game as *Godjamisan* and *Godjaassan* did many years ago to Sir *Henry Middleton*, an *English* knight, who put them in irons aboard his ship till they had given him full satisfaction.

Our traffick to *Mocha* is likewise of great consequence to us: *Mocha* is seated in the *Happy Arabia*, at the entrance of the *Red Sea*, at thirteen degrees twenty eight minutes northern latitude: it is of a considerable extent, without any walls, in a barren ground, but well built with red and blue stones, the houses flat on the top, like those of *Constantinople*; it has three very fine pagodes, or pagan temples, two whereof have no steeples, the third in the midst of the city, being adorned with a very high steeple. At the north end stands a small castle, like a redoubt, built of blue stone, for the defence of the harbour, 1612.

A description of Mocha.

Mocha was about ninety or one hundred years ago no more than a village inhabited by fishermen; but since its reduction by the *Turks*, is so increased by degrees, that it is one of the chief places on that coast now; the traffick of the *Indian* ships that used to come to an anchor at *Aden* (formerly a great trading city) being transferr'd to *Mocha*, by reason of the caravans which come thither with more conveniency at certain times of the year. Its inhabitants are *Turks*, *Arabians*, *Benjans*, and *Jews*: here is constantly a great concourse of people from the beginning of *March* to the middle of *September*; about which time the great ship called *Mansouri* (which is kept by the *Turkish Sultan* for the transportation of the richest commodities from the farthermost parts of the *Red Sea* hither) arrives here, its cargo being generally esteemed at 2500000 or 3000000 of reals, and consisting in pieces of eight, golden ducats, *Italian* golden tissues, camblets, saffron, quick-silver, and divers other commodities, besides slaves of both sexes taken in the *Levant*, or thereabouts, being generally *Grecians*, *Hungarians*, or of the isle of *Cyprus*; of all which they pay ten *per Cent.* custom. The same ship sails back again the first of *January*, laden with spices, indigo, fine callicoes, turbants, and such like *Indian* commodities.

Its increase.

Baldæus.

The trade of Mocha.

Besides this, there comes every year in *March* a *Cassila*, or caravan, consisting commonly of one thousand six hundred camels, the merchants being for the most part *Turks*, *Arabians*, and *Armenians*: these come by the way of *Aleppo* and *Alexandria* hither, and spend commonly two months in their whole journey, because they travel not above three or four *Dutch* leagues in a day. They bring along with them twisted silk, gold wire, red corals, cinabar, saffron, myrrh, divers sorts of small wares, needles, spectacles, knives, scissars, looking-glasses, &c. This caravan leaves the place again in *December*, loaden with all sorts of *Indian* commodities, and thus spends near a twelve-month in their whole journey.

Caravans over Aleppo and Alexandria.

At *Cairo* you see a vast multitude of pilgrims towards the beginning of the year, who take the conveniency of this caravan to travel to *Mocha*, eight leagues from whence lies *Medina*, where is the tomb of *Mahomet*, which is thus yearly visited by betwixt thirty and forty thousand pilgrims.

Pilgrims going to Mocha.

Mocha has been so rich for many years past, that in customs and taxes it pays no less than two hundred thousand reals, or pieces of eight every year to the *Grand Seignior*, being one of the largest and most considerable places under the jurisdiction of the bassa of *Temak*. The governor of the city sits sometimes in person at the custom-house, visiting the packs and chests, he having a certain allowance out of every chest or pack. All *Indian* ships coming to an anchor here are obliged to pay, besides the ordinary customs, anchorage-money according to their bulk, from ten to fifty reals, which, with some other exactions, makes the whole amount to fifteen *per Cent.* The *Turks* here have also another invention of squeezing some money out of the *Moorish Nachodes*, or officers of the ships; for the governor having summoned them immediately after their arrival to appear in his presence, they are conducted thither in great state, attended

Riches of Mocha.

Anchorage-money.

Baldæus. attended by his drums, pipes, &c. and being reconducted to their lodgings, the clothes are taken away again. The ſame is repeated afterwards juſt before their departure, when they are reconducted to their boats; and their clothes being taken off again, each officer is obliged to pay for this mock dreſs twenty or twenty five reals each time.

No ſooner are the *Mooriſh* ſhips come into the roads after they have dropt their anchor, but they muſt carry their rudder and ſails aſhore, and unload the whole cargo of the ſhip, (whether they ſell it, or not,) of which they are obliged to pay the full cuſtoms. After they are quite unloaden, they give a ſignal with a cannon for the governor or his deputies to come aboard to ſee whether any thing be left behind; and then they have liberty to ſell.

Rudder and ſails to be brought aſhore.

In the ſpring the *Portugueſe* come hither with their ſhips from *Goa*, *Gioga*, and other places; their cargo is commonly indigo, fatcaa, callicoes, ſail-cloth, all ſorts of *Gujaratte* ſtuffs and clothing, tobacco, rice, and medicines; moſt of which commodities are ſold to the *Turky* caravans, except the rice and tobacco, which is conſumed in the country. They carry back reals or pieces of eight, golden ducats, a certain root uſed by the *Indians* in dying red. A little before, or about the ſame time, uſed alſo to come to *Mocha* the ſhips of *Daman*, *Cambaja*, and the *Malabar* coaſt, loaden with pepper, clothings of *Cambaja* and *Coromandel*, allegia's, taffeecela's, red and white caſſen, red jeta's, canckyns, baſſas, fine turbants, white and blue girdles, painted callicoes, rice, tobacco, coarſe and fine porcelain: in lieu of which they carry back horſes, raiſins, almonds, camblets, elephants teeth of *Soffala*, red roots for dying, which grow only in *Arabia*, chauru or coffee-berries Beſides theſe the inhabitants of *Achin*, of *Paty*, and other places on the coaſt of *Melinda*, trade hither: they commonly ſet ſail from home in *February*, or beginning of *March*, and return from *Mocha* about *Auguſt*, to take the conveniency of the *Monſſon*.

Traffick of the Portugueſe at Mocha.

The want of good water and fuel, which the ſhips muſt purchaſe here at a dear rate, is a great defect in *Mocha*: however, not far from the city lies a ſmall iſle, where the *Engliſh* uſed to lay up and careen their ſhips: here you may have proviſions for old clothes in abundance, as likewiſe fuel and water enough; whence it is evident that the trade of *Suratte*, *Agra*, *Mocha*, and *Libiry*, (a city ſeated on the red ſea, at fourteen degrees fifty minutes, fortified with four round baſtions, and adorn'd with three temples,) is one of the moſt conſiderable in thoſe parts, as the *Engliſh* have found by experience.

Water and fuel ſcarce at Mocha.

Baldæus.

But before we take quite our leave of *Suratte*, and the adjacent territories, we muſt ſay ſomething alſo concerning the city and caſtle of *Agra*. This caſtle, the ordinary reſidence of the *Great Mogul*, is one of the moſt noble ſtructures of the eaſt, ſeated upon the banks of the river *Jemeni*, fortified with a ſtrong wall of red ſtone, with large and deep ditches, draw-bridges, and four gates. Here is alſo kept the king's treaſury, and the whole court, or general aſſembly of the great men of the empire, who oftentimes are not reſtrained by the abſolute authority of their monarch from committing moſt barbarous enormities.

The city & caſtle of Agra.

Thus it happened, *Auguſt* 4. 1644. in the evening after ſun-ſet, when all the perſons of quality uſed to appear in the *Gokalchanna* to ſalute the king, among the reſt *Raja Ammerſing* (a commander over five thouſand horſe, who had been abſent ſome days by reaſon of his indiſpoſition) making his appearance there, was asked by *Sillabatchan*, the king's chief *Bakia*, why he had not appeared there in ſeveral days? He anſwered him, That he had been prevented by his indiſpoſition; wherewith the other being not ſatisfied, gave *Raja* ſome opprobious words, which ſo exaſperated him, that without more ado he run *Sillabatchan* with his ſcymitar through the body, laying him dead upon the ground. Another lord named *Galichan*, ſeeing the other murdered in the king's ſight, cut almoſt off the arm of *Raja*, and another gentleman, the ſon of *Raja Rittelda*, diſpatched him quite. The king ſeeing this tragical ſpectacle gave immediately orders that the body of *Sillabatchan* ſhould be carried to his houſe in order to his burial; but that the body of *Raja Ammerſing* ſhould be thrown into the river: but ſcarce were they got with the body without the gate to execute the king's command, when ſome of the *Rasboutes*, (a rebellious crew,) who had ſerved under him, ſeeing their commander's body dragged thus along, did fall upon the king's ſervants, and killed above thirty of them, among whom was the king's ſcepter-bearer; ſo that if the king would ſee his orders put in execution, he was obliged to ſend a conſiderable force to protect them againſt the *Rasboutes*.

Murder committed in the preſence of the king.

Agra

The Murther Committed in the preſence of the Great Mogul

Baldæus. *Agra* has four gates, one on the north-ſide, covered by ſtrong works; the ſecond on the weſt ſide, where is the market place, and the royal court of judicature; the third on the ſouth ſide leads to the royal palace, being always chained up to prevent any body from paſſing through it on horſe-back, except the king and his children: the fourth faces the river, where the king every day ſalutes the ſun, and about noon ſees the engagements of elephants, lions, and other wild beaſts.

The city of *Agra* therefore is now the capital city (as *Labor* was formerly) of that part of the *Indies* on this ſide of the *Ganges*, which is under the juriſdiction of the *Great Mogul*. The caſtle is ſaid to have been founded by king *Accabar*, (deſcended from the great *Tamerlan*,) after the conqueſt of *Guſuratte*.

Wealth and ſtrength of the Mogul. I will not pretend to give you an exact account of the wealth of the *Mogul*, but leave you to gueſs at his ſtrength by the forces he brought into the field 1630. againſt *Chajaan*, which conſiſted in one hundred and forty four thouſand five hundred horſe, and five thouſand elephants; theſe laſt the *Mogul* alſo uſes for his diverſions, and he is often ſeen in great ſtate on the back of an elephant richly accoutred, attended by a great number of horſe. When theſe elephants are to engage againſt one another before the king, they pay their reverence by bending their knees, and ſhaking their trunks to the king; which done, they fall on with a great deal of fierceneſs; but as ſoon as they are hotly engaged, certain perſons are appointed to part them; which done, all enmity ceaſes betwixt them, they touch one another with their trunks, and are fed with ſugar reeds, and arack, or ſtrong-waters. *Baldæus.* *Combat of the elephants.*

As to the wealth of the *Great Mogul*, the ſame appears in its luſtre on certain feſtival days; the new-year's feaſt kept on the day of the firſt new-moon in *March*, which laſts eighteen days. On the young prince's birth-day every body brings his offerings to the king, who in his turn makes preſents to his courtiers, beſtows new places and dignities upon ſuch as have deſerved well, and augments their yearly ſalaries. The people flock on that day to the queen's palace, (if ſhe be living,) where having likewiſe made their offerings under the ſound of their muſical inſtruments, the prince is weighed in a golden pair of ſcales againſt gold and ſilver, which (after the weight thereof is ſet down) is diſtributed the next day among the poor. *Feſtival days.* *The prince's birth-day.*

The preſent king's birth-day is celebrated the ſecond of *September*, when the king is weighed in the ſame manner againſt pre- *The king's birth-day.*

Baldæus. cious ſtones, gold, ſilver, gold tiſſues, ſilk ſtuffs, butter, rice, fruits, &c. which is afterwards beſtowed upon the *Brahmans*; and nuts made ſo curiouſly of gold wire, (as likewiſe almonds, and other fruits,) are thrown among the people, that a thouſand of them weigh not above twenty ropias, and coſt about ſixty ropias. The whole ceremony is concluded with drinking to a great exceſs all the night long, notwithſtanding *Mahomet*'s law. Sir *Thomas Row* relates that he had a golden cup beſet with *Turquoiſes*, *Rubies*, and *Smaragdes*, preſented him by the *Great Mogul* on his birth-day, but not till he had emptied it four or five times.

Another feaſt. The *Moors* alſo celebrate a certain feaſt to the memory of two brothers, ſervants to *Mahomet Raly*, who being on their way to *Coromandel* on pilgrimage, were forced by the pagans of the country to ſeek for ſhelter in a certain caſtle; but being deſtitute of water, they ſallied out couragiouſly upon the pagans; and after having killed many of them, were at laſt ſlain themſelves. Their memory is celebrated in *June*, ten days after the new-moon, when they carry a bear along the ſtreets loaden with turbants, arrows, bows, and ſcymitars, certain prieſts ſinging doleful tunes, and laſhing themſelves with knives, till the blood follows very plentifully. In the market-place they they ſet up the figures of two men of ſtraw, repreſenting the murderers of theſe two ſaints, at which they let fly their arrows, and at laſt burn them to aſhes. They keep alſo another feaſt in *June*, when they kill abundance of he-goats, and afterwards feaſt upon the meat. This is ſaid to be done in commemoration of the ſacrifice of *Abraham*.

Bal.

The *Great Mogul* being abſolute lord over thirty ſeven large provinces and kingdoms, the perſons and eſtates of all which are at his ſole diſpoſal, beſide the immenſe preſents of his ſubjects, (none of whom dare approach his perſon without them,) muſt needs be maſter of immenſe treaſures. The king of *Viſiapour* ſent at one time thirty elephants, two whereof were girded by golden chains, weighing four hundred pound weight, two others with ſilver chains, the reſt of braſs; beſides five hundred horſes, the ſaddles and bridles whereof were beſet all over with diamonds, pearls, and rubies. Mr. *John Twiſt* has given the world an exact account of the treaſury of king *Accabaar*.

CHAP. V.

The Title of the Great Mogul; *and of the Kings of* Achem *and* Siam. *The Origin of* Mahomet; *ſome of his pretended Miracles,* Alcoran, *&c.*

IT is moſt ſurprizing to underſtand what god-like titles the ſubjects of the *Great Mogul* beſtow upon their lord and maſter! How all his words are looked upon as oracles, and all his actions received with a profound amazement! Hence it is that the vulgar ſort are really of opinion, that certain rays dart from his head and turbant, which admit not of the near approach of indifferent perſons; and that they ſcarce ever mention his name without the additional titles of the *moſt potent upon earth*, *lord of the world*, *great monarch*, *the moſt exalted majeſty*, *the brighteſt of princes among the great ones*, &c. 'Tis true, moſt of the *Indian* kings affect moſt magnificent, or rather vain-glorious titles; but the kings af *Achem* and *Siam* ſeem to outvy all the reſt in this point: the firſt ſtiles himſelf "King of the "world, created by God, whoſe body "ſhines like the ſun at noon-day: a king "unto whom God has given the luſtre of "full-moon; a king choſen by God; a "king perfect as the north-ſtar, king of "kings, of the poſterity of *Alexander the* "*Great*; a king before whom all other "kings muſt bow their heads, and pay "homage; a king as wide as a round globe, "and happy like the ſea; a king who is "God's ſlave and ſervant, who ſees God, "and lets the world know the juſtice of "God; a protector of God's juſtice; a "king bleſſed by God; a king who co-"vers the iniquities of men, and forgives "their offences; a king under whoſe ſhade "ſlaves ſeek for ſhelter; a king perfect "and infallible in his counſels; a king "and benefactor to his people; a juſt "king, who maintains God's juſtice; the "moſt beneficial king upon earth, the ſoles "of whoſe feet emit a moſt odoriferous "ſcent, beyond all other kings; a king "whom God has bleſſed with his gold "mines, whoſe eyes are as bright as the "morning ſtar; a king who is maſter of "many elephants of all ſorts; a king unto "whom God has given riches, to adorn his "elephants with gold and precious ſtones; "beſides

The king of Achem's titles.

Baldæus. "besides a great number of elephants of "war, armed with iron teeth and copper "shoes; a king upon whom God has be-"stowed horses with golden harnesses be-"set with precious stones, and many thou-"sand horses for war; the choicest stone-"horses of *Arabia*, *Turky*, *Catti*, and *Ba-"lacki*; a king whose territories extend "from the south to the north; a king "who bestows his favours upon all that "love him, and rejoices such as are disturb-"ed in mind; a king who has in his cus-"tody every thing that God has created; "a king whom God has placed above all "things to rule, and to shew the lustre "of the throne of *Achem*."

The king of *Siam* goes still beyond it, as may be seen by his letter written 1636. to the late prince of *Orange*, *Frederick Henry*.

The king of Siam's style. "THIS is a golden letter of friend-"ship and confederacy, replenished "with the brightness of God, the most ex-"cellent, comprehending all that is to be "known; the most fortunate, above what "is to be found by men; the best and the "most secure in heaven, earth, and in "hell; the most magnificent, delicious, "and most agreeable words; the glory "and irresistable virtue whereof pass all "over the earth, with the same vigour, as "if through God's power the dead were "revived from their graves, and pu-"rify'd from all their iniquities, to the "surprize, not only of the priests, but "also of merchants, and all the servile sort "of mankind. For what king can com-"pare with me, who am the most potent, "most illustrious, and invincible? The "master of an hundred crowns, adorned "with nine sorts of precious stones; su-"preme lord [*we pass by some blasphemous "expressions*] of the vast and most no-"ble kingdom of *Siam*; the bright-"ness of the most beautiful city of *India*, "the capital city of the world, the streets "whereof are crowded daily with people; "a city adorned with all the beauties of the "world, and irrigated with delicious "brooks; whose lord has a palace of gold "and precious stones; a master of gilded "thrones, of the white, red, and round-"tailed elephants, which three sorts God "has not bestowed upon any other kings; "a divine lord, in whose territories is de-"posited the victorious sword, and who "resembles the God of war with four "arms."

The Mogul's court. But to return to the *Great Mogul*, and his court: The *Persian* language is the court language there, though besides this there are at least three other languages used throughout his territories. The chief lords of his courts have their certain monthly salaries allotted them, out of which they are obliged to maintain a certain number of horses; among these are four who maintain twelve thousand horses each, (the king's sons entertain fifteen thousand horse,) others one thousand, others one hundred, in proportion to their salaries; the whole number of horse maintained by his courtiers, being computed at an hundred thousand horse. *Baldæus.*

The *Mogul* changes his cloaths every day for new ones, which he bestows upon his courtiers. The *Mogul* entertains certain officers of quality, called *Nababes*, at *Suratte* and other places, whose business is, to enter upon treaties with foreigners, and to keep the roads free from robbers, by punishing them with the utmost severity. The *Mogul* has also a laudable custom, to lay up vast sums of money and provisions in certain places, to be reserved for necessitous occasions. He appears three times a-day, and sits in council from seven till nine in the evening.

Religion. The *Moguls* profess the *Mahometan* religion; but are no great zealots in it, as *Athanasius Kircher* has well observed in *Gelal Edim Mahomet*, the tenth of the *Moguls* descended from the *Great Tamerlain* the first, who called the jesuits into his empire; and their continual debaucheries in strong liquor (directly contrary to the law of *Mahomet*) is an infallible sign of their indifferency in point of religion: besides that, throughout all the empire, they are not near so well versed in the *Alcoran* and the law of *Mahomet* as the *Africans*, those of *Fez* and *Morocco*, &c. Notwithstanding all their ignorance, this accursed doctrine has spread itself within fifty or sixty years, from hence all over the isles of *Java*, *Borneo*, and *Celebes*, besides divers other countries in those parts.

The Mahometan religion. The *Mahometans* are obliged to pray five times every day, *viz.* in the morning, at noon, in the afternoon, after sun-set, and at midnight; certain people being appointed, who, from the steeples of the mosques, exhort them to their prayers, by crying *Lailla illa illa*, *Mahomed Resul Lalla*: when they are going to pray, they stand upright upon a carpet spread upon the ground, holding both their hands to their ears; sometimes bowing towards the ground, sometimes standing upright again. The *Alcoran* is the law-book of the *Mahometans*, containing one hundred and fourteen chapters, being a mixture of the *Jewish* and *Christian* doctrine. *Mahomet* flourished about the year of christ 600. and died 632. His companion was one *Sergius* an *Arian*. The father of

Baldæus. of *Mahomet* was one *Abdalla*, and his mother *Emine*, deſcended of the illuſtrious family of the *Koreiſhites*.

Mahomet's origin. *Mahomet* firſt ſerved in the wars under the emperor *Heraclius*, and afterwards ſerved a merchant; after whoſe death he married *Chadiga*, a rich widow; and being addicted to enthuſiaſm, he and his companion *Sergius* compiled the *Alcoran*, pretending that he kept correſpondence with the archangel *Gabriel*, who in his trances (which were nothing but epileptic fits) had revealed to him theſe ſecrets. He was born at *Mecca*; but being forced from thence, fled to *Medina*, from which time *Mahometans* take their *Epocha*, and call it *Medina Alnabi*, or the city of the great prophet. His doctrine was firſt received by his wife *Chadiga*, and his ſervant *Seydin*; afterwards by *Hali*, *Abubeker*, *Omar*, *Otman*, *Baldæus.* and others his followers, who were called *Caliphs*. The *Perſians* prefer *Hali* before *Mahomet*, and the *Turks*, *Omar*. *Abubeker* reigned two years, *Omar* ten years: it is he who regulated the *Alcoran*, and inſtituted the faſt in the month *Rammedan*. *Otman* reigned twelve years, and conquered *Mauritania* and *Cyprus*. *Hali* was by *Mahomet* appointed his ſucceſſor; but the other three having uſurped the kingdom, with the excluſion of *Hali*, this is the reaſon the *Perſians*, who adhere to the laſt, abominate the three former.

The hatred between the *Perſians* and *Turks* (though both *Mahometans*) proceeds from the different interpretations of the *Alcoran*, and certain ceremonies relating to their prayers, covering their heads, *&c.*

CHAP. VI.

The Feaſts, Sabbath, and ſome other Things belonging to the Mahometans; *their Prieſts, Holy Orders, Manners, and Cuſtoms.*

NOT to inſiſt here upon the fabulous trifles of *Mahomet*'s viſions, contained in ſome parts of the *Alcoran*, we will proceed to give you a ſhort account of the moſt material parts of the *Mahometan* religion.

Their circumciſion. They commonly circumciſe boys and girls at thirteen years of age, *viz.* ſo ſoon as they are able to ſay their confeſſions, *There is but one God, and* Mahomet *his Prophet.* If a *Jew* turns *Turk*, he is not circumciſed again, but only waſhed with water. Their waſhing, or bathing is performed upon a threefold occaſion.

Waſhing. 1. After they have eaſed nature, or cohabited with their wives.

2. When they are to go to the *Moſque*, or to read the *Alcoran*. And,

3. After they have committed ſome enormous ſins.

Their high prieſt is called *Muſti*, in great eſteem with the grand ſeignior, and a member of his privy council. Next to him are the *Cadileſheri*, or provincial high prieſts of *Europe*, *Natolia*, &c. Theſe are followed by the *Cady*, *Scriphes*, *Santones*, *Hoggy*, *Taliſmans*, and *Derviſes*.

Sabbath. The ſabbath of the *Mahometans* is on *Friday*, which they keep with the ſame ſtrictneſs as the *Jews* do theirs on *Saturday*, at leaſt with more devotion, as the chriſtians their *Sunday*. They have in each city, beſides the other *Moſques*, one great *Moſque*, where they then aſſemble to perform their devotion. Their lent begins in *February* with the new moon, and continues thirty days, with a great deal of ſeverity, for they neither eat nor drink all the day long; but ſome make themſelves amends at night, though the zealots will not taſte the leaſt of wine, or any other ſtrong liquor all that time, nor converſe with their wives. They are permitted to marry as many wives as they pleaſe, though the *Alcoran* allows no more than four wives.

Churches or Moſques. Their churches are flat on the top, commonly built on a riſing ground, ſo as to be ſeen at a diſtance above the other houſes. They have within nothing but bare white walls, without pictures or hangings; though on ſome of their tombs we ſee certain paſſages ingraved out of the *Alcoran*. On the ſouth-eaſt of the *Moſque* ſtands the pulpit made of brick-work, about three ſteps from the ground, from whence their teachers ſay their publick prayers, and explain the *Alcoran*. Their great *Moſques* are generally adorned with two high ſteeples, each having ſtairs within from the bottom to the top. Their *Moſques* have ſcarce any revenues belonging to them, except what the prieſt makes by letting ſome few chambers belonging to them: many of them are built by charitable perſons, and ſome of theſe have a ſettled income. It is further worth obſervation, that if a *Jew* will turn *Mahometan*, he muſt firſt own Chriſt, before they will receive him among the *Muſſelmen*.

Divers orders. They have many eccleſiaſtical orders among them, three whereof have no poſſeſſions, or any other propriety; and ſome pretend to ſuch a degree of purity, that they profeſs themſelves born without manly ſeed. Some make certain vows, like the *Roman Catholick* monks; ſome appear quite naked,

Baldæus. naked, others only cover their privities. Some have vowed perpetual silence; some carry water without reward; some prick themselves with sharp-pointed needles or instruments; others carry a ring of three pound weight in their privy members.

Tenets of the Mahometans. For the rest, they believe God a corporeal being, who is carried in a throne by the angels, and Christ to be only a man, and *Mahomet* the comforter mentioned by *John* xiv. 16. They believe a third place besides heaven and hell, and therefore pray for the dead; as also a general judgment, but implicated in many fabulous absurdities; for they tell you that two black angels, one called *Munger*, the other *Quaregner*, will appear, the first with an iron club, the other with a large fork in his hand; that every man besides is to have two angels to assist him; but if after all he cannot give a good account of himself, the angel with the club knocks him down, and so he is carried to hell. And because they are of opinion that those angels appear to them in their graves, these are generally built hollow; whence also they often make the following ejaculation: *Good God, preserve us from the interrogating angel, from the pain of the grave, and from the evil way.* They add many fabulous things concerning the angel *Adriel*, who, at the approach of the day of judgment, is to kill all living things, and to hang himself at last, till after forty years the angel *Seraphiel* shall awaken the souls; and such-like fables too long to be inserted here.

Paradise. Concerning beatitude, and the paradise, they believe it consists in a continued enjoyment of pleasures there. They divide it into seven different apartments; one whereof is of gold, the second of silver, another of pearls, precious stones, and so forth. Here they are to pass their time in pleasures with certain most beautiful women, created for that purpose by God, whilst their wives shall look through a grate, and be spectators of the enjoyments of their husbands with these most beautiful women, who shall not be subject to the monthly times, or child-bearing, and the men as vigorous as *Mahomet* himself, who gloried in his having out-done by double the number Ovid himself, *Et menimi, numeros sustinuisse novem.* They say they shall drink in paradise of the spring of *Alcazar* mentioned by *Mahomet*; they shall be delighted with the scent of the most odoriferous citrons, which shall produce most beautiful virgins that shall imbrace the *Mussulmans* and delight them with their charms for fifty years together: and more such like notions, tending to elevate the thoughts with imaginary corporeal pleasures, to be enjoy'd in the next world by such as have observed the following rules in their life-time, which they reckon absolutely requisite to attain to this bliss. *Baldæus.*

Rules to attain eternal bliss. To believe one God; and *Mahomet* his prophet, and a day of judgment; to pray at certain times; to wash, bow, and observe certain other ceremonies in praying: to pay the tenths; to fast in the month *Rammeden*; to go on pilgrimage to *Mecca*; to abstain from extortions, wine, and hogs-flesh, because they believe the hogs to have been progenerated out of the elephants and mens dung in the ark of *Noah*. They are also forbid not to use tables nor dice, not to swear by God, not to be rash in our judgment, or deceive a brother either in publick or private; not to part from a virtuous wife; not to be too forward to object and discover the faults of a brother, or to dispise him; not to set the fear of God and his punishment out of our eyes, or to calumniate our neighbour, and spread what is heard upon slight reports. On the other hand, they are enjoined to be thankful for God's mercy; to be patient in adversities, and not to despair of God's mercy; and to believe that whatever happens to us does not come by chance; (for the *Mahometans* maintain strongly God's providence;) not to deny a brother's request out of avaritiousness; not to raise God's anger out of love to his creatures, or to prefer a temporal interest before that which is to come: in all ghostly affairs, to have a respect to him that is above us, and in temporal matters, to those that are below us: not to enter into any association with the devils; to refrain from vanity, allow orphans and widows their own; to instruct their children in such things as relate to the divine service; to do good to your neighbour; not to curse any of God's creatures, but to praise him in his works; to read the *Alcoran*, (except when you are unclean;) to appear at the publick congregations; and to do as you would be done by. It is further their opinion, that the souls of the brutes are likewise to be revived and joined with their bodies.

Their manners and customs. In relation to their manners and customs, I will begin here with the character given them by a person of extraordinary learning, *viz. That in their whole behaviour they are declared enemies to vanity, as well in their words and deeds as in their clothing, which makes them look upon many of us christians like monkeys, who are apt to imitate every thing they see; whereas the* Turks *of both sexes, young and old, rich or poor, are as regular and decent in their habits, as if they belonged to one certain order; and are*

Baldæus. *ſo careful in the education of their youth, that their ſchoolmaſters preſcribe every day a certain part of the* Alcoran, *which they learn by heart, and ſo in two years time paſs through the whole* Alcoran.

Tokens of marriageableneſs. In their marriages, and the tokens of marriageableneſs and virginity, they obſerve the following rules: As ſoon as the monthly times begin to appear, they carry the maiden, for ſeven days together, adorn'd with flowers, and, as it were, in triumph, to the next brook, during which time ſhe is to eat nothing but what comes from the cocoa-tree. The *Portugueſe* (who perhaps have got it from the *Moors*) publiſh the marriageableneſs of their daughters by the ſound of trumpets, and invite their next relations to a feaſt. When a marriage is to be concluded, they bargain very hard for the dowry; but this being paſt, and the agreement made betwixt the parents, guardians, or other neareſt relations, the day for the conſummation thereof is appointed: then the bridegroom on horſeback, adorned with ſweet-ſcented flowers, under two umbrello's, paſſes with his next friends through the chiefeſt ſtreets under the ſound of trumpets, hautboys, drums, and other ſuch-like inſtruments, to the bride's houſe, where having ſtay'd half an hour at the door, and entertained his bride with the muſick, and the throwing of ſome ſquibs, and other ſmall fireworks, he is admitted into the houſe; and being ſeated upon a chair raiſed ſomewhat from the ground, and covered with tapeſtry, the bride is brought to him by her parents and relations in the preſence of a prieſt and the judge of the place, (without whoſe conſent no marriage is valid:) the prieſt having read certain paſſages out of a book, the bridegroom ſwears, that in caſe of a divorce from his wife, he will be ready to reſtore her dowry; which done, the prieſt gives the benedictions, and they are married, the whole being concluded at that time with a preſent of *Betel* and *Arrack* to the gueſts, yet not to any exceſs, though afterwards they keep the wedding for three, four, ſix, ſeven, or eight days together, according to every one's pleaſure and ability.

Their marriages.

Divorces. However, divorces are very frequent among the *Moors*, (or *Indian Mahometans*,) which is ſoon done, if the husband, purſuant to his promiſe, returns the dowry, which conſiſts commonly in nothing elſe but the woman's apparel. A man is at liberty to kill his wife in caſe of adultery; but a woman may not ſo much as ſue a divorce upon the ſame ſcore. When a woman is divorced from her husband, ſhe takes generally her daughters along with her, leaving the ſons to the husband's diſpoſal. The next morning after the bridegroom has lain with his bride, and found her a virgin, publick proclamation is made thereof throughout the whole town, (for the honour of her parents,) when the bride's mother haſtening to her daughter's bed-chamber, and finding the uſual tokens of virginity in the ſheets or cloaths laid for that purpoſe, ſhe carries them to the bridegroom's parents, who rejoice with her at the conqueſt of their ſon over the maiden's virginity. But if theſe tokens are not apparent, matters are carried off with leſs pomp and more ſilence.

Baldæus.

The Mahometans remain ſtrangers to inceſt, but addicted to ſodomy. The *Mahometans* in general are enemies to inceſt, ſo that even the *Grand Seignior*'s ſon, after the death of his father, never touches his concubines, but ſhuts them up in a certain caſtle; on the other hand, they are extremely addicted not only to luſt, but alſo to ſodomy itſelf, and combination with brutes. There are inſtances, that two proſtitutes in *Perſia* have been condemned, one to be occupied by a horſe, the other by an aſs; the firſt died, but the ſecond eſcaped with life.

Their food. The *Moors* feed generally upon rice inſtead of bread, which is well taſted here, and grows in great plenty in *Bengale*, and divers other provinces; the ſame is in much requeſt throughout the *Indies*, in *China*, *Japan*, in the iſles of *Formoſa*, *Java*, *Celebes*, *Borneo*, *Ceylon* in *Malabar*, and other places, though *Japan* and *Bengale* produce likewiſe very good wheat. The poorer ſort, who can't get above four or five pence a day to maintain themſelves, are forced to be contented with *Kitzery* (a mixture of beanflower and rice) boiled in water. Their habitations are alſo very low and mean, made of clay, and their houſhold-ſtuff ſuitable to their houſes; for beſides a few veſſels of braſs, and the two bed-ſteads where the man and wife lie, (who never ſleep together,) there is nothing to be ſeen there, they having neither benches nor chairs, but only mats to ſit upon. In ſome places they uſe cording inſtead of wood for fuel: but the houſes of people of faſhion are ſpacious, and divided into many apartments, flat on the top, whereupon they take the cool air in the evening. They are very ſplendid in their entertainments, wives, and houſes, but eſpecially in gold and ſilver plate.

Habitations.

Their clothing. Their clothing is very grave, and they ſcarce ever change the faſhion thereof; the men wear coats of callico, or rich tiſſues and ſilks; they are ſtrait above, cloſe to the body, faſtened with a girdle round the waſte, and reach down to the knees: their breeches are wide above, and narrow at the bottom, reaching down to the legs, and trimmed,

Baldæus. trimmed with fringes; their ſhoes are of gilt leather, which they turn down at the heels, for the conveniency of throwing them off upon occaſion. When they ſalute one another, they touch the turbant with the hand only, but never move them as we do our hats. They are girt about their loins with a girdle of ſome fine ſtuff, over which they wear another of fine linnen, and a broad dagger on the left ſide. The ornament of the women conſiſts chiefly in bracelets about their arms and feet, ear-pendants, noſe-rings, and other jewels: when they are going abroad, they cover their heads with a veil, with ſeveral hair-locks twiſted together, hanging down their backs.

Their burials. They obſerve certain peculiar cuſtoms in their burials; for no ſooner is the breath out of the body, but their wives, children, and neighbours, make a moſt lamentable outcry, asking ever and anon the deceaſed, What made him die? whether he wanted any thing in his life-time? This they continue for three days ſucceſſively: then they invite his friends to a feaſt in memory of the deceaſed, whoſe corpſe being in the mean while well waſhed, and ſowed up in ſome white ſtuff, with all ſorts of odoriferous drugs, is laid upon a bier, and accompanied by three prieſts, (who ſing and read all the way,) carried by ten or twelve perſons to the grave: here they lay him upon his right ſide, with the feet to the ſouth, the head to the north, and the face to the weſt. This done, they lay boards over the whole corpſe to keep the earth from touching it; and whilſt they are filling up the grave, the ſtanders-by mutter out certain prayers, and then return to the houſe of the deceaſed with the prieſts, who for ſeveral days after pray for his ſoul, ſhorter or longer, according as they are able to pay them. During this time, no fire muſt be ſeen in the houſe, what victuals they uſe being dreſſed without doors. Upon the grave they lay two ſtones, one at the head, and another at the feet, the interſtice being of the ſame length with the dead corpſe underneath it: upon theſe the prieſts read certain chapters out of the *Alcoran*, and diſtribute ſome bread among the poor: upon the ſame, at the head, they ſet ſometimes a turbant, and if a female be buried there, a kind of a bonnet. Thus much of the *Mahometan* ſubjects of the *Great Mogul*; of the idolatry of the *Gentives* we ſhall have occaſion to treat at large in the third book.

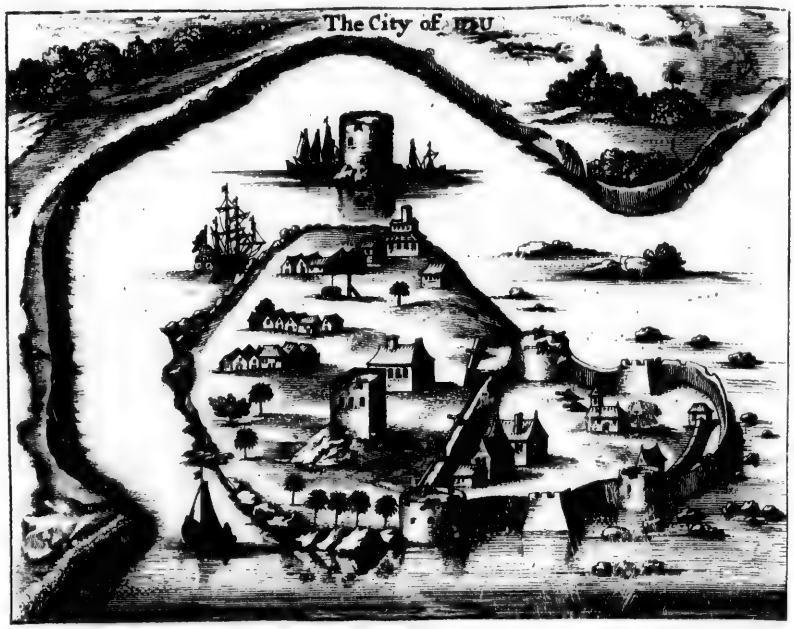
CHAP. VII.

A Deſcription of Diu. *A Sea-Engagement of the* Portugueſe *with* Jazy *and* Hocenus. *The ſingular Bravery of* Laurence d'Almeyda, *and* Nonnius Vaſques Pereria. *The Harbour of* Diu *taken by the* Portugueſe. *The Flight of* Jazy *and* Hocenus. Mooriſh *Colours ſent to* Portugal.

AT the uppermoſt ſouthern point of *Guſuratte* lies the city of *Diu*, the draught whereof you ſee here annexed, where the *Portugueſe* have three ſtrong forts. It is commonly called *Diu*, though its right name is believed to be *Tivo*, i. e. *an iſle*, in the *Malabar* language, as may be ſeen in the names of *Naynativo*, *Anchativo*, *Maltivo*, or the *Maldive* iſlands, which being in all ſixty in number, extend from the cape *Commoryn* from the ſeventh degree of northern latitude, to the third degree of ſouthern latitude, a tract of one hundred and forty, or one hundred and fifty *German* leagues.

Origin of Diu. As to the origin of *Diu*, they relate that one *Jazy*, a native of *Sarmatia*, did ſettle in this iſland; but being taken priſoner and made a ſlave by the *Mahometans* in theſe parts, he changed the chriſtian religion for that of the *Turks*, and being ſold into *Cambaja*, was at laſt, for his ſingular dexterity in managing the bow and arrow, preferr'd to the ſervice of king *Madrafakaon*, the father of king *Mamudius*. *Jazy*, to give a proof of his skill, ſhooting one day a certain bird of prey flying, he gained thereby ſo much credit, that the king not long after gave him his liberty, and reſtored to him the iſle of *Diu*.

Reſtored by Jazy. This iſle, which at that time had nothing to ſhew but the ruins and miſerable remnants of a once-flouriſhing city, began to recover part of its former ſplendor under *Jazy*, by reaſon of its convenient ſituation betwixt the *Arabian* ſhore and the kingdom of *Decan*. Having provided for the ſecurity of the place, by erecting divers forts and other fortifications, and his wealth increaſing in a few years, he began to equip a fleet in order to attack his enemies ſhips at ſea. *Hocenus* (otherwiſe named *Mir Amirazem*) a *Perſian* by birth, and commander



commander in chief of the ſhips that were to come from *Egypt* into the *Indies*, having lately had a ſmart ingagement with the *Portugueſe*, *Laurance* and *Francis d' Almeyda*, and coming that way, *Jazy* thought fit to enter into a confederacy with him, which was done accordingly: whilſt they were conſulting by what means best to annoy their enemies with their joint fleets, news was brought, that *Laurence d'Almeyda* was with a few ſhips come to an anchor before *Chaul*, and had landed his men, (as being quite ignorant of the arrival of the *Egyptian* fleet in thoſe parts.) One *Nizamaluc* reigned at that time at *Chaul*; for the great perſons of *Decan* having impriſoned their king, had divided his kingdom among themſelves, whereof this part was fallen to his ſhare. *Nizamaluc*, though no great friend to the chriſtians, yet for intereſt ſake had ordered his ſubjects to maintain a good correſpondence with the *Portugueſe* trafficking in thoſe parts; which *Almeyda* being not ignorant of, he thought he might ſtay here with ſafety enough, till he had the opportunity of convoying the *Portugueſe* merchant ſhips to *Cochin*. It was, indeed, rumoured abroad, that the *Egyptian* fleet had been ſeen on that coaſt; but the *Portugueſe* imagining that the ſame might be occaſioned by the arrival of certain ſhips coming about that time of the year from *Mocha*, they made no great account of it: one of the ſhips crew at length eſpy'd a conſiderable fleet from the top of the main-maſt, but could not diſcern their ſtrength, till at laſt they began to ſuſpect the truth; for *Hocenus* was advancing that way, and *Jazy* preparing to follow him, in order to attack the *Portugueſe*. Certain intelligence being at laſt brought to *Almeyda*, that the enemy was at hand, he ordered his men aboard, which was ſcarce done when they ſaw the *Egyptians* advancing againſt them. Theſe *Barbarians* had flattered themſelves with hopes to ſurprize the *Portugueſe*; but theſe having juſt had time enough to put themſelves into a good poſture of defence, received their enemies ſo warmly, that they thought fit to ſtay for the arrival of *Jazy*; however, they charged one another (but at a diſtance) all that day; but towards night *Hocenus* retreated with his veſſels to the other bank of the river among the ſands, for his greater ſecurity's ſake.

Baldæus.

He enters into a confederacy with Hocenus.

The Portugueſe *fleet comes to* Chaul.

Baldæus.

The night being ſpent on the *Portugueſe* ſide, in preparing for the combat againſt the next day, when *Almeyda* being ignorant of the confederacy betwixt *Hocenus* and *Jazy*,

The Portuguese engage Hocenus.

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Baldæus. *Jazy*, attacked the first with great fury, in hopes of boarding the *Egyptian* ships; but not being able to come close enough up with them by reason of the sands, he was forced to rest satisfied with plying them with his cannon, which he did all the day long, notwithstanding the enemy were much stronger in ships and men. The engagement was very hot, *Laurence d' Almeyda* being himself wounded twice with an arrow: the combat continued thus with considerable loss on both sides, till towards night *Jazy* came to the relief of the *Egyptians* with forty ships, but not daring to engage with the *Portuguese*, came to an anchor at the entrance of the river, to be nearer to *Hocenus* in order to join with him the next day.

Assembly of Portuguese to their admiral. The *Portuguese* being somewhat moved at this unexpected fight, represented to their admiral *Almeyda*, that having gained sufficient honour in the yesterday's engagement, they ought now to consult prudence, and to endeavour to bring their ships out of the harbour in the night time into the open sea. *Almeyda* did not disapprove the *Is refused.* advice of his sea-commanders; but as he was of a haughty temper, so he could not resolve to steal away by night, but determined to make the best of his way to morrow by day-light; with this resolution he ordered all his ships, as well merchants as others, to be ready to set sail with the first tide by break of day. The *Moors* no sooner perceived his intention, but they made towards them in order to intercept their passage; in this engagement a bullet happening to strike through the *Portuguese* admiral next to the rudder, she took much *The Portuguese admiral cast upon a rock.* water, and was cast upon the rocks, whence she could not be got off: The *Portuguese* commanders seeing the impossibility of saving the ship, sent a boat to the admiral, desiring him to save his person, and preserve himself for another occasion; but in vain, for he told them, *that he would never be guilty of such a piece of treachery, as to leave those who had hitherto been his companions in danger in the lurch.* Accord- *His brave-ry.* ingly he animated his men both with his words and example to defend themselves to the utmost extremity; being thus animated by their admiral, they fought like lions, rejecting all proposals offered them by the enemy, resolving either to save the ship, or die in the defence thereof.

He is wounded. In the mean while *Almeyda* having one of his thighs shot off by a bullet, lost however not his wanted courage, but ordering his men to place him upon a chair near the main-mast, he there gave his orders as occasion required; but whilst he was busy in incouraging his men, another unfortunate ball took away part of his breast and ribs, so that his entrails falling out he gave up the ghost immediately, and his dead carcase was carried below deck immediately. This was the end of the brave *Almeyda*, who had signalized himself so often by his bravery in the service of his king and country. *Baldæus died killed.*

There were besides him two other brave fellows, though much inferior in rank, whose names do well deserve a place in this history; one was *Laurentius Frerius Catus*, a servant to the deceased admiral, who being wounded with an arrow in one of his eyes, threw himself notwithstanding this upon his master's body, and when he saw the *Moors* enter the ship, fell in pell-mell among them, and killed several of them with his sword before they could dispatch him. The other was a sailor, named *Andrew Van Portua*, who standing on the top of the main-mast, and being wounded by a musket-ball in his shoulder, and having before lost the use of his right-hand, defended himself from thence with his left-hand for two whole days against those *Barbarians*, till at length they promised him his life; upon which he surrendered, and afterwards returned safely into *Portugal*, where he was honourably rewarded for his bravery. *Two other brave exploits.*

The taking of the admiral's ship of the *Portuguese*, though it cost the *Barbarians* six hundred men, (one hundred and forty being lost on the christian side,) yet occasioned no small joy in their fleet; as on the other hand, the loss thereof soon reached to *Cochin* by such ships as were fled thither: however the *Portuguese* were so far from being dismay'd thereat, that resolving to be revenged upon those *Barbarians*, they left no stone unturned to gather a more formidable strength at sea; and *Albuquerque*, after having settled matters at *Socotora*, (an isle at the entrance of the *Red Sea*,) did considerable mischief to the *Moors* near *Ormus*, as *Laurence d'Almeyda* the father of the admiral lately killed, revenged himself for the death of his son, by the taking of *Dabul*, *Diu*, and *Panane*, whereof we shall give you a more ample account anon.

For *Emanuel* king of *Portugal*, being informed concerning the convenient situation of the harbour of *Diu*, sent his orders to *Sequeria* to build a fortress there, cost it what it would. Accordingly *Francis d'Almeyda*, after the taking of *Dabul*, steered his course for the harbour of *Diu*, *Hocenus* was for engaging the *Portuguese* without the harbour; but at the persuasion of *Jazy* laid aside that design, it being thought much more expedient to expect the coming of the christians with their joint *Diu attacked by the Portuguese.*

Baldæus. forces, and to annoy them at their approach both by ſea and land; for which purpoſe they had beſides the *Egyptian* ſhips and thoſe of *Diu* received eighty brigantines of *Calecut*, and had planted their cannon at convenient diſtances along the ſhore. The *Portugueſe* admiral was ſomewhat ſurprized to ſee the enemy keep ſo cloſe beyond expectation; yet interpreting the ſame as a good omen of his future victory, he ſpent the remainder of the day in viewing the poſture of the enemy, and conſultations what was beſt to be done.

He having declared his reſolution of attacking the admiral's ſhip of the *Egyptians*, aboard of which was *Hocenus*, the ſame was approved; but he deſired not to expoſe his perſon at this critical juncture, but to commit the management of the deſign to *Nonnius Vaſques Pereria:* accordingly, every thing being got in readineſs, they entered the harbour the next morning with the firſt tide, and a ſtrong ſea-wind, *Nonnius* leading the van in his ſhip with two hundred choſen men, being followed by the admiral *d'Almeyda* to protect and cover his rear. *Nonnius* advanced bravely under the thundering noiſe of the cannon, (by which ten ſeamen that were furling the ſails were killed at once,) and making his way through the midſt of the *Barbarians*, at laſt boarded *Hocenus* in his ſhip, though not without great ſlaughter on both ſides, he himſelf having the misfortune to be wounded in the throat by an arrow, of which he died three days after.

They attack the Moors *ſhips in the harbour.*

Ten men killed by one bullet.

Nonnius *wounded.*

The *Portugueſe* not being diſmay'd at the diſaſter of their commander, but inflamed with revenge, redoubled their fury, which the *Barbarians* being no longer able to withſtand, they gave all over for loſt, *Hocenus* himſelf narrowly eſcaping in a boat to the ſhore, and (being ſomewhat diffident of *Jazy*) took horſe immediately, in order to fly to the king of *Cambaja*, where he was well received. Thoſe of *Calecut* ſeeing the beſt of their brigantines ruined by the enemy's ſhot, thought it their beſt way to ſave themſelves with the lighteſt over the ſands, and two of *Hocenus* his gallies were carried off by *Roderic Zoares*; many of the *Barbarians* leaped into the ſea, where they loſt their lives; the reſt got aſhore, and diſperſed, *Jazy* not being able to ſtop their flight.

Hocenus *flies.*

So do thoſe of Calecut.

Baldæus.

There was yet remaining the ſhip of *Jazy*, a veſſel of a vaſt bulk, appearing like a caſtle, well provided with artillery and men, being beſides this covered with oxes hides to keep off the arrows, and hinder the enemy from boarding by its ſlipperineſs: the *Portugueſe* made ſeveral attempts to maſter it, but being as often repulſed, at laſt ſunk her with their cannon. The loſs of the *Barbarians* was computed at three thouſand men, the *Portugueſe* had only thirty killed, but three hundred wounded. The *Portugueſe* relate that *Nonnius* his ſhip being very old, yet held out very well during the combat, but immediately after was found leaky in many places; moſt of the *Mamaluques* or *Egyptians* were ſlain in this engagement. How ſlenderly the *Portugueſe* were provided with all manner of neceſſaries, may be gueſſed from hence, that when *Nonnius* his wound was to be dreſſed, there was no linen in the ſhip to do it with, but they were forced to tear a ſhirt for that purpoſe. Certain it is that the *Portugueſe* can make harder ſhift than moſt other nations, a thing of great conſequence in time of war, plenty and luxury being often the ruin of the beſt armies. The booty got by the *Portugueſe* in this engagement was conſiderable; for beſides four war-ſhips, and as many merchant-men, with their artillery, they got a conſiderable quantity of gold, ſilver, and precious ſtuffs and cloths, all which was given a prey to the ſoldiers and ſhips crew: three of the ſultan's colours were ſent to *Portugal*, to be preſerved there in memory of ſo remarkable a victory; which made an ample amends to the *Portugueſe* for the loſs they had ſuſtained ſome time before near *Chaul*.

Jazy's ſhip ſunk.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Peace made with Jazy. Ferdinand Coutinho *made Viceroy. Differences arisen betwixt* Almeyda *and* Albuquerque. *The* Portugueſe *take* Diu; *which is refortified by* Jazy. Nonnius *goes to* Diu. *The Iſle* Betel *taken.* Saldania *ſurprizes* Goga.

Baldæus. *Jazy ſues for peace.*

JAZY thought it now time to ſue for peace; to obtain which he was not ſparing in his promiſes, to endeavour to engage all the neighbouring princes into the intereſt of *Portugal*; ſo the peace was concluded, under condition that he ſhould ſurrender all the remaining *Egyptian* ſhips to the *Portugueſe*, releaſe the priſoners taken near *Chaul*, and provide their fleet with all manner of neceſſaries. *Jazy* being very willing, or rather neceſſitated, to comply with the conditions, the *Portugueſe* thought fit not to attempt any thing further againſt *Diu* for that time, as being unwilling to embroil themſelves with the king of *Cambaja*. Thus *Almeyda* retired victorious to *Cochin*, having paid to *Nizamaluc*, as he paſſed that way, the uſual preſents that were in arrears.

Almeyda is ſucceeded by Ferdinand Coutinho.

But *Almeyda* did not long enjoy the fruits of his late victory; for *Ferdinand Coutinho*, a perſon of quality, was ſoon after ſent with fifteen ſhips and three thouſand men to join with *Albuquerque*, in order to attack the *Moors*, and eſpecially the city of *Calecut*; for ſome differences being ariſen betwixt *Almeyda* and *Albuquerque*, which were fomented by ſome malicious perſons, the king of *Portugal* thought he could pitch upon no better expedient to prevent the ill conſequences thereof, than by ſending *Coutinho* to ſucceed *Almeyda*, who preferring the king's intereſt before his private intereſt, quietly ſurrendered his charge; and at the ſame time was reconciled to *Albuquerque*, after he had managed the government of the *Indies* with more than ordinary conduct and wiſdom; a perſon worthy of a much better fortune than what happen'd to him afterwards. For in his return to *Portugal* having occaſion to touch at the cape of *Good Hope*, to take in ſome freſh proviſions, ſome of his men being got aſhore, and falling into differences with ſome of the natives about the exchange of their commodities, *Almeyda* running thither with ſword-in-hand, to ſee what was the matter, the natives began to fall upon him and his men; and being reinforced with freſh numbers, ſet ſo hard upon the *Portugueſe*, that they were not able to get to their ſhips without fighting their way through them, which they did with a great deal of bravery; but, alas! not without the loſs of their commander *Almeyda*, (who was run through the body with a ſtick pointed at the end,) and twelve more of their beſt ſoldiers. This was the unfortunate end of this great man, ſo famous for his great atchievements both in *Europe* and *Aſia*, being forced to end his days upon the ſhore of *Africa*, which robbed him both of the rewards due to his ſervices, and even of a chriſtian ſepulture.

Differences betwixt Almeyda and Albuquerque.

Baldæus. *The death of Almeyda.*

We told you before, that the *Portugueſe* thought fit not to attempt any thing further againſt *Diu*; it is now time to ſhew you what further meaſures were taken to bring about their deſign to erect a fort in that iſland. They had ſo far agreed the matter with the king of *Cambaja*, that he favoured their intentions, or at leaſt was not againſt them; but *Jazy* not only uſed all his endeavours at court to obſtruct the deſign of the *Portugueſe*, but alſo prepared every thing for a vigorous reſiſtance in caſe of need. In the mean while he was not ſparing in fair words or promiſes, nay, even in deeds to the *Portugueſe*; for no ſooner arrived *Sequeria* at *Diu* from *Ormus*, but he regaled the fleet with freſh proviſions, and the officers with preſents, with a great many proteſtations of friendſhip to the crown of *Portugal*: but when *Sequeria* began to talk to *Jazy* concerning the intended fort, he declined the matter, alledging that it lay not alone in his power; and therefore they muſt obtain the king of *Cambaja*'s conſent, in which he would aſſiſt them with all his intereſt.

Jazy plays the hypocrite with the Portugueſe.

Sequeria was not ſo ſtupid as not to ſmell the rat; but thinking it beſt to repay him in his own coin, he diſſembled the matter, and returning his compliments with much civility, he prepared underhand for war; but *Jazy*, who had a watchful eye upon all his actions, knew ſo well how to improve his time, and provide for his ſecurity, that *Sequeria* thought it moſt adviſeable to delay his project till the next year, againſt which time he expected ſome conſiderable reinforcement.

Is diſcovered.

Sequeria was no ſooner departed, but *Jazy* imbraced this opportunity of ſtrengthening himſelf on all ſides; he added ſeveral new works to the place, and erected a caſtle in the midſt of the entrance of the harbour, and

Jazy fortifies himſelf.

Baldæus. and betwixt that and the city defended it with a ſtrong chain: he kept ſeveral ſhips loaden with ballaſt ready to be ſunk upon occaſion, to ſtop up the paſſage on the other ſide, and ordered vaſt pieces of ſtones and rocks to be ſunk under the walls, to prevent the *Portugueſe* galleys from approaching near to them: he alſo for the better defence of the harbour hired one hundred and eighty brigantines, and ſome merchant-men, manned with *Arabians*, *Perſians*, and *Turks*, (profeſſed enemies of the chriſtians,) leaving in the mean while no ſtone unturned to thwart the deſigned project of the *Portugueſe* at the court of the king of *Cambaja*.

Neither were the *Portugueſe* idle on their ſide, but having made what preparations they thought fit for ſuch an undertaking, *Nonnius Acunia*, the chief commander of the *Portugueſe* in the *Indies*, ſet forward in order to put it in execution: but being reſolved to make uſe both of cunning and force at the ſame time, he had by preſents engaged ſeveral bold and cunning fellows, who were to paſs to *Diu* in the quality and habit of merchants, but in effect to ſerve for *Spies*, and to give notice of what they thought worth his knowledge. Thus prepared, the time and place of the rendezvous of the whole fleet being appointed at *Chaul*, he ſet ſail from thence with three hundred ſail, great and ſmall, well provided with artillery and ammunition, having aboard three thouſand *Portugueſe*, as many *Malabars*, and two thouſand *Canarines*, for *Dabul*, a ſmall city in the confines of *Cambaja*; where the *Portugueſe*, being much animated by the preſence and ſpeech of a certain *Franciſcan* friar, named *Anthony Petron*, declared that they would not deſiſt, till they had forced the *Barbarians* from their ſtrong holds in thoſe parts. But finding the place deſerted by its inhabitants, they ſteered their courſe towards *Betel*, (a ſmall rocky iſle not above a league in compaſs, ſeparated from the continent only by a narrow ſtreight,) about eighty leagues from *Diu*. The ſituation of this iſle being ſuch, by reaſon of the rocks which incloſe the iſle near the ſhore, that it might eaſily be made defenſible by an indifferent force, the king of *Cambaja* had not long before ſent thither a certain commander, a *Turk* by birth, with two thouſand ſoldiers, and one thouſand workmen, to erect certain fortifications there; but having not had ſufficient time to bring them into ſuch a condition as to be able to reſiſt ſuch a force as this, they thought it their ſafeſt way to capitulate.

Nonnius Acunia *goes for* Diu.

His rendezvous.

Sail for Dabul.

Betel begun to be fortified by the Cambajans.

The commander in chief (having obtained a paſſport for that purpoſe) had an interview with the *Portugueſe* general, offering to ſurrender the iſle, under condition that they might have liberty to depart with all their baggage and goods. *Nonnius* allowed the firſt; but would not conſent to their taking the leaſt thing away with them, except what they had about them. This harſh anſwer was no ſooner known in the iſle, but they reſolved to abide the utmoſt extremity, rather than comply with it. The king's treaſurer found means to have a boat built, wherewith he tranſported all the king's money and goods to the continent. Many of the garriſon enraged with revenge and deſpair, brought all their horſes, baſe moveables, wives and children together, and burnt them and themſelves. There were about ſeven hundred left, moſt of them votaries, reſolved to die with ſword-in-hand. Theſe like mad-men fell upon the *Portugueſe* with more fury than effect; for the *Portugueſe* general having repulſed them, attacked the next night by the light of the moon, their intrenchments with ſo much vigour, that after a moſt obſtinate reſiſtance (in which the *Turkiſh* commander was killed) they left them to the *Portugueſe*, ſome running to the rocks, from whence they precipitated themſelves into the ſea; others endeavouring to eſcape the ſword by hiding themſelves in the hollowneſs of the rocks; but being diſcovered, ſome of them were cut to pieces, the reſt made ſlaves. A certain *Moor* having nothing left but his ſword, and ſeeing his comrade ſlain juſt by his ſide, and a *Portugueſe* advancing with his pike towards him, in order to kill him, ran deſperately towards him, and thrufting himſelf upon the *Portugueſe*'s lance, at the ſame time killed his enemy with his ſword; ſo that they both died upon the ſpot.

Baldæus.

They refuſe to ſurrender upon theſe conditions.

A moſt deſperate reſolution.

The Portugueſe take the iſle.

The *Portugueſe* loſt in this action about ſeventeen perſons of note, and had an hundred and fifty wounded, many of whom died afterwards. *Nonnius* thought fit to tarry here eight days, in hopes of receiving ſome intelligence from his ſpies at *Diu*; this proved of great advantage to thoſe of *Diu*, for in the mean while *Muſtapha* and *Sophar* (who had been at the ſiege of *Aden*) coming to an anchor with ſix hundred *Turks*, and one thouſand three hundred *Arabians* before *Diu*, the inhabitants thereof (who before that time thought of nothing elſe than how to come to a good compoſition) being encouraged by this reinforcement, were reſolved to venture all for their defence. *Muſtapha* was no ſooner entered the city, but he ordered the women, children, and other defenceleſs people to be ſent out of the town; the reſt being muſtered were found eleven thouſand in number, (without the *Turks* and *Arabians*,) able to bear arms: ſtrict watches were ſet in all places, to let no body paſs in or out of the town without

Loſs of the Portugueſe.

ſpecial

Baldæus. special licence; the cannon were planted on the walls, mines dug and filled, chains made acroſs the harbour, and the entrance thereof defended by ſeventy three well-manned brigantines. To be ſhort, nothing was omitted that was thought neceſſary to ſtrengthen themſelves either by ſea or land.

Prepara-tions at Diu.

Nonnius Acunia in the mean time tarried at *Betel*, in expectation of the tidings he waited for from his ſpies there; but theſe being too narrowly watched to ſend any intelligence, he reſolved to take his chance, and ſo ſet ſail for *Diu*, where he caſt his anchor in hopes to come to a parley with the inhabitants; but he was not a little ſurprized when he heard the cannon from the ramparts thunder among his ſhips, and three bullets that had paſſed croſs the admiral's ſhip, gave him ſufficient warning, that it was not ſafe ſtaying there long, which made him give immediate orders for the whole fleet to weigh anchor, and to ſecure themſelves without the reach of the cannon from the city. Being by this time ſufficiently convinced, (without conſulting his ſpies,) that there were but little hopes of peace or a ſurrender, he took a full view of the town, to ſee on what ſide it might be moſt conveniently attacked; and finding more probability to ſucceed on the harbour than on the land ſide, (eſpecially ſince he was better provided for a ſea than land enterprize,) he ordered all his ſhips and artillery to be got in a readineſs, in order to attack the caſtle at the entrance of the harbour, break the chains, and to fall upon the enemy's fleet, from whence he might annoy the city with his cannon on the north ſide. The attempt was made accordingly, but without ſucceſs, the *Portugueſe* being ſo fiercely aſſailed on all ſides by the enemy's cannon, that they were forced to deſiſt, and *Nonnius* thought fit to retreat to *Betel*, from whence he returned with his fleet to *Goa*, leaving *Anthony Saldania* with ſome ſhips on the coaſt of *Cambaja*, to watch the enemy's motions. *Saldania*, after having done conſiderable miſchief to the enemy, by the taking of the ſmall city of *Goga*, and burning twenty five brigantines, left *James Sylveria* behind him, and returned afterwards to *Goa*; where having ſpent the greateſt part of the winter in refitting their ſhips, *Nonnius* in the ſpring ſet ſail for *Chaul*, about two leagues from *Calecut*, to intercept the *Arabian* ſhips trading in thoſe parts.

The Portugueſe aſſault Diu in vain.

CHAP. IX.

Nonnius *routs the* Mahometans; *takes* Bazain; *and* Martin Soza Daman. Badur *King of* Cambaja *engages in a Treaty with the* Portugueſe. *His Forces, and Expedition to* Citor. *The Deſtruction of that City.* Badur *twice defeated; flies to* Diu. *His End.*

SYLVERIA was in the mean while not idle, but took many ſhips bound for *Diu*, burnt ſome villages, and kept the place ſo blocked up on all ſides, that in a little time they were within reduced to great ſcarcity of proviſions. The next following year *Sylveria* continued to play the ſame game by deſtroying many towns, villages, and ſhips: he alſo took the cities of *Pate* and *Patane*, as alſo *Mangalor* in *Cambaja*, with a vaſt booty, and a great number of priſoners; the new king of *Cambaja* being not in a condition to aſſiſt thoſe of *Diu*, by reaſon of ſome inteſtine troubles.

Nonnius's ſucceſs againſt Bazain.

Nonnius at the ſame time keeping ſtill in remembrance the diſgrace he had received before *Diu*, and being reſolved to let ſlip no opportunity of revenging himſelf, he laid his deſign againſt *Bazain* in *Cambaja*; accordingly he ſet ſail with a fleet of eighty ſhips great and ſmall, with four thouſand land-men aboard them, (half *Portugueſe*, half *Malabars*:) he ſent *Emanuel Albuquerque* with ſome ſhips before, to ſecure the entrance of the harbour, ſent for *James Sylveria*, who had his ſtation on the other ſide of *Diu*, and followed himſelf with the whole fleet.

Tocan the chief of *Diu*, had, upon notice that the *Portugueſe* were arming againſt him, intrenched himſelf with a conſiderable number of horſe and foot at *Bazain*. *Nonnius* on the other hand, being well informed of the condition of the place by certain deſerters, divided his troops into three bodies. The vanguard was led by *James Sylveria*, the main battle by *Ferdinand de Za*, the rear being commanded by *Nonnius* in perſon.

The Portugueſe attack it.

As they were advancing towards the town, they received ſeveral ſmart ſalutes from the enemy's cannon, and whole ſhowers of arrows, *Tocan* having intrenched himſelf with ten thouſand men in the out-

Baldæus. out-works; notwithstanding which, the *Portuguese* lost not so much as one man whilst they were advancing towards the enemy, whom they charged so briskly, that they were forced to betake to their heels; and the inhabitants seeing themselves deserted by their protectors, followed their footsteps. Thus this city, with all it works, fell into the hands of the *Portuguese*, with the loss only of six men on their side; whereas the loss of the *Moors* was computed at five hundred and fifty. They found in it a considerable booty of provisions and ammunition, as bullets, gunpowder, and brimstone. *Nonnius* highly extolled the bravery of *Sylveria*, who commanding the vanguard, had behaved himself so gallantly, that the main battle did not as much as come to the charge, and as an acknowledgment of his services, made presents to him and all his officers. After they had destroyed all the fruits of the field round about it, they destroyed the city, and demolished the fortifications, as thinking it not for their interest to spare a sufficient number of troops to garrison it. Thus *Nonnius* having taken an ample revenge upon the *Barbarians*, returned with his fleet to *Goa*, and the *Mahometans* being convinced by this as well as the loss of the isle of *Betel*, (and afterwards that of *Daman*,) of the strength and bravery of the *Portuguese*, began to remit much of their fierceness, and were at last forced to submit to the building of a fort upon the isle of *Diu*, as will appear out of the sequel of the matter.

Portuguese take it.

Soza attacks Daman.

Martinus Alphonsus Soza being come lately from *Portugal* (in the quality of admiral) to *Goa* with five stout vessels, and being joined by thirty five ships, and six hundred land-soldiers of *Nonnius*'s squadron, he set sail for *Daman*, a city of *Cambaja*, about fourteen leagues from *Bazain*. This being a place of no strength, the inhabitants had deserted their habitations; but the *Raſboutes*, a daring and unruly generation, being joined by some *Turks*, to the number of five thousand in all, had intrenched themselves near the harbour, and defended the entrance thereof with a good number of great cannon.

Alphonsus Soza took peculiar care in taking a view of the posture of the enemy; and as he was going in his boat from the harbour along the shore, having taken notice of a place in the city which was but ill guarded, he ordered scaling-ladders to be hung to the walls; so that whilst they were scaling the town the defenders fled, and thereby gave an opportunity to the *Portuguese* to make themselves masters of a gate: here it was the slaughter begun, the fight being carried on with equal obstinacy for some time, till the *Raſboutes* being forced to give way, many of them were cut to pieces by the *Portuguese*, who lost no more than ten men in this action, but had many more wounded. Three days were spent in demolishing the fortifications, and laying the whole city level with the ground: which done, *Soza* turned his victorious arms towards *Diu*, and all along the coast of *Cambaja*.

Takes and demolishes it.

Badur king of *Cambaja*, being extremely nettled at the success of the *Portuguese*, whom he was not in a condition to oppose, at a time when he saw himself entangled in another war, thought it his best way to sue for peace with *Nonnius Acunia*, offering him not only *Bazain*, but also the adjacent isles (among which were likewise the *Salsettes*) and a considerable tract of land on the continent, thereby to engage the *Portuguese* in his interest against his enemies, viz. *Cremantina* the queen-dowager of *Sanga*, and the *Mogores*, a warlike nation descended from the *Scythæ*, who are frequently at war with the *Persians*: their king *Miramudus*, who boasted himself to be descended from the *Great Tamerlane*, having not long before made a powerful irruption into *Cambaja*.

Peace for ever between Badur and the Portuguese.

The intention of *Badur* was first to vanquish the queen of *Sanga*, and afterwards the *Mogores*: his whole force consisted in one hundred and fifty thousand horse and five hundred thousand foot, beside fifteen thousand hired foreigners, two hundred elephants trained for the war, and a very good train of great artillery: with this army he marched to *Citor*, a very fine and populous city under the queen of *Sanga*, who was not long before retreated thence with her children. The inhabitants of *Citor*, unable to resist so powerful an army, resolved to follow the footsteps of those in the isle of *Betel*, (mentioned before,) and having brought together all their gold, silver, and precious stones, *&c.* burnt themselves with their wives and children, with the treasure. It is said, that during the conflagration, which lasted three days, more than seventy thousand persons perished by the flames. *Badur* entered victoriously into *Citor*, where having rewarded the services of his officers that behaved themselves well with presents, he marched directly against the *Mogores*, but with very different success; for being twice put to the rout by them, and deserted by *Mustapha* his general, he was forced to fly to *Diu*; and being full of despair, would have taken a resolution to leave his kingdom, and to send his treasure to *Mecca*; but being, at the earnest entreaty of his friends, removed from that resolution, he sent an ambassador to *Soliman* the *Grand Seignior*, to offer him six hundred

He makes preparations.

He retakes Citor.

Baldæus. hundred thouſand crowns, provided he would ſend a certain number of well-diſciplined troops to his aſſiſtance; but fearing leſt the deſired ſuccours ſhould come too late, he offered to *Soza*, who then lay before *Ghaul*, as alſo to *Nonnius Acunia*, a proper place for the erecting a fort near *Diu*, provided they would aſſiſt him againſt his enemies.

Suez for peace

The *Portugueſe* willing to take the opportunity by the forelock, *Soza* ſailed to *Diu* immediately, and being followed by *Nonnius*, the treaty was ſigned, and a place appointed, *viz.* the hill which overlooks the harbour of *Diu*. This happened in the year 1535. The *Portugueſe* went to work immediately, and laid the foundation of a triangular fort, the wall from the ſea-ſide to the hill being ſeventeen feet thick and twenty high, at the end whereof, juſt upon a hill near the city, was erected a redoubt, and on the other end a ſtone tower, (ſuch a one as the *Portugueſe* have at *Granganor* and *Cananor*,) from whence extended another wall to the other corner of the iſland: the wall was defended by a deep ditch, as far as the rocks would permit; in the midſt whereof was a gate defended by two towers, named *St. Thomas* and *St. James*. Thus king *Badur* ſaw a goodly fortreſs perfected by the *Portuguſe* within forty nine days, that part to the ſea-ſide being ſet aſide till another opportunity.

Treach. of Fr. Bot.

One *James Botelho*, a brave commander, but fallen into diſgrace with *Emanuel* king of *Portugal*, being willing to court any opportunity of being reſtored to the king's favour, got a brigantine built on purpoſe of eighteen feet in length, and ſix broad; and having provided himſelf with as many ſeamen as were required to manage her at ſea, he ſet ſail from *Diu*, without letting them know whither they were bound, and proved ſo proſperous in his voyage, that without any remarkable accident he arrived ſafely at *Lisbon*, and brought the kind advice of their good ſucceſs at *Diu*.

The *Portugueſe* left a garriſon of eight hundred men under *Emanuel Soza* in the fort, and were no ſooner retired from thence with their fleet, but *Badur* began to repent of his having admitted the *Portugueſe* into the iſle of *Diu*, (eſpecially ſince the promiſed ſuccours arrived but ſlowly;) whereupon he ordered the governor *Ninaar* to ſurround the city with a new wall, and to incloſe the royal ſquare without the place, whereby their fortifications muſt approach very near to, and lie directly oppoſite to thoſe of the *Portugueſe*. Theſe being reſolved not to permit a thing of this nature, which muſt needs tend to their prejudice, *Badur* was much incenſed thereat, exclaiming highly againſt their proceedings, and endeavoured to have ſurprized them in their fort; which not ſucceeding, he ſought for aid from the *Samorym* of *Calecut*, and ſeveral *Malabar* kings againſt them. *Baldæus.*

Nonnius being advertiſed of all theſe treacheries, ſets ſail once more with twenty ſhips and five hundred choſen *Portugueſe* ſoldiers for *Diu*, ordering *Martin Alphonſo* to follow him from the *Malabar* coaſt. No ſooner had he caſt anchor before *Diu*, but feigning himſelf ſick aboard, he ſent certain perſons to compliment king *Badur*, and beg his excuſe for his not coming in perſon: whereupon *Badur* went aboard together with *Soza*, the governor of the fort, to give a viſit to *Nonnius*, who met *Badur* at the door of his great cabbin, and ſaluted him with a great deal of civility. For though the death of *Badur* was reſolved on before-hand, yet, that they might not ſeem to violate the laws of hoſpitality, they had thought fit to defer the execution thereof till his return towards the ſhore: it was not long before *Badur* went into his boat again in order to return, but was no ſooner got into it, and making the beſt way to the ſhore, when *Nonnius* giving the ſignal to his men, and exhorting them to do their duty, they leaped into boats kept for that purpoſe, and following that of *Badur*, attacked him on all ſides. The king being grown deſperate, exhorted his people to a brave defence, encouraging both by his words and example; which made the fight ſo obſtinate, that the *Portugueſe* were in danger of loſing their prey, *Soza* himſelf being ſlain in the firſt attack. The bravery of a certain ſervant of *Badur* deſerves our particular notice, he being obſerved to have wounded, with eighteen arrows, as many *Portugueſe*, till he was killed by a muſket-ſhot himſelf. In the mean while, three yachts, armed with *Turks*, were ſent from the ſhore to ſuccour the king; but being moſt of them killed, and the king's galley ſtruck upon the bank, he leaped into the ſea, and though ſorely wounded, did ſwim to the galley of *Triſtan Pavia*, and diſcovering himſelf to be the *Sultan*, begg'd his life; which *Triſtan Pavia* would willingly have granted; but juſt as the king was entering the veſſel, he was ſlain by a ſeaman, who knocked his brains out with a club. This was the unfortunate end of *Badur*, one of the moſt potent kings of *Aſia*, who not long before had been a terror to all the circumjacent countries.

Nonnius calls once more to Diu.

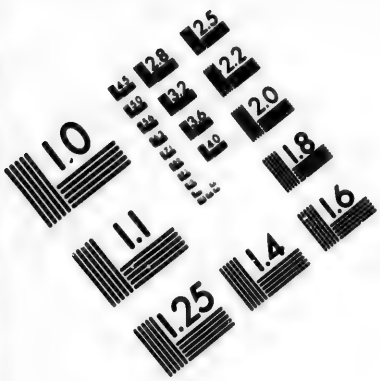
Badur gives him a viſit aboard.

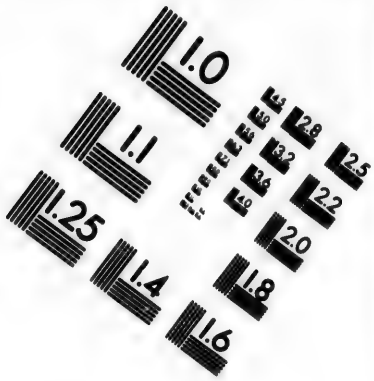
He is kill'd.

The bravery of a ſervant of Badur.

Badur ſlain.

CHAP.





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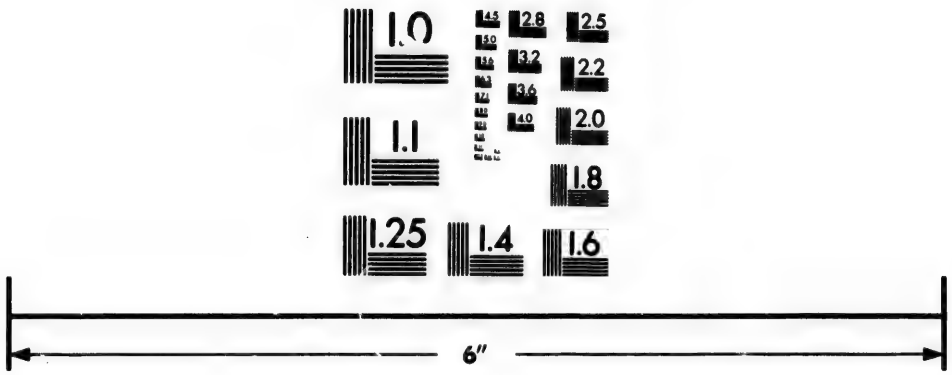

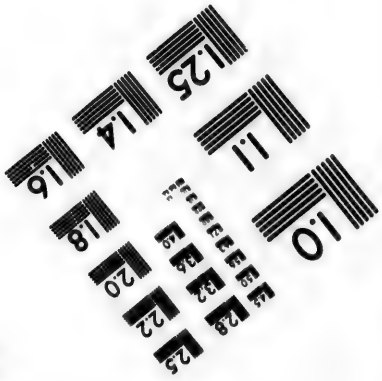

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CHAP. X.

Sofar *made a Priſoner.* *The* **Portugueſe** *become Maſters of the whole Iſle.* **Mamud** *King of* **Cambaja.** *A conſiderable Number of* **Ottomans** *ſent to the* **Indies.** **Diu** *beſieged by the* **Turks.** *A ſmart Engagement betwixt the* **Mahometans** *and* **Portugueſe.** **Diu** *relieved.* **Garzias Noronia** *conſtituted Viceroy.*

Baldæus. BUT to return to *Diu*, and the ſea-engagement, where *Sofar* being taken priſoner, was kindly entertained by *Nonnius*. The death of *Badur* (though not very honourable on the *Portugueſe* ſide) proved however of very great conſequence, the *Portugueſe* becoming thereby maſters of the whole iſland without much oppoſition, the ſaid *Badur* being deſervedly hated by his ſubjects, by reaſon of his tyranny and cruelty; ſix hundred foot were left there in garriſon, and all neceſſary care was taken that the cuſtoms both at *Diu* and *Rumenſtadt* might be regularly paid. *Maffæus*, in his fourth book of the *Indian* hiſtory, ſays, that *Rumenſtadt*, or *Rumopolis*, (lying not far from *Diu*,) was built by *Jazy*, (mentioned before) and got its name from the *Conſtantinopolitan Turks* that ſcour ſometimes in the *Indies*, called by them *Rumes*.

Sofar *a priſoner.*

Portugueſe *maſters of the iſland.*

Rumenſtadt.

The Portugueſe *fortify the ſea-ſide.*

The *Portugueſe* found no great treaſure of ready money at *Diu*, but conſiderable ſtores of ammunition and proviſion, and the better to ſtrengthen themſelves, fortified the city on the ſea-ſide.

Mamud *king of* Cambaja.

Badur was ſucceeded in the kingdom of *Cambaja* by *Mamud* his ſiſter's ſon, who being an infant, under the tuition of *Driacan*, *Madremaluc*, and *Alucan*, theſe were ſollicited by *Sofar* (out of a hatred to the *Portugueſe*) to engage in a war for the recovery of *Diu*. *Alucan* having got together a body of five thouſand horſe and ten thouſand foot, and *Sofar* three thouſand foot and one thouſand horſe, they pitched their tents in *June* not far from *Rumenſtadt*. *Sofa* attacked the town vigorouſly; but being in one of the attacks wounded in both his hands, the *Portugueſe* got a little breathing-time, and in the mean while repaired the walls of *Rumenſtadt*, which for ſome reaſons they had demoliſhed before: for *Anthonius Sylveria* having reſolved to fortify and defend the whole iſland againſt the *Indians*, was diſappointed in his deſign by *Alucan*, who improving the loſs of ſome *Portugueſe* ſhips by tempeſt to his advantage, galled the *Portugueſe* ſo ſorely from his ſhips in their entrenchments, that they were forced to quit their poſts; ſo that *Alucan* landing his men, ſoon became maſter of the whole iſle and the ſuburbs, where there happened frequent skirmiſhes betwixt them, the *Indians* being not ſtrong enough to attack the fort, which was bravely defended by *Lupo Soza Coutinho*. *Baldæus.*

His tutors engage in a war.

The Portugueſe *forced into the fort.*

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting in *Cambaja*, the *Grand Seignior*, to revenge the murder of *Badur*, (at the requeſt of his widow,) had equipped a fleet of ſixty four ſtout galleys, which being joined by ſeven ſhips of *Cambaja*, and three *Moors* of *Malabar* with three thouſand five hundred landmen aboard them, under the command of *Soliman* baſſa of *Egypt*, they ſet ſail from *Aden*, not queſtioning but they would ſoon be maſters of the *Portugueſe* fort, and conſequently of the iſland, from whence they might extend their conqueſts into the continent of the *Indies*. Matters being concerted beforehand betwixt *Soliman* and *Sofar*, the laſt went out to meet the *Turkiſh* ſquadron about fifteen leagues at ſea; and *Anthonio Sylveria* being advertiſed of their approach, took all imaginable precaution for his ſecurity, in diſpoſing what force he had to make a vigorous defence, and at the ſame time gave notice thereof to *Goa*, to ſolicite for prompt ſuccours from thence, encouraging his men both by his example and exhortations. By this time *Soliman* having caſt anchor in the road of *Diu*, he ordered ſeven hundred choſen men to land, and attempt the attack of the *Portugueſe* fortreſs; which they did accordingly, but were forced to retire to *Sofar*'s fort with the loſs of fifty janizaries killed, and a greater number wounded; the *Portugueſe* had alſo ſix men killed, and twenty wounded. *Baldæus.*

Sylveria *prepares for a brave defence.*

Soliman *lands and attacks the* Portugueſe.

About the ſame time the *Turkiſh* fleet being in great danger of being forced by a ſtrong ſouth wind upon the coaſt, and much expoſed to the enemy's ſhot, he retreated to the harbour of *Madraſaba*, five leagues from *Diu*; where having concerted new meaſures with *Sofar*, he ſent back his land-forces to renew the ſiege of *Diu*. But *Alucan*, one of the tutors of king *Mamud*, having conceived a jealouſy of the deſign of the *Turks*, retired with his forces from before *Diu*; and having repreſented their ambitious projects to the king, he ſoon obtained of him a prohibition in all his territories

Retreats to Madraſaba.

Alucan *leaves Diu.*

Baldæus. tories not to furniſh the *Turkiſh* camp with provisions.

This proved no ſmall diſappointment to *Soliman*, who notwithſtanding this did not loſe courage, but purſued his deſign of carrying the place, coſt it what it would: for this purpoſe the *Turks* contrived a very large fireſhip, which, under favour of the tide, and the ſmoke of ſome burning wood, they intended to ſend into the harbour, and to fix to the fortifications; and whilſt the *Portugueſe* were buſied in quenching the flames, they were to attempt the ſurpriſing of the fort on the land-ſide: but whilſt they were ſtaying for the ſpring-tide, *Franciſco Goveano*, a *Portugueſe*, found means to ſet it on fire, though not without great hazard, being obliged to paſs twice the enemy's fire; twenty of the *Turks* aboard the fireſhip leaped into the ſea, and were all ſlain. The *Turks* were ſo incenſed at this diſappointment, that they exerted all their fury againſt *Rumenſtadt*, the walls whereof being ſo ruined as not to be maintained any longer againſt a vigorous attack: *Patieco*, the chief commander thereof, thought fit to quit it in time. The *Turks* flushed with this ſucceſs, renewed the ſiege of *Diu*, both by ſea and land, with more vigour than ever, leaving nothing unattempted, with canonading, mining, or whatever might be attempted to reduce the place; whilſt the *Portugueſe*, on the other hand, with counter-mines, retrenchments, and frequent ſallies, endeavoured to ſtop their fury. The *Turks* being at laſt, by means of a gallery, advanced over the ditch, and entering the breach, a moſt furious combat enſued for four hours ſucceſſively, the *Portugueſe* defending themſelves like lions *Maffæus* relates, that a *Portugueſe* having ſpent all his balls, pulled out one of his teeth, and charged his muſket with it. At laſt the *Turks* were forced to retire with the loſs of five hundred men ſlain, and one thouſand wounded: the *Portugueſe* alſo on their ſide had fourteen of their beſt officers ſlain, and ſo many of their ſoldiers either killed or wounded, that they had ſcarce forty men left fit for ſervice. Beſides this, they began to be in ſuch want of proviſions and ammunition, that they were very near reduced to the laſt extremity. However, they did not loſe courage, but encouraged one another rather to die upon the ſpot, than to ſubmit to the moſt ſordid ſlavery; the women and children were even not backward in giving all the aſſiſtance they were able. *Baldæus.*

A fire-ſhip ſent by the Turks.

Set on fire by the Portugueſe.

Rumenſtadt left by the Portugueſe.

The Turks renew the ſiege of Diu.

The Turks form the breach.

Are repulſed.

In the mean time, *Nonnius Acunia*, being ſufficiently ſenſible of the danger of the fortreſs of *Diu*, had left no ſtone unturned for the relief thereof; but the caſe admitting of no delay, he ſent ſixteen *Patachos* or yachts thither: theſe coming to an anchor in the night-time before *Madrafaba*, had each put four lanthorns on their ſterns, with an intention to terrify the enemy. This ſucceeded accordingly; for the *Turks* having by this time loſt above three thouſand men, and fearing the ſuccour expected from *Goa* might be much ſtronger than really it was, ſet fire to the city, and leaving five hundred wounded men, and moſt of their great cannon behind, reimbarked the firſt of *November*, ſteering their coaſt towards *Arabia*; and *Sofar*, with the remnants of his forces, retired to the continent, to the no ſmall honour of the *Portugueſe*, who, with ſo ſmall a number, had defended themſelves not againſt barbarous undiſciplined *Indians*, but againſt a body of warlike, well-exerciſed *Turkiſh* troops. It is ſaid, That *Francis* I. king of *France*, was ſo highly pleaſed with this brave action, that he deſired, and had an original picture of the brave *Sylveria*, the governor of the place.

Diu relieved.

To the great honour of the Portugueſe.

Whilſt *Nonnius* was buſied in making all the neceſſary preparations for the relief of *Diu*, *Goa Garzias Noronia* was ſent by *Don John*, king of *Portugal*, with eleven men of war, and ſeven thouſand land-men, to relieve *Nonnius:* among theſe there was one ſhip filled with malefactors and criminals of all ſorts, who had obtained their pardon from the king; but this being ſeparated from the reſt, was never heard of afterwards. *Nonnius Acunia* having ſurrender'd the government to *Noronia*, after a ſtay of ten years in thoſe parts, ſet ſail for *Portugal*, his native country; but before he could reach it, died at ſea, near the *Cape of Good Hope*, on the *African* coaſt.

Nonnius relieved by Garzias Noronia.

Nonnius's death.

CHAP. XI.

**Noronia *makes an Agreement with King* Mamud. Lupius Soza *conſtituted Governor of* Diu. Sofar's *ſiniſter Deſigns againſt the* Portugueſe : *He beſieges* Diu, *in Conjunction with* Mamud ; *is ſlain in the Enterprize. The City is vigorouſly aſſaulted, and is bravely defended. An unſucceſsful Salley made by the* Portugueſe.

Baldæus.

Noronia ſends his deputies to Mamud.

NORONIA apply'd all his thoughts to the affairs of *Diu* ; and having diſpatched certain deputies to *Mamud*, to treat with him of a peace, they at laſt, not without a great deal of difficulty, came to the following agreement ; in the negotiation of which they met with no ſmall oppoſition from the grandmother of *Mamud* and *Sofar*, who were continually inciting the young king to revenge the death of his uncle king *Badur*, *viz.*

Their agreements.

That the king of *Cambaja* ſhould remain in the poſſeſſion of the city of *Diu*, and the *Portugueſe* continue maſters of the fort and harbour thereof ; that they ſhould divide the cuſtoms ſhare and ſhare alike ; and that the *Cambajans* ſhould be at liberty to erect a wall to front the caſtle, provided the ſame were done at a convenient diſtance.

Lupius conſtituted governor.

Matters being thus ſettled, *Lupius Soza* was conſtituted governor of the place inſtead of *Sylveria*, with a garriſon of nine hundred men. But it was not long before *Mamud*, at the inſtigation of his grandmother, ſent a conſiderable body to attack *Bazain* ; but *Laurentius Tavora* making a vigorous ſalley upon them, conſtrained them to ſeek for peace. *Sofar* in the mean time having recovered himſelf, had for ſix years together bent all his thoughts upon the ruin of the *Portugueſe* ; and having found means to ingratiate himſelf into king *Mamud*'s favour, they ſent underhand their emiſſaries to the neighbouring *Indian* princes, to engage them againſt the *Portugueſe*, who they told them did lord it over them, under pretence of trafficking in the *Indies*.

Miſerable ſtate of the Portugueſe.

The affairs of the *Portugueſe* were at that time but in a very indifferent condition in thoſe parts, their treaſuries exhauſted, their naval ſtrength neglected, their ſeamen very ſcarce ; and the land-ſoldiers deſerted in ſuch numbers, that of the nine hundred that were in garriſon under the command of *Lupius Soza*, there were not above two hundred and fifty left in the government of *Maſcarenbas* ; and what was worſe, there was not above a month's proviſion, and a ſlender ſhare of ammunition left.

Sofar was not unacquainted with theſe things, having learned them from divers *Portugueſe* merchants ; ſo that looking upon this as a fit opportunity to execute their projected deſign, they pitched upon the winter ſeaſon, when they knew the *Portugueſe* could not be ſo eaſily ſecured from *Goa*. *Sofar* being in the mean while not negligent to cajole *Maſcarenbas*, the *Portugueſe* governor, by his letters into a belief of his ſincerity, the ſame did not diſcover his real intentions, till it was almoſt too late ; but finding no other redreſs but in a brave defence, he made all the neceſſary preparations for it, by ſending away all the uſeleſs mouths, and fortifying himſelf after the beſt manner he could ; and having bought up what quantity of rice, fleſh, and dried fiſh he could get of the *Portugueſe*, he ſent advice of his approaching danger to *Bazain*, *Chaul*, and *Goa*. This happened in the year 1546. *Sofar* took for a pretence the new walls that were to be erected at one end of the city, which being built too near the *Portugueſe* fortreſs, theſe ſtopp'd the progreſs thereof, which ſoon gave occaſion to open hoſtilities. *Maſcarenbas*, to animate his ſoldiers, told them, " That they ought " to remember the brave actions of the " *Portugueſe* in this very place, where they " had fruſtrated the deſigns of the *Turks*, " of which the ſame *Sofar*, who now came " to attack them, had born his ſhare ; that " God would certainly puniſh the breach " of faith of this wretch ; and that they " ought not to be diſmay'd at the winter " ſeaſon, there being no queſtion, but that " the *Portugueſe*, by their skill in maritime " affairs, would overcome theſe difficulties, " and ſuccour them in due time." The next thing he did, was to take care of all the poſts : the water-redoubt he committed to the care of *Martinbo Carvalho* with thirty men, and the defence of the ſhore towards *Cambaja* to *Jacobo Leti*.

Baldæus.

Treachery of Sofar.

Breaks out into open hoſtilities.

Sofar by this time had begun to carry on his approaches a good way, and ply'd the place warmly with his cannon, but could not without much difficulty attempt an aſſault by reaſon of the ditch, which being enlarged of late, was as broad again now as it was in *Sylveria*'s time ; however he ceaſed not to play with his cannon, eſpecially in the night time ; and being ſenſible of what advantage it would be to him, if he could make himſelf maſter of the harbour, by taking

Sofar attacks Diu.

Baldæus. king the water-redoubt, he contrived ſuch another engine, or fireſhip, as the *Turks* had made uſe of in the former ſiege, which they intended to ſet on fire, and to carry with the high tide under the fort: but the *Portugueſe* having received intelligence of this deſign, ſent out *Jacobo Leti* with twenty men, to burn her; which he did with incredible bravery, and the loſs of one man only, being forced to carry the veſſel through the enemy's fire on both ſides, till he brought her within a certain diſtance of the fort where ſhe was ſet on fire, and conſequently *Sofar*'s project vaniſhed into ſmoke. *Baldæus.* *Sofar's fireſhip burnt.*

The Portugueſe receive ſome ſuccours.

Not long after the *Portugueſe* were rejoiced with a freſh ſupply of men, proviſions and ammunition from *Goa*, under the command of the young *de Caſtro*, a brave gentlemen; who, after he had been afflicted with very hard tempeſts at ſea (in which ſeveral of his veſſels were ſeparated from his ſquadron,) came with the reſt, being eight in number, into the road of *Diu*, and in ſpite of the beſiegers, landed his men, ammunition, and proviſions, which increaſed the number of the garriſon to four hundred and fifty men. About the ſame time *Mamud*, king of *Cambaja*, came in perſon with a good number of troops into the camp: *Maſcarenhas* being willing to know their exact number, ſent out ſeveral deſperado's, who engaging the out-guard of the enemy, three of them were killed in the skirmiſh, but the reſt had the good fortune to carry off one of the enemy's ſentinels, by whom *Maſcarenhas* was informed of what he had a mind to know. *Maſcarenhas* having ordered certain ſignals of rejoicing to be made, the enemy ſent a meſſenger to know the reaſon thereof; who was anſwered, that 'twas done on account of the king's arrival in the camp, which put them in hopes that for the future they ſhould fight againſt a great prince, whereas hitherto they had been engaged with vagabonds and rogues.

King Mamud comes into the camp.

Mamud immediately after his arrival levelled his cannon with great fury againſt the walls of the fortreſs, and having brought along with him an expert gunner, he ordered him to caſt certain fiery balls into the place, though without much ſucceſs, till the ſaid conſtable being killed, another ſucceeded in his place, who was ſo unskilful in his art, that his fireworks did more miſchief in the camp than to the enemy. However, by the continual battering of the enemies cannon, a large breach was made by this time in the wall, which the beſieged repaired to the beſt of their power; but

Makes a breach in the wall.

Baldæus. but their main reliance was upon the breadth of the ditch, which the beſiegers were endeavouring to paſs by the help of their galleries. To prevent this, the *Portugueſe* had opened an old vault at the foot of the wall, in which they ſpent ſeveral days and nights, but turned to their advantage, ſince from thence they could take away great part of the materials the enemy had brought thither for the filling up of the ditch. From hence it was alſo that *Sofar* received his death's wound, being ſlain by a bullet which paſſed through his hand and forehead, which occaſioned no ſmall diſturbance in the enemy's camp; and had it not been for *Rumecan* his ſon, the ſiege had been likely to have been raiſed at that time.

Sofar kill'd.

The joy the *Portugueſe* had conceived at the death of *Sofar* their mortal enemy, was not a little allay'd by the perſeverance of the beſieged in filling up the ditch; and that with ſuch ſucceſs, that having ſtopped up the before-mentioned vault, *Maſcarenhas* began to be reduced to the utmoſt ſtreſs, of which he gave notice to the viceroy at *Goa*, requeſting immediate ſuccours. It was now about the middle of *Auguſt*, when the mahometans were preparing for the general aſſault. They viſited their moſques with a great deal of devotion, and *St. James's Day* being appointed for this attack, they advanced without the leaſt noiſe in two bodies before the break of day towards the breach, in hopes of ſurprizing the *Portugueſe*; but finding them upon their guard, they entered the breach with moſt terrible and dreadful out-cries; which, however, was ſo far from terrifying the brave *Portugueſe*, that they were repulſed with great ſlaughter; ſome of the *Indians* taking the advantage of the low tide, got into the water-fort, where they pitched *Mahomet*'s ſtandard, which *Maſcarenhas* no ſooner perceived, but flying thither, he gave them ſuch a reception, that after thirty of them were ſlain upon the ſpot, the reſt were forced down headlong over the wall. This done, he returned to his poſt, where both by his words and actions he ſo encouraged his men, that *Rumecan*, after a hot diſpute of ſix hours, ſaw himſelf obliged to ſound a retreat. In this action not only *Maſcarenhas*, but alſo *Ludovico Soza*, *Ferdinando de Caſtro*, *Anthonio Paſſando*, and all the *Portugueſe* in general, acquired immortal honour, ſeveral women having expoſed themſelves in the midſt of the combat.

The Indians *ſtorm the fort.*

Are repulſed.

Notwithſtanding this repulſe, the *Indians* did not ceaſe to continue their fire againſt the fortreſs, which not ſucceeding according to expectation, they began to apply their mines, not without ſome ſucceſs. *Maſcarenhas* having taken notice that the enemy retreated ſometimes without any neceſſity, near a certain tower, gave notice thereof to *de Caſtro*, and ſome other officers of note, commanding them to quit it; but theſe flushed with their laſt ſucceſs, refuſed to obey, for which they paid dear ſoon after; for the enemy taking the opportunity, when they perceived the tower full of ſoldiers, blew it up on a ſudden, with at leaſt one hundred *Portugueſe* in it, and among them *de Caſtro*, and ſeveral others of quality; and ſuch was the barbarity of the *Indians*, that they thruſt their ſwords through the half-dead bodies of ſuch *Portugueſe* as were thrown up into the air before by the mine. They were for improving this opportunity; and during the confuſion occaſioned by this diſaſter, attacked the fort with incredible fury, but were ſo warmly received by *Maſcarenhas*, that they were glad to retreat. To prevent the like for the future, the *Portugueſe* governor ordered his men to act with more caution for the future, and the tower of *St. James* to be blown up, which was executed; and not long after, finding the enemy ready to attack the tower of *St. Thomas*, he blew up the mine underneath it, and with it three hundred *Indians*.

Baldæus.

A mine blows up an hundred Portugueſe.

Three hundred Indians blown up by a mine.

The *Portugueſe* affairs in the fortreſs began, notwithſtanding all this, to grow worſe and worſe; for though they had made intrenchments within intrenchments, yet had they (after a ſiege of four months) not above one hundred and fifty men left for the defence thereof; and being reduced to great extremity for want of proviſions, were forced to feed upon unwholeſome things; which ſo diſcouraged the garriſon, that they were reſolved to put an end to their miſery by fighting their way through the enemy.

But being juſt upon the point of putting their deſign in execution, they were rejoiced with a moſt unexpected relief from *Goa*, whence they had ſent fifty frigats, under the command of *Alvares de Caſtro* and *Franciſcus de Meneſes*, who arrived happily at *Bazain*. *Alvares* failed ſtreightways thence with part of his forces (amounting to nine hundred in all) for *Diu*, and good ſtore of ammunition and proviſions, the reſt followed before the end of *September*. You may eaſily imagine with what joy the poor emaciated ſoldiers of the garriſon received this welcome news; which however they would not improve to ſo much advantage as they might have done, out of a perverſe temper, peculiar to the *Portugueſe*, who, as they are ſoon dejected in adverſity, ſo are they inſupportable in proſperity: for now the ſoldiery began to accuſe *Maſcarenhas* of cowardice and neglect, telling him in plain terms, that they were reſolved no more to be ſhut up within the walls, but to act like brave *Portugueſe*,

Diu relieved with men and proviſions.

Mutiny among the Portugueſe.

Baldæus. *Portugueſe*, to attack the enemy in their works, and to make him once for all to repent that ever he had attempted the *Portugueſe*, whoſe glorious name was dreadful all over the *Indies*: this they told him they were fully reſolved to put in execution; and if he refuſed to head them, they would chuſe another, the firſt, the beſt they could. *Maſcarenhas*, who knew very well the ſtubborn pride of the *Portugueſe*, when flushed with ſucceſs, did what he could to divert them from their deſign by all the mild inſinuations and moſt forcible arguments he could invent, telling them that the ſecureſt methods were always the beſt; and how dangerous it might prove to hazard the loſing of the fort when they were in a condition to keep it till the approaching ſpring, when they expected ſufficient ſuccours from *Goa*: but finding them deaf to his perſwaſions, he ſpoke to them in the following manner: "Soldiers, ye are not inſenſible "that if you would conſider your duty, "you ought rather to follow my com- "mands than your own directions; but "ſince you have tied up my hands, and "both by your words and actions, nay, "by your very looks, give me ſufficiently "to underſtand, that inſtead of command- "ing I muſt obey, go on, and ſhew your "courage, your knowledge, and expe- "rience in martial affairs: go on, I ſay, "I will inſtead of leading you on, follow "you, with this caution, however, that I "would have you remember to take care "to return with the ſame marks of bravery "as you march out." Then dividing the whole garriſon into three bodies, he ordered *Alvares de Caſtro* to command the van, the main battle he gave in charge to *Franciſco de Meneſes*, himſelf remaining to guard the rear. Thus they marched towards the enemy; but with far different ſucceſs from what they had promiſed themſelves: moſt of them after the firſt charge retreating towards the town, inſtead of puſhing forward. The body commanded by *Meneſes* being charged in front and flank, betook themſelves to their heels, and *de Caſtro* himſelf, being ſorely wounded by a ſtone, was hardly ſaved by *Maſcarenhas*, who crying out to the ſoldiers, that it was now time to ſhew their bravery they had ſo much boaſted of before, would fain have ſtopped their flight, but in vain; for they retreated with ſo much fear and precipitation, that for ſome time after, they ſcarce durſt look the enemy in the face, or keep their poſt; whereas the *Indians*, incouraged by this ſucceſs, approached with their engines nearer and nearer to the walls of the town.

Baldæus.

Their unſucceſsful ſally.

Maſcarenhas his ſpeech to his ſoldiers.

CHAP. XII.

De Caſtro *comes to* Diu. *Takes ſome* Arabian *Veſſels. Routs the* Indians; *who leave the Iſle.* Rumecan *killed.* Soliman's *Tranſactions before* Aden: *He cauſes the King of that Place to be hangd on his Maſt, and makes himſelf Maſter of the City. A Deſcription of* Daman, Dabul, *and* Viſiapour.

De Caſtro ſends Acunia to Diu.

DE *Caſtro*, viceroy of *Goa*, had no ſooner received the unwelcome news of the death of his ſon, and the diſtreſſed condition of *Diu*, but he ſent at the beginning of the ſpring *Alvares de Acunia* with five men of war and four hundred land-men thither, with ſtrict orders that they ſhould keep within their fortifications till the whole fleet with the intended ſuccours ſhould arrive there. *Alvares* in his paſſage thither took ſeveral *Arabian* veſſels, aboard of which were ſeveral perſons of note belonging to *Sofar*, who, though they offered a great ſum of money for their ranſom, were all cut to pieces, and their heads thrown into the river.

He takes ſome Arabian veſſels.

The ſpring being pretty well advanced by this time, *De Caſtro* ſet ſail for *Bazain* with forty yachts, having on board fourteen hundred *Portugueſe* land-ſoldiers, and three hundred *Canarines*. With theſe, after having for ſome time infeſted the coaſt of *Cambaja*, he arrived in the *Ilha dos mortos*, whence he ſent an expreſs to *Maſcarenhas*, with orders to batter the enemies intrenchments near the ſea-ſide with his cannon, to facilitate his landing; which being bravely executed by *Maſcarenhas*, *De Caſtro* entered the harbour without much oppoſition, and ſoon after landed his men. *De Caſtro* being not a little ſurprized to ſee the fort appear more like a heap of rubbiſh than a fortification, the very ditches being laid level with the ground, he called a council of war to conſult of the moſt proper means to put an end to the ſiege: ſome were of opinion, that ſome time ought to be allow'd to the ſoldiers to refreſh themſelves after

De Caſtro relieves Diu in perſon.

Baldæus. the fatigues of the ſea; but *De Caſtro* telling them, That it would be a great diſgrace for a *Portugueſe* viceroy to be locked up in a fort, it was reſolved to attack the enemy next day.

The Portugueſe make a general ſally. Accordingly they marched out in good order, *De Caſtro* ordering the draw-bridges to be drawn up, to cut off all hopes of retreating into the fort, and leaving *Anthonio Correa* with ſome men to guard it againſt any ſudden attempt. The better to diſtract the enemy's forces, *Nicolao Gonſalvo* was commanded to make a falſe attack with ſome ſhips on the backſide of the iſland. *Rumecan* on the other hand, truſting to his number, took care to guard his poſts on all ſides, againſt which *De Caſtro* marched with a much leſſer force, exhorting his ſoldiers in a few words, *That they ought to remember that they ſerved a king, who never failed to reward ſuch of his ſoldiers as fought bravely for God's cauſe, and the defence of his territories in the* Indies, *the preſervation whereof depended on this battle; that therefore they ſhould fight like men, and conſider that all their ſafety lay in their hands, all hopes of retreating being cut off by the ſhutting up of the gates of the fort, and the removal of the fleet to the backſide of the iſle.*

De Caſtro's ſpeech to his ſoldiers.

Things being thus diſpoſed, *Gonſalvo* made his falſe attack on the other ſide of the iſland, which ſo alarmed the *Indians* that they haſtened in whole troops thither: which gave opportunity to the *Portugueſe* (who were about three thouſand ſtrong,) animated by the example of *De Caſtro* and *Maſcarenhas* their leaders, to break in upon the *Indians* with ſuch fury, that they were not able to reſiſt them. *Rumecan* finding his forces to give way, and imagining that the fort was left deſtitute of men to defend it, aſſaulted the ſame full of deſpair; but being repulſed by *Correa*, was forced to follow the reſt, and being cloſely purſued by the *Portugueſe*, quitted the iſle, and with the remnants of his forces paſſed over to the continent. The *Portugueſe* entered the city, where they killed all they met with, without any regard to age or ſex, where they got an incredible booty, and among other things the ſtandard of *Cambaja*, a prodigious quantity of arms, and thirty five braſs cannon, one whereof being of an extraordinary ſize, is kept to this day in the arſenal at *Lisbon*, with certain *Arabick* characters upon it. The *Portugueſe* loſt not above ſixty men in this action; whereas of the *Indians* were killed no leſs than four thouſand, and ſix hundred taken priſoners: *Rumecan* himſelf loſt his life, as he was preparing to paſs over to the continent: *De Caſtro*, after having given the king of *Portugal* an account in his letter of this glorious victory, and the bravery of his officers and ſoldiers, gave orders for the repairing the fortifications of the fort, and returned triumphant to *Goa*, where he was received with the general acclamations of the people.

He routs the Indians.

Rumecan ſlain.

Caſtagnedo gives a ſomewhat different relation of this action; for he tells us, That *Rumecan* wanted neither bravery nor conduct; and that he put the *Portugueſe* ſo hard to it, that had it not been for *Maſcarenhas*, who led in perſon the ſoldiers to the charge, the *Portugueſe* would in all likelihood have loſt the day. He ſays further, That they had one hundred and fifty men killed, and among them divers brave officers, *George de Souſe*, *John Manoel*, *Franciſco Azevedo*, *Coſmo de Paiva*, *Balthaſar George*, *Eduardo Rodrigo*, *Juliano Ferdinando*, *Vaſques Ferdinando*, and others; that the *Indians* loſs amounted to three thouſand men; and that the whole ſiege of *Diu* conſumed the *Portugueſe* at leaſt two thouſand men.

We told you before, that *Soliman* did come with his fleet before *Diu*, from *Aden*; about twenty leagues thence, coming to an anchor, to take in freſh water, he ſent certain deputies with a letter to the king of *Aden*, with the uſual preſent of a brocado'd veſt of tiſſue of gold, offering him his friendſhip, and requiring him in the *Grand Seignior*'s name to furniſh his fleet with fleſh and fuel, if he could not aſſiſt in perſon in the expedition he was going upon, to exterminate the *Portugueſe* (declared enemies of the *Mahometans*) out of the *Indies*. The king of *Aden* was at that time a tributary to the *Portugueſe*, unto whom he paid yearly ten thouſand ducats tribute; notwithſtanding which he gave a very honourable entertainment to the meſſengers, promiſing to furniſh them with what neceſſaries they wanted. About ſeven days after the whole *Turkiſh* fleet entering the harbour of *Aden*, was received with ſingular demonſtrations of joy, the king ſending one of his chief courtiers aboard to congratulate *Soliman* upon his arrival, and to invite him aſhore. *Soliman* returned for anſwer, That he ſhould be glad to embrace the king's kind offers; but that the late fatigues of the ſea had put him into ſuch diſorder, that he could not ſtir at preſent; but as ſoon as he ſhould be recovered of his preſent indiſpoſition, he would not fail to pay his reſpects to the king.

Soliman's treachery with the king of Aden.

The king's meſſengers were no ſooner returned to the city, but *Soliman* ſent three hundred men after them, under pretence of refreſhing themſelves, and taking a view of the place, (being all choſen men;) and the better to cover his treachery, he ſent word to the king, that to prevent any diſorders, he would ſend one hundred men the next day to bring them aboard again. The king of *Aden*

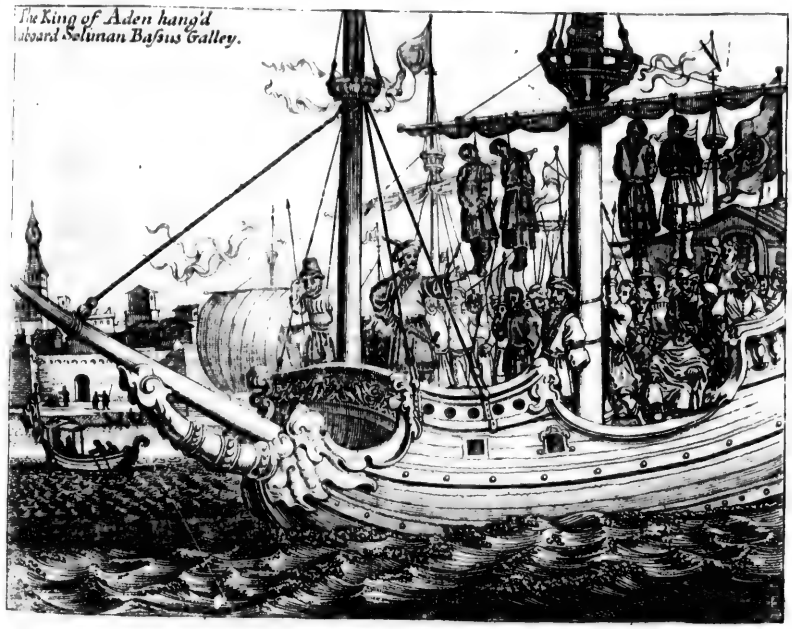
Baldæus. *Aden* was so credulous as to assign these three hundred men their quarters in his castle; which *Soliman* had no sooner notice of, but he sent the next day, instead of the one hundred men, no less than two thousand *Janizaries*, to the no small astonishment of the king, who now beginning to mistrust the matter, did not know what course to take; but whilst he was considering what measures to take, news was brought that a much stronger body of *Turks* was advancing into the city, who had no sooner posted themselves near the castle, but the commander in chief told the king with a smile, That he would be pleased to give a visit with two or three of his courtiers to *Soliman*, who was indispos'd aboard his vessels. The king now began plainly to see the danger that threatened him; but not being in a condition to make any opposition, he was forced to submit; and being brought before *Soliman*, he asked them with an unparallel'd magnanimity, under what colour he could presume to take in custody a prince in amity with the *Grand Seignior*, and to treat him no otherwise than as a criminal? Unto which *Soliman* reply'd, *And are you not ashamed to let the admiral of the grand seignior stay three days in your harbour without paying him a visit?* The king returned, *Had the grand seignior been here in person, I ought to have done no more that what I have done; and I am sure I should not have been treated thus. 'Tis true, I am now in your power, which I might have prevented, had I not trusted my self and my kingdom with those who now are going to betray both; without which* Aden *need not have stood in fear of your strength: I am now, though too late, sensible of my approaching destiny, seeing myself in the hands of a treacherous tyrant; but though you may dispose of my body, I hope the bravery of the inhabitants of* Aden, *and the grandure of their princes will out-last your barbarous cruelties.* He had no sooner ended his speech, but *Soliman* ordered him to be hanged on the main-mast yard, with four of his chief courtiers, and afterwards seized upon the city, excusing his treachery with the grand seignior's order, to punish the king for his being a friend to the *Portuguese*.

The King of Aden forced aboard the Turkish fleet.

The king of Aden *hanged.*

Diu being one of the chiefest places of the *Indies*, we thought it would not be unacceptable to the reader, to insert the entire history thereof here. We will now proceed to the description of the other places: *Daman* was one of the most ancient and noted places of the kingdom of *Cambaja*, which

Daman.



The King of Aden hang'd aboard Solunan Bassus Galley.

Baldæus. as we told you before, was taken and deſtroyed by *Martino Alphonſo de Soza*. As to *Chaul* and *Bazain*, there is ſcarce any thing remarkable to be ſaid of them, except what has already been mentioned in the account of *Diu*.

Chaul, Bazain.

A deſcription of Dabul.

Dabul is a city ſeated at ſeventeen degrees forty five minutes of northern latitude, upon a moſt pleaſant river, ariſing out of the mountain *Ballaguatte*, about two leagues from the ſea; in former times much frequented by foreign merchants, and famous for its traffick and riches. *Sabayus* (a declared enemy of the *Portugueſe*) had ſurrounded this city with a wall, and fortified the harbour thereof with a ſtrong caſtle, which being garriſoned with ſix thouſand men, (among whom were five hundred *Turks*,) he thought himſelf ſecure againſt any attempts of the *Portugueſe*.

But *D'Almeyda*, the *Portugueſe* admiral, appearing with his fleet, (aboard whereof were thirteen hundred *European* land-ſoldiers, beſides four hundred *Malabars*,) ſent ſome of his galleys to make a falſe attack upon the caſtle, whilſt he took this opportunity of landing his men at ſome diſtance from thence. The *Indians* perceiving their error, marched with all poſſible ſpeed out of their gates againſt the *Portugueſe*, whom they galled ſorely with their arrows; but theſe advancing with ſword-in-hand againſt their enemies, made ſuch a havock among them, that they were glad to retreat towards the city, and being cloſely purſued by the *Portugueſe*, theſe enter'd pell-mell with them, and made a great ſlaughter, killing all they met with, without ſparing men, women, or children. They got here a conſiderable booty, though a great part of the beſt moveables were burnt with the city, which was ſet on fire by the *Portugueſe*.

It taken by the Portugueſe.

Limits of the kingdom of Decan.

We have hitherto given you an account of the moſt conſiderable cities of the kingdom of *Decan*, bordering to the ſouth upon *Malabar*, upon *Biſnager* to the eaſt, upon the ſea to the weſt, and upon *Cambaja* to the north: it's divided into three parts, *viz.* into *Cuncan*, *Canara*, and *Ballaguatte*, the laſt of which is a ridge of high mountains flat on the top, with moſt excellent paſtures, extending even beyond *Goa*. The next in order is the kingdom of *Viſiapour*: the length whereof is no leſs than two hundred and fifty leagues, and its breadth one hundred and fifty. Its capital city, which bears the ſame name, lies ſeventy leagues beyond *Goa*, eighty from *Dabul*, and is ſaid to be five leagues in compaſs, with very ſtrong walls, and five noble gates, on which are mounted above a thouſand braſs and iron pieces of great cannon. They tell us, that among theſe there is one carrying no leſs than five hundred and forty pound weight of gunpowder, caſt by a certain *Italian*, a native of *Rome*, who being queſtioned by one of the king's commiſſioners concerning the money he had diſburſed upon this account, threw him into the ſame hole where he had caſt the cannon before. Some have reckoned this city, but erroneouſly, among the cities of *Cambaja*. The king of *Viſiapour* was formerly abſolute ſovereign of this kingdom; but after a long and heavy war was forced, with divers other princes in thoſe parts, to become a vaſſal to the *Great Mogul*: he uſed alſo ſometimes to be embroiled with the *Portugueſe*.

The kingdom of Viſiapour.

Baldæus.

The king of Viſiapour *now a vaſſal to the* Great Mogul.

This kingdom borders to the ſouth of *Wingurla*, upon the river *Mirſee*, the boundary of the country of *Carnatica*, in the territory of *Sivipaneyk*. To the north of *Wingurla* lies the ſea-port of *Danno*, the boundary of the kingdom of *Viſiapour* on the ſide of the empire of the *Great Mogul*, about ten leagues from *Deman*. The river here has four fathom and a half water at high tide, and one fathom and a half at low water. The ſecond river is named *Terrapour*, having at low water half a fathom, and with high tide two fathoms depth. The third called *Chunam*, has generally two fathoms. The fourth, called *Machyn*, has two fathom and a half at high water, and half a fathom at low tide. The fifth harbour is called *Quelleny*; the ſixth *Bazain*; the ſeventh *Bombain*, (*Bombay*,) where the depth is ſix fathom at high, and four at low water: the eighth is called *Siouwel*, where at high water there is ſix fathom deep. All theſe rivers belong to the kingdom of *Viſiapour*; but are for the moſt part in the poſſeſſion of the *Portugueſe*, who have built their forts upon them: as for inſtance, at *Bombain*, (*Bombay*,) a ſpacious harbour, (at eighteen degrees fifty minutes northern latitude,) where ſhips may lie ſafe at anchor againſt all the winds. Here the *Portugueſe* have built a very fine caſtle, (the draught whereof you may ſee in the next cut,) which commands the whole road; and was in 1662. given in part of a dowry, together with *Tangier*, in the *Streights of Gibraltar*, to the infanta of *Portugal*, upon her marriage with *Charles* II. king of *England*; whereby the *Engliſh* thought to have got a great booty from the *Portugueſe*; whereas they are in effect places of no conſiderable traffick. The rivers *Dabul*, *Radiapour*, and *Carapatan*, are entirely poſſeſſed by the natives.

Its limits.

Bombay.

For the reſt, this kingdom abounds in ſalt-petre works. The royal palace lies in the center of the capital city, defended by a double wall and ditch, with one hundred battering pieces, and a garriſon of two thouſand men; the richeſt merchants dwell in the ſuburbs. The other cities of note

The royal palace.

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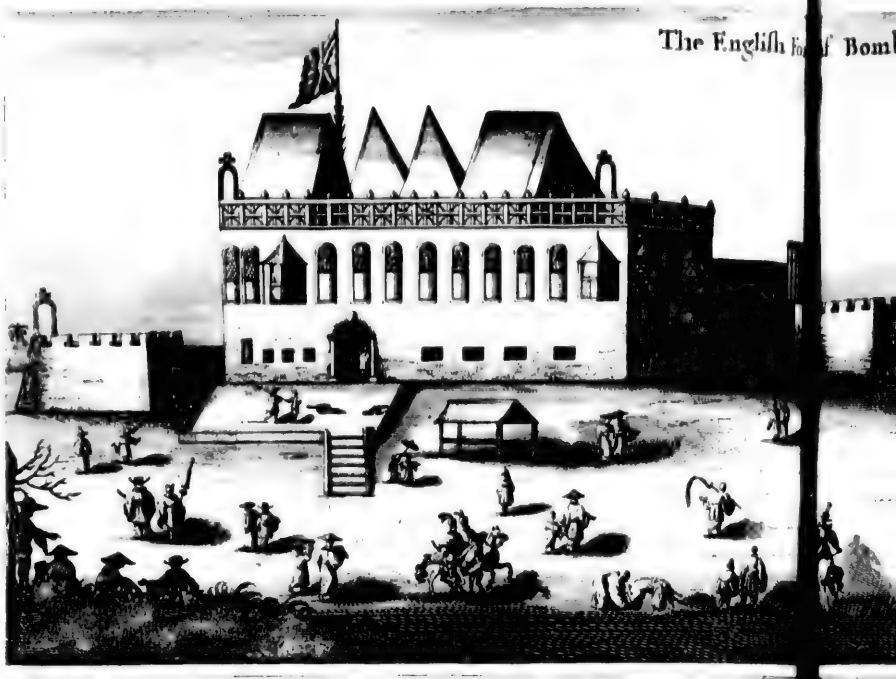
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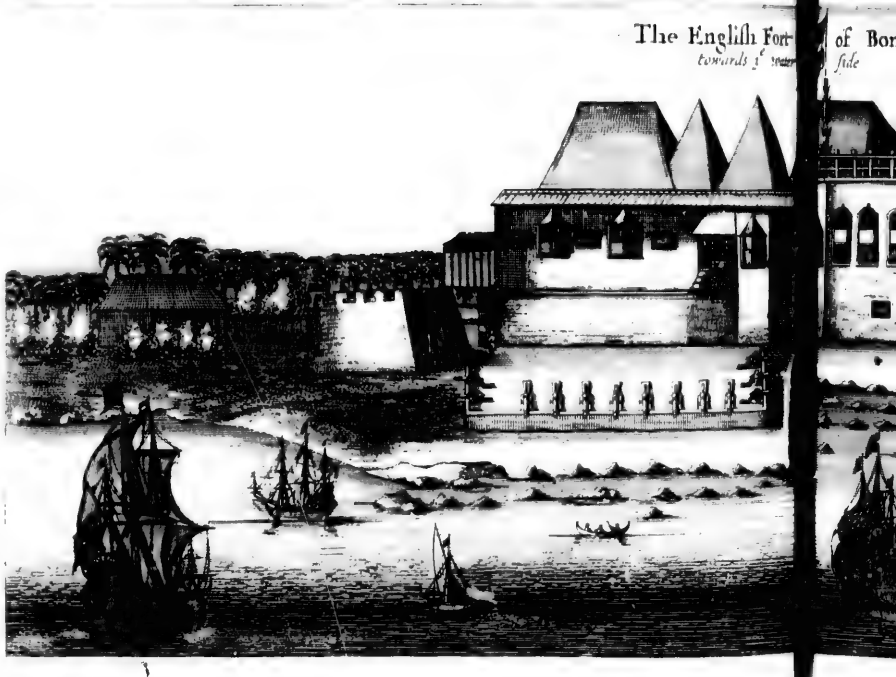
The English Fort
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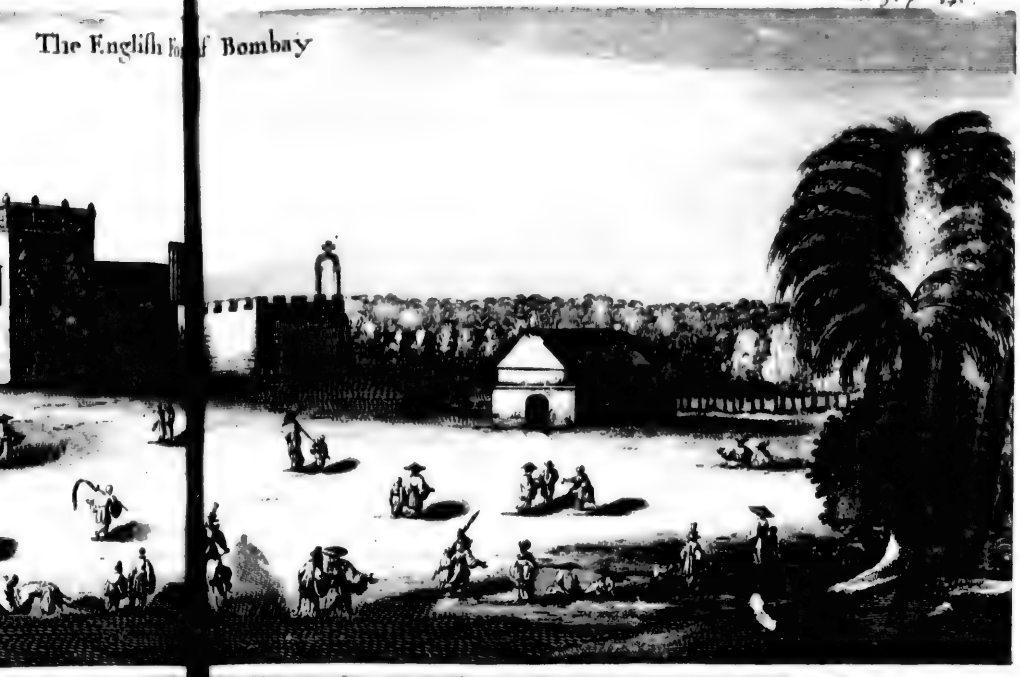

The English Fort[ ] of Bombay
towards [ ] water side

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Baldæus. of this kingdom are *Cintapour*, a sea-port town, *Razapour*, *Banda*, *Rajebaag*, inland cities; *Arec*, *Mirdsy*, *Asta*, *Tamba*, and *Wingurla*, where the *Hollanders* have a stately factory: it is seated at fifteen degrees seven minutes of northern latitude, a place very considerable, not only for its plenty in wheat, rice, and all sorts of provisions and refreshments, but also for its situation near *Goa*, which stood the *Dutch* in no small stead, whilst they were engaged in war with the *Portuguese*, and had blocked up that harbour. The forces of the king of *Visiapour* consists in one hundred and fifty thousand horse, and eight thousand foot, of which more anon in the description of *Negapatan*. We will in the next place proceed to the description of *Goa*, together with its origin, and what afterwards happened most remarkable in those parts betwixt our nation and the *Portuguese*. *Baldæus.*

Wingurla.

CHAP. XIII.

Goa *taken by* Albuquerque. *The Death of* Sabajus. Hidalcan *comes before* Goa. Albuquerque *takes* Goa *a second time; routs the* Moors, *and establishes Christianity in that City. The Life and Actions of* Xaverius *in the* Indies, China, *and* Japan: *His Zeal and Piety.*

Goa has a bad air, and most of its provisions from the continent.

THE city of *Goa* is seated in an isle of a considerable bigness, at sixteen degrees of northern latitude. The air or climate is not very wholesome here, so that the *Portuguese* have in this place (as the *Dutch* have at *Batavia*) their great hospital of the *Indies*; because many of the *Europeans* die here immediately after their arrival, and many more fall sick by reason of the moisture of the air, as it was formerly at *Batavia*, which has been remedied since in some measure, by draining the fens thereabouts. *Goa* is the capital city of the *Portuguese Indies*, the chief residence of their viceroy and archbishop. The city is built after the *Portuguese* manner, each house having its peculiar garden, as at *Cochin*, and other *Portuguese* cities in the *Indies*.

Goa taken by Albuquerque.

The famous city of *Goa* was conquered for the *Portuguese* by *Albuquerque* in the following manner: One *Timoja*, a famous person in those parts, having possessed himself of a small isle belonging to the kingdom of *Onor*, was a declared enemy of *Sabajus*, (of whom before,) and the *Mahometans* of *Goa*, who interfering with him in their commerce, he had destroyed many of the ships of the *Egyptians* and *Saracens* trading thither. Thus being linked in point of interest to the *Portuguese*, he had declared to *Almeyda* his readiness to do what service he was able to perform to *Emanuel* then king of *Portugal*.

Albuquerque coming into those parts, sent for *Timoja*, to consult with him concerning certain matters of moment relating to those parts, who informed him, that *Sabajus* being a declared enemy of the *Portuguese*, had, after the taking of *Dabul*, bestow'd vast sums of money in making preparations against the christians; but being prevented by death from putting them in execution, he was succeeded by his son *Hidalcan*, who being engaged in a war with the neighbouring kings, and *Goa* at this time embroiled with intestine divisions, which had made most of the garrison desert his service, he was of opinion, that in case *Albuquerque* would for this time set aside his expedition against *Ormus*, and attack *Goa*, he might make himself master of that city without much opposition: and to convince him of the sincerity of his intention, he offered to go along with him in person, and to take his share in all the danger. *Albuquerque* approving of the counsel of *Timoja*, called together a council of war; in which it being agreed to lay aside the design upon *Ormus* and in lieu thereof to attack *Goa*, *Timoja* listed a good number of soldiers, (under pretence that they were to be imployed against *Ormus*,) and soon after having join'd *Albuquerque* with fourteen ships, they tarried near eleven days in the isle of *Anchediva*: for some of the *Portuguese* began to question the success of this enterprize, alledging that there were four thousand men in garrison in the city, and that it was imprudence to rely too much upon *Timoja*: but *Albuquerque* persisting in his resolution, set sail from the isle, and came to an anchor before the bar of *Goa*.

Sabajus his death.

Albuquerque sets sail for Goa.

From hence he detached *Anthony Noronia*, his sister's son, and *Timoja* with some light vessels, to make themselves masters of the two forts that defended the entrance towards the city; which being done with all imaginable success, he sent his messengers to *Goa*, to let the inhabitants know, that if they would submit, they should be treated like friends, and be discharged of

Two forts taken.

Baldæus. one third part of the tribute they were obliged to pay to *Hidalcan*; but in caſe of refuſal they muſt expect no mercy. The inhabitants of *Goa* ſeeing themſelves reduced to this nonplus, in the abſence of *Hidalcan*, moſt of their ſoldiers having deſerted, and their forts in the enemies hands, thought it their wiſeſt courſe not to abide the extremity, but to accept of the offers of the *Portugueſe*; which they did accordingly, and received *Albuquerque* with all the demonſtrations of friendſhip, who rode triumphantly on horſeback into the city under the acclamations of the people, a *Dominican* carrying an enſign with a croſs in it, and another the keys of the city (ſurrendered to him) before him. He was very punctual in performing all the articles agreed upon betwixt him and the inhabitants, forbidding the ſoldiers, under the moſt ſevere penalties, to commit the leaſt outrages. His next care was to take a view of the condition of the city, where he found divers goodly veſſels, ſome lately built, others upon the ſtocks; the arſenal very well provided with artillery, and the king's ſtables with a conſiderable number of the beſt *Arabian* horſes. And finding, by the ſituation of the place, of what conſequence it might prove to the *Portugueſe* for the future, in carrying on the war upon the continent of *Cambaja* and the cape of *Corus*, and to keep the neighbouring princes in awe, he left no ſtone unturned to provide for its ſecurity.

Goa ſurrendered to the Portugueſe.

Thus much for the firſt enterprize of the *Portugueſe* upon *Goa*. We will now alſo give you a ſhort account of their further ſucceſs, how they loſt it again by treachery, and regained it a ſecond time, the 25th of *November* 1510. where theſe following perſons ſignaliz'd themſelves to their immortal honour, *Manuel de Cunha*, *Manuel de Lacerda*, *Don John de Lima*, and his brother *Don Jeronimo de Lima*, *Denys Fernandes*, *Diego Mendes de Vaſconcelos*, with many others.

Loſt again by the Portugueſe.

For *Hidalcan* had no ſooner received the ſurprizing news of the loſs of *Goa*, but he made a peace with the neighbouring princes upon the beſt conditions he could, with an intention to bend all his forces towards the recovery of *Goa*. The better to compaſs his deſign, he ſent *Camalcan* his general, a brave ſoldier, before with eight thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred horſe, to endeavour to paſs a certain branch of the ſea which incloſes the iſle, he himſelf intending to follow with an army of five thouſand horſe, and forty thouſand foot, as ſoon as he had made all the neceſſary preparations for ſuch an enterprize.

Hidalcan prepares for the recovery of Goa.

Camalcan having pitched his tents near the ſea-ſhore, this, together with the news of the approach of *Hidalcan* with a moſt powerful army, cauſed no ſmall conſternation in the iſland. *Goa* was inhabited at that time by two ſorts of people, *viz.* the *Mahometans* and *Pagans*; the firſt out of an irreconcilable hatred to the chriſtians, cry'd out for *Hidalcan* the ſon of *Sabajus*, who was of the ſame religion with them; and the pagans fearing leaſt they ſhould be ſeverely chaſtiſed for their having ſurrendered the city upon ſuch eaſy terms, were for purchaſing *Hidalcan*'s favour by betraying *Albuquerque*'s counſels to him. The worſt of all was, that many even among the *Portugueſe* began to upbraid *Albuquerque* with want of conduct; who they ſaid, out of vain-glory only, without the leaſt regard to the intereſt of *Portugal*, had with a handful of men ventured upon ſo deſperate an enterprize, as the ſeizing of ſo populous a city. *Baldæus.*

Albuquerque nothing diſmayed at all theſe obſtacles, endeavoured to appeaſe the *Portugueſe* by fair words and promiſes, took one hundred of the chief inhabitants into cuſtody; and having intercepted a letter directed to *Camalcan*, he puniſhed the author thereof with death, with divers others who were convicted of a correſpondence with the enemy. But as his chief aim was to diſpute their paſſage croſs the branch of the ſea, he had erected batteries provided with cannon at convenient diſtances near the ſea-ſide, and ſecured all their boats, by which means he had repulſed them ſeveral times in their attempts. At laſt, Camalcan taking the advantage of a dark tempeſtuous night, they brought over both their horſe and foot, without receiving any conſiderable damage from the *Portugueſe*. Thus approaching to the city in battle-array, moſt of the inhabitants joined with them, which obliged the *Portugueſe* to retreat thither, though without any great proſpect of ſecurity.

The Portuguese in great diſtreſs.

Albuquerque endeavours to hinder their paſſage over the iſle.

Camalcan paſſes into the iſle.

Camalcan ſummoned *Albuquerque* to a ſurrender under certain conditions; but though he was ſenſible of the approaching danger, and the difficulty there would be of receiving any relief in the winter ſeaſon from *May* till *September*, when the frequent ſtorms render the ſeas thereabouts unnavigable, and choak up the entrance of the harbour of *Goa*, yet was he reſolved to expect the arrival of *Hidalcan*, and to abide the utmoſt extremities, rather than to ſurrender the place, reſolving, if all failed to paſs the winter in his ſhips in the harbour in ſpite of the enemy. *Camalcan*, aſtoniſhed at the reſolution of the *Portugueſe*, made ſeveral fierce attacks upon them, but in vain; till at laſt *Hidalcan* appearing with all his forces, he reſolved to cut off all

A hazardous attempt of the Portugueſe.

Baldæus. all manner of provisions from the *Portuguese*, by which means he did not question to become master of the place without bloodshed.

He resolved however to send a herauld to *Albuquerque*, to offer him honourable conditions, if he would depart; but whilst they were treating upon that head, he found means to have a ship loaden with ballast sunk below the city, where the branch of the sea is pretty narrow, and the channel very strait, with an intention to have another sunk hard by it: *Albuquerque* was no sooner advertised thereof, but he called a council of war; in which it was unanimously agreed, that they should embark the next night, before they had stopp'd up the whole channel, that the enemy might not intercept their passage.

Accordingly they marched out in the dead time of the night; but having set fire to their magazine, they were discovered and attacked by the enemy; so that with much ado they got to their ships, when they weighed their anchors, and with incredible difficulty passed through the narrow channel at some distance from the town: by which, however, they were not freed from their misery or danger; for by the continual windings of the river they were frequently exposed to the enemy's fire, and being destitute of fresh water, they were forced to drink salt corrupted water; what horse-flesh they had left being also consumed, they were reduced to feed upon mice, cats, and leather, which occasioned a great mortality among the *Portuguese*. Add to this, that they were continually annoy'd with the enemy's cannon from the two before-mentioned forts, (left by the *Portuguese* for want of men,) and saw no way how to pass them without a most manifest hazard.

The Portuguese in great distress.

Albuquerque being put to these straits, resolved upon a thing which at first sight appeared rather to be a madness, than founded upon serious considerations; but the event shewed, that in extremities the boldest and most hazardous undertakings are often the best. Both these forts were provided with good garrisons; but being sensible of the misery of the *Portuguese*, they regarded them so little, that they scarce thought it worth their while to guard their posts: *Albuquerque* having received some notice thereof, detached three hundred chosen men, whom he divided into two troops; these being animated with great promises and revenge, advanced towards the forts at the same time, and finding the centries asleep, killed them, and so entering the forts, soon put the rest to flight, took possession of the fort, and carried off the cannon aboard their vessels. *Hidalcan* was so surprized at this bold enterprize, that not thinking himself secure in the place where he was, he ordered his tent to be pitched at a greater distance.

A hazardous attempt of the Portuguese.

Baldæus.

The next thing the *Indians* attempted was, to endeavour to set fire to the *Portuguese* fleet by means of dry brush-wood and faggots dipp'd in pitch and rosin; to prevent which *Albuquerque* manned out certain boats to burn them before they could come near enough. This occasioned a smart engagement, wherein *Anthony Noronia*, (a brave young gentleman, declared viceroy of the *Indies* after *Albuquerque*,) being dangerously wounded in the knee, died a few days after. The enemy's loss was also very considerable; but the death of *Noronia*, together with the manifold miseries, dangers, and difficulties they had daily to struggle with, made the *Portuguese* resolve to sail to the isle of *Anchediva* to set ashore their sick men, who stood in great need of refreshments for their recovery.

Anthony Noronia slain.

The Portuguese sail to Anchediva.

Whilst *Albuquerque* was here ruminating with himself how to recover *Goa*, a squadron of ten *Portuguese* men of war arrived in the *Indies*. Strengthened with this succour, and having new modelled his forces by purging them of some mutinous spirits, he embarked one thousand five hundred land-soldiers, and three hundred *Malabars* aboard thirty four vessels; and steering his course to the isle of *Onor*, he concerted new measures with *Timoja* for the recovery of *Goa*: and having engaged him to list as many forces as possibly he could, he set sail immediately towards *Goa* with such an astonishing confidence of success, that the *Indians* upon his approach deserted the forts without firing a cannon.

Advancing from hence to the city, a bloody engagement ensued near the royal palace, which *Hidalcan*'s soldiers pretending to defend to the utmost extremity, but being routed, the rest threw down their arms, some precipitating themselves from the walls into the ditch, others seeking refuge, or rather death among the waves, whilst the rest dispersed in the island. This engagement lasted above six hours. Immediately after *Timoja* coming to the assistance of the *Portuguese*, they entered the city, where they made a most miserable havock among the *Moors*, whom they were resolved to extirpate root and branch; seven thousand whereof are supposed to have been slain in four days time, the pagans themselves being exasperated at them for having dispossess'd them of their lands, cut many of them to pieces, and among the rest the treasurer of *Hidalcan*, in whose house they found a good booty. Such of the *Mahometans* as were taken prisoners, *Albuquerque* ordered to be inclosed in a *Turkish* mosque, together with

Attack Goa a second time.

And take it.

Commit great cruelties.

Baldæus. with a certain renegado chriſtian, who had deſerted to *Goa*, and to ſet it on fire; which was executed accordingly.

The next thing *Albuquerque* took care of, was to have bricks and lime made for the rebuilding and ſtrengthening of the fortifications; and (if we may credit the *Portugueſe*) as they were digging under the ruins of ſome old walls, they found a brazen croſs, which (conſidering no chriſtians were ever known to have lived there before) was looked upon by them as a miraculous good omen, preſaging the eſtabliſhment of the chriſtian religion there.

A croſs found in the ruins of Goa.

Albuquerque having puniſhed with death ſuch of the inhabitants as had had a hand in the firſt mutiny, ordered that the *Portugueſe* ſhould marry the young women of the country, (after they had been baptized,) the better to people the city, which from that time began to increaſe conſiderably; *Sequeria* having cauſed the firſt church that was built, with the adjacent houſes and convent, to be dedicated to *St. Francis*. And in the year 1548. the church and convent of *Dominicans* was erected of brick-work, twelve fathers of that order being about that time introduced into the *Indies* by *James Bermudius*, a *Caſtilian*. After the arrival of the jeſuits in thoſe parts, (who have alſo a fine college here,) there were in four years time baptized no leſs than ſeventeen thouſand two hundred and ninety *Indians*, without reckoning thoſe converted by the *Franciſcans* and *Dominicans* before. In the jeſuits chappel lies intrenched the body of *Francis Xaverius*, of which the *Portugueſe* relate ſtrange miracles, as well as of his whole life; an ample relation whereof may be ſeen in *John de Lucena* in *Portugueſe*, by *Daniel Bartholi* in *Italian*, and by ſeveral others in *Latin*; and in another treatiſe of *Bartholi*, printed at *Rome*, 1653. concerning the actions of the antient fathers of the jeſuitical order. It will be ſufficient for us to touch upon ſome of the chief heads related by the *Portugueſe* of this Saint.

The church of the Franciſcans *and* Dominicans.

Increaſe of the Chriſtians.

He died in the iſle of *Sanchan* in *China*, 1552. the ſecond of *December*, of a violent fever, in the eleventh year of his voyage over the *Indies*. His dead carcaſe was laid in a coffin with his cloaths on, filled with lime, with an intention to tranſport his bones thence after the fleſh had been conſumed by the quick lime. Many days after the *Portugueſe* opening the coffin, found his body not only uncorrupted, but alſo of a lively colour, and moſt agreeable ſcent. Thence being tranſported to *Malacca*, and the coffin being opened a ſecond time, above three months after his deceaſe, they found neither the leaſt ſigns of corruption, or any nauſeous ſtench. After he had been buried here five months, a certain jeſuit travelling that way from *Goa*, being deſirous to ſee the body of *Xaverius*, found not only the body, but alſo his cloaths uncorrupted, and of a very odoriferous ſcent. *Baldæus.*

The death of Xaverius.

His body uncorrupted.

Thus it being judged unſeemly that his body ſhould remain any longer under ground, *Didacus Pereria* cauſed a magnificent coffin adorned with gold and ſilk to be made, wherein the body was depoſited at *Malacca*, till it could be tranſported to *Goa*, where it was received with incredible demonſtrations of joy by the viceroy, all the perſons of note, and eſpecially by the jeſuits, and depoſited with a great deal of ceremony in the chappel of *St. Paul*. And finding that the people were ſo eager to touch his body, that it was to be feared they would in time conſume it, or carry it away by piece-meals, it was incloſed in an iron grate; ſuch being the zeal of the people of *Goa*, at that time, that they would embrace the body of *Xaverius* without intermiſſion, lay their beads upon it, rub it with their hands, *&c.* and the whole city rung of the praiſes of this ſaint, of his uncommon zeal, piety, charity, mildneſs, his dangers in his voyages, his chaſtity, temperance, faſts, prayers, miracles, conſtancy, prudence, and great actions for the honour of chriſt.

It tranſported to Goa.

The ſpeech he made upon his departure for *Japan* and *China* to his friends, who were for diſſwading him from ſo dangerous an undertaking, is ſo excellent in its kind, that it very well deſerves a place in this treatiſe.

Xaverius's ſpeech.

" I Am ſurprized to ſee you who ſpend your days in the praiſe of God Almighty's power and mercy, ſhould now be ſo diffident thereof in regard of my perſon. Have you forgot who is the ſupreme governor of the univerſe? and that every thing is ruled by his will? Can you be deſtitute of inſtances of this nature? Don't the waves of the ſea, who opened a way to the ſervants of God through the depth thereof, furniſh you with an undeniable example? Don't the winds who allay'd their fury by his command, proclaim his power? Pray look upon *Job*, who could not be afflicted by the devil, without God's ſpecial permiſſion. The mouth of truth himſelf tells you, that the hairs of our heads are numbered. As we ſee ambaſſadors of temporal princes, relying upon their characters, and the power of their maſters, paſs unarmed and undiſturbed, through an enemy's camp; ſo it becomes us, who bear the character of interpreters of the divine law, and of teachers of the heathens, to rely upon nothing but the aſſiſtance and power of " the

Baldæus. " the divine majeſty, which without any " other weapons can carry us ſafely through " all dangers both by ſea and land, through " fire and ſword, or what elſe may ſeem " to oppoſe the accompliſhment of his " will. And if it happen that ſome of his " faithful miniſters fall into the hands of " cruel perſons, if they are devoured by " wild beaſts, ſuffer ſhipwrecks, or are " expoſed to hunger, thirſt, cold, heat, " ſickneſſes, and other miſeries; all theſe " are to be looked upon as the effects of " the divine pleaſure, to try the faith and " conſtancy of his ſervants: for were it not " ſo, we are ſufficiently convinced by ma- " ny examples, in what manner our God " has a careful eye over them; how he " has ſent the ravens to feed them, the " angels to feed them; how the wildeſt " beaſts have depoſited their natural fury " and become mild? how the flame itſelf " has not been able to hurt them, nor the " greateſt tyrants to execute their cruel- " ties upon them. 'Tis true, the victory " does not always incline on our ſide, and " we are often fruſtrated in the expecta- " tion of the fruits of our labour; but " thoſe diſappointments ought not in the " leaſt ſtop the hand of a zealous miniſter, " in attempting every thing that may con- " duce to God's honour, and the ſalvation " of ſouls. If a ſoldier, in hopes of a ſmall " ſhare of honour, ventures his life in the " midſt of his enemies; if the ſeaman for " the hopes of an inconſiderable lucre, " leave the ſhore, and commit his life to " the mercileſs waves, would it not be a " ſhame for a miniſter of Chriſt to refuſe " to hazard his life for God's ſervice, and " to look upon every thing as a trifle in " compariſon of the kingdom of heaven, " and its increaſe? Let no ſuch thoughts " enter our minds, there being nothing ſo " precious, that ought in this regard to " hinder us from the promoting of God's ſervice." Baldæus.

A moſt excellent ſpeech, worthy to be imprinted in the hearts of all faithful miniſters of Chriſt; and the more valuable upon that ſcore, that his deeds were altogether agreeable to his words; for embarking at *Goa* for *Malacca*, he thence ſet ſail in a *Chineſe Jonke*, or veſſel, for *Japan*, where he arrived happily at *Cangoxima*, where this great man did not think it below himſelf to be inſtructed in the firſt rudiments of that language for Chriſt's ſake. The next thing he applies himſelf to, was, to have the chief articles of the chriſtian faith tranſlated into the *Japoneſe* language, making uſe for this purpoſe of an interpreter, till he attained himſelf to the perfection thereof, in which he ceaſed not to labour day and night; being moved by an uncontroulable zeal of planting the goſpel among theſe pagans. Truly a very commendable zeal, not to be forgotten by all who bear the name of chriſtians; and though *Xaverius*'s religion differs in ſeveral points from ours, yet might his piety and other commendable virtues ſerve as an encouragement to all pious miniſters, to follow his footſteps in performing the ſervice of God to the utmoſt of their power. It muſt be confeſſed on all hands, that had not the active ſpirit of the jeſuits awakened the *Franciſcans*, and other religious orders from their drouſineſs, the *Roman* church had before this time been buried in its ruins: and as for myſelf, I am very willing to own, that my pen is not capable of expreſſing the worth of ſo great a man; though at the ſame time I am of opinion, that if *Xaverius* were alive now, he would diſown many things, eſpecially as to his miracles, ſince publiſhed by his followers.

CHAP. XIV.

Increaſe of the City of Goa: *Its Traffick, Manners, and Way of living of the* Portugueſe *there. The War betwixt the* Dutch *Company and the* Portugueſe. *Their Ambaſſadors appear in the Great Council at* Batavia: *Their Propoſitions and Tranſactions.*

THE city of *Goa* increaſing every year in riches and traffick, increaſed alſo in ſtrength by the addition of ſeveral forts near the water-ſide; this being the capital city of the *Portugueſe* in the *Indies*. Its traffick was much more conſiderable formerly than of late years, ſince by our blocking up the bar of *Goa*, they were not a little diſturbed by our ſhips. Whilſt *Goa* was in its flouriſhing ſtate, they uſed to ſend their ſhips to *Pegu*, *Siam*, *Japan*, *Perſia*, *Camboja*, *Arabia*, *Malabar*, *Coromandel*, *Bengale*, *Achem*, beſides divers other places. It is well inhabited, not only by *Europeans*, but alſo *Canarins*, *Moors*, and *Pagans* of all nations, who live for the *Increaſe and traffick of* Goa. *Inhabitants.*

Baldæus. most part upon trading, or are handicrafts-men. The great street of *Goa* has many rich shops well stored with silks, porcellain, and other precious commodities, druggistry wares, manufactories, *&c.* Some of these, as well as fresh provisions, are sold every day in the market-places, where you hear a crier, or auctioneer, (called by them *Lalang*,) to sell in publick all sorts of goods, both movable and unmovable, cattle, slaves, *&c.* to the fairest bidder; but they leave off early, by reason of the excessive heat about midday.

The way of living of the Portuguese. The manner of living of the *Portuguese* is the same here as in most other places of the *Indies*; they are distinguished into *Casados*, *i. e.* married people, and *Soldados*, single people; the last are most esteemed. The *Portuguese* here are generally very idle, seldom applying themselves to any employment, leaving the management of their business, for the most part, to their slaves; even the women committing the care of their children to the female slaves, who also give them suck. The men frequently marry with the natives of the country, yet not so much now as formerly: the children begot betwixt a *Portuguese* and an *Indian* woman are called *Mistices*, as the children of these *Mistices* are called *Castices*.

Their lust, The men are generally addicted to excessive lust; and I remember to have seen three women-slaves lie in at once, who were got with child by their masters; fornication and adultery being considered among them as errors of little moment: but they are very averse to drunkenness, notwithstanding which quarrels and murders are frequent among them.

and pride. The men are also generally excessive proud, there being scarce any of them that thinks himself removed a little above the vulgar sort, but what has his umbrello carried over his head, another servant to carry his cloke after him, and another who holds his sword: they use frequently snuff, not excepting even the maidens and women; and as they walk along the streets, they are continually stroking and setting up their whiskers. *Their jealousy.* The women never appear abroad either a foot or in chairs unveil'd, their husbands being (and perhaps not without reason) very jealous of them; for which reason also they keep them at home in their apartments above stairs, the windows whereof are so contrived, that they can look upwards, but not downwards into the streets.

Distempers. The distempers most in vogue at *Goa* are the burning fevers, which the *Portuguese* cure by venesection, sometimes five or six times a-day, but they let but little at a time. The *French* or *Spanish* pox are also so common here, (as in most other parts of the *Indies*,) that a *Hidalgo*, or gentleman, here does not look upon it as a disgrace to have been afflicted with it twice or thrice in his life-time. For the rest, the *Portuguese* use much sweetmeats, and take a draught of cool water after it, they being enemies to strong liquors, and moderate in their diet, a small share sufficing for a good number of people. The women feed much upon rice, though they have excellent wheaten bread; they also use frequently *Betel* and *Arek*, and all sorts of pickles, which makes them have a pale colour.

Baldæus.

The king of *Visiapour* has more than once shewn his inclination of attacking *Goa* by land, especially at that time, whilst *Cornelius Simonsz* commanded the *Dutch* fleet in those parts, he being much respected among the *Mahometans* ever since his burning of the galleons near *Mormagon*: but the death of the said admiral prevented the designs of that king, as much questioning whether his successor might be a man of the same flame. In the year 1641. the said king promised a second time to form the siege of *Goa*, provided the *Dutch* company would engage to let a certain number of their ships winter at *Dabul*, *Ortzery*, or some other of his majesty's harbours, which was no more than a necessary precaution, it being certain, that in case the siege should miscarry, the *Portugueze*, without our assistance, would have made themselves masters of these harbours. Formerly it was accounted dangerous to send our ships to the bar of *Goa* before *October*; but experience has taught us since, that this coast of the *Indies* is navigable towards the latter end of *August*, or in *September*, the exact time when the rich ships come from *Mosambique*, *Malacca*, and divers other places, which have sometimes been taken by our ships; whereas if they come later, they have nothing else to do but to attempt the galleons under the castle. In the year 1640. the *Portuguese* made shift to bring into the harbour two caracks, and as many galleons, well provided with men and all other necessaries, which gave them the opportunity to fortify the isle of *Mormagon*; since which time, to render the blockade by sea the more effectual, the *Hollander* have ordered certain frigates to cruize with a sloop near the cape and the *Burnel Islands*, (called *Ilhas quimadas*,) where the *Portuguese Caskias*, which supply them with provisions, are prevented from going out or in.

It is sufficiently demonstrable, that the *Dutch* company did at first judge it for their interest to be masters of *Goa*, but laid it aside afterwards, thinking it more for their interest to block up the bar of *Goa*; certain it is, that both the directors and the governor and members of the great council of the *Indies*, looked upon the

Baldæus. twixt them and *Portugal* as propitious to them, as is evident from the petition deliv ered in *May*, 1641. by the said directors in the *Hague* to the states-general of the *United Provinces.*

The war betwixt the Dutch and Portuguese propitious to the first.

The chief intent of this petition, was to shew, That though it was beyond all question, that the *Dutch East-India* company was erected in its first beginning in the years 1601, 1602, and 1604. to carry on a peaceable commerce in the *Indies*; but that since experience had sufficiently convinced them, that the *Portuguese*, who had play'd the masters in the *Indies* for many years before, had left no stone unturned to disturb the commerce of the *Dutch*, by seizing their ships, and imprinting very disadvantageous notions of them into the *Indian* princes. That in 1602. when the *Dutch East India* trade was incorporated into one society, or company, two peculiar advantages were (among others) obtained thereby at that time: first, full authority of protecting their traffick jointly in the *Indies* by force of arms; the consequence whereof had been, secondly, that the *Indian* princes were entered into an engagement with the said *Dutch* company, out of hatred and fear of the *Portuguese*; that, by these means, the ships of the *Dutch* company having purged the seas of the pirates, had settled since the year 1604. their factories and traffick, not only in all the islands from the *Red Sea* as far as *Japan*, but also in the territories of the *Grand Seig-*

Factories of the Dutch. *nior*, in *Arabia* at *Mocha*, in *Persia* even ... in the capital city of *Ispahan*, in the kingdom of *Cambaja*, and the empire of the *Great Mogul*, in *Decan*, in *Malabar*, *Narsinga*, *Coromandel*, *Golconda*, *Bengale*, *Arracan*, *Pegu*, *Achin*, *Sumatra*, *Jambi*, *Palimban*, *Bantam*, *Cambodia*, *Siam*, *Cochin-China*, *Tonquin*, &c. That since the establishment of these factories, the security of their commerce was chiefly founded upon this maxim, To maintain a war against the declared enemy of these *Indian* princes, their engagements to us being founded upon their opinion of our enmity with the *Portuguese*. To prove this, they alledge the following ten reasons.

Reasons why a commerce of many years with the Portuguese.

1. Because the *Dutch East-India* company was chiefly by means of the war with the *Portuguese* arrived to that greatness it is now at, their whole traffick in the *Indies* being founded upon this basis; whence they draw yearly a return of seventy eight thousand nine hundred and ten millions of guilders; and if the said foundation were not shaken, they might expect every year larger returns.

2. That in case of a truce, they should not reap the fruits of the victories, *viz.* to put a stop to their power, a thing absolutely *Baldæus* to be considered.

3. In case of a truce, the equipment of many ships of war would be laid aside, by which means *Holland* would be deprived of the strength of a considerable number of men of war in case of necessity.

4. That in case of an abatement of the equipment of ships of war for the *East Indies*, and consequently of the diminution of our trade in the *Indies*, and the return of our ships from thence, the advantage accruing to *Holland* by the convoys must also be necessarily diminished.

5. That many thousands of families in the *Indies* would thereby be deprived of their livelihood.

6. That the whole *East-India* trade, by which many millions are gained yearly, would decay in proportion as the *Portuguese* should increase in the said traffick.

7. That in regard of the interest of the *Dutch* company, it ought to be considered, that since of late years they had been at vast expences in providing ships of war, and lifting of soldiers, they were (through God's blessing) in a probability of making farther conquests upon the *Portuguese*.

8. That in case the *East-India* trade should come to decay, and consequently their profit be diminished, they would be in danger of being quite oppressed by the heavy burden they la under, of providing garrisons and other necessaries against the attempts of the *Europeans* their enemies.

9. That thereby the *Dutch* company would be exposed to the hazard of being deprived of all the advantages they had gained by right of arms from the *Portuguese*, or otherwise.

10. In case of a peace or cessation of arms betwixt the *Dutch* company and the *Portuguese*, it was to be feared, that the good understanding betwixt the said company and the *Indian* princes would soon decay, to the no small detriment and danger of the company and their servants, especially in *Japan*: which traffick, if it were lost, the trade of *China* would be of little consequence; a peace or truce with the *Portuguese* being absolutely contrary to the engagements they had with the *Indian* kings.

In consideration therefore of the great detriment that would accrue to the said company by a peace with the *Portuguese*, the said directors did most humbly petition their high and mightinesses to take it into serious consideration, whether the damages their subjects, and especially the company, were likely to suffer thereby, would not in

a great

Baldæus. a great measure over-ballance the advantages the states might promise themselves from a peace with *Portugal*; and in case they judged the peace with *Portugal* absolutely for their interest, whether the *East Indies* might not be excepted in the said peace, as was done in the truce concluded 1609. and whereof other instances were in fresh memory betwixt *France*, *England*, and *Spain*, who notwithstanding they were entered into alliances since the conclusion of the peace in *Europe*, yet did continue the war in the *Indies*, as is evident from the *English* squadron's appearing before *Mosambique*, *Goa*, and *Manilha*, and the assisting of the *Persians* in the conquest of *Ormus* against the *Portuguese*.

Lastly, They requested, that in case their high and mightinesses did not judge their reasons of such weight as to stop the truce in the *East Indies*, betwixt the company and the *Portuguese*, who lately have shaken off the *Spanish* dominion, and embraced the interest of king *John* IV. their high and mightinesses would be pleased at least to delay the conclusion thereof till advice could be had whether any of the places belonging to the *Portuguese* in the *Indies* had declared for the new king, that the directors might have the opportunity (in case of an ensuing truce) to recal such of their servants as were perhaps engaged in the service of some of the *Indian* princes, without which they might be in danger of being surprized and seized there, to their irrecoverable detriment.

Goa blocked up by the Dutch. The bar of *Goa* had for a considerable time been kept blocked up by a squadron of *Dutch* ships, the better to annoy the *Portuguese* in their traffick. *James Cooper* kept the said harbour block'd up for three years successively, as commodore, who was succeeded by *Adam Westerwold*, (of which hereafter in the description of *Ceylon*,) and he by *Anthony Kaan*. In the year 1639. commanded before that place *Cornelius Simonson Van der Veer*, (mentioned before,) a brave commander; and 1641. *Matthew Hendrikyz Quast*, with ten ships, and one thousand one hundred and forty seven men: this fleet took a carack richly laden from *Portugal*; but he being killed in the engagement, was succeeded by *Cornelius Leendertsz Blaau*, rear-admiral.

Two Portuguese ambassadors come to Batavia. In the year 1642. two *Portuguese* ambassadors, named *Diego Mendes de Britto*, and *Gonsalvo Villoso de Sancta Joseph*, a religious of the order of St. *Francis*, being sent by the *Portuguese* viceroy of the *Indies* to the general and great council of the *Indies* at *Batavia*, the same were ordered to be received with all marks of honour and respect: for which purpose Mr. *John Maatzuyker*, chief pensionary, *Justus Schouten*, a member of the great council of the *Indies*, *Simon van Alphen* doctor of the laws, sheriff of the city of *Batavia*, *Sebald Wanderaar* receiver-general, *Peter Soury*, *Barent Wickmans*, *Dirk Snoek*, *Ewoud Spieringh*, head factors, *John Lamoot* serjeant-major, *Gerard Herbers* doctor of the laws, head factor, *Francisco de Souza de Castro*, and *Anthonio Fialho Pereira*, both *Portuguese* gentlemen, were sent to conduct them from aboard their vessel to the general's palace, under the discharge of five pieces of cannon; and being immediately introduced into the apartment where the great council was then assembled, after the first compliments on both sides, one of the ambassadors began to make his harangue: "That *Portugal* having withdrawn itself from the "*Spanish* jurisdiction, had chosen *Don* "*John*, duke of *Braganza*, their king; "that the said king having soon after sent "an ambassador to their high and mighti- "nesses to treat of a peace and an alliance "betwixt both nations, they had all the "reason to believe that the same was "brought to a happy conclusion before "this time: in regard of which they were "sent by the viceroy of *Goa* to treat with "their excellencies about a cessation of "arms, as would more at large appear out "of their credentials." Which they delivered at the same time to the governor-general with this superscription:

Their ships.

Appear in council.

A. O. Senhor Anthonio de diemen, Capitaon General de Nacaon Ollandeza n'este Oriente.

On the other side was written,

De Conde d'Aveiras Viceroye Capitaon d'Indias.

The letter was sealed with the arms of *Portugal*, and written in the *Portuguese* language, as follows:

The letter.

"IN the beginning of *September* arrived "in our fort *Onor*, a caravel, sent from "*Portugal*; whereby we were informed, "that the *Portuguese* have proclaimed and "acknowledged a king of their own, by "the general consent of that nation. His "majesty of *Portugal* did, in one of his "letters, give notice to us, that certain "ambassadors having been dispatched to "their high and mightinesses the states "general, to treat about a peace, it was "not doubted but the same would be soon "concluded, a truce having been already "agreed upon betwixt the two nations in "*Europe*, whereof notice had been given "to the said majesty to the commodore "*Quast*, intimating, That as a cessation of "arms was concluded in *Europe*, so the "same might take effect in these parts,

"and

Baldæus. "nnd that he had given orders to the "viceroy of *Goa* accordingly. After the "decease of the said commodore we gave "notice thereof to *Cornelius Leenderſz "Haan* his ſucceſſor, who excuſing him- "ſelf with his want of power, as being "obliged to follow ſtrictly the orders of "the great council of the *Indies*, we thought "fit to ſend *Diego Mendes de Britto*, gen- "tleman of the king's houſhold, and fa- "ther *Gonſalvo Villoſo*, to treat with your "excellencies concerning this point, they "being provided with credentials from his "majeſty, that whatever ſhall be agreed "upon with them ſhall be valid, and kept "inviolably. We wiſh all bleſſings to the "crown of *Portugal* and the *United Pro- "vinces*. Dated *Decemb.* 6. 1641.

Subſcribed,

Conde d'Aveiras.

The great council having told them, that they would take the matter into ſerious conſideration, the diſcourſe began to turn upon indifferent matters, and among the reſt concerning the carrack lately taken by the *Dutch*. The ambaſſadors being asked whether the captain did not preſent the viceroy with two or three casks of wine, they anſwered, No; at which the governor-general ſhewed a great diſlike, telling the ambaſſadors, that they muſt pardon the matter, it being a common thing for the beſt ſeamen to make the worſt courtiers. After the ambaſſadors had dined with his excellency, they were conducted to their lodgings at Mr. *James* Their age. *Harder*'s houſe. They were both perſons of a goodly aſpect, the *Franciſcan* being being betwixt ſixty and ſeventy years of age, and train. the other of about fifty. Their train conſiſted in two pages, and four *Portugueſe* footmen, beſides the negroes and miſtices, a gentleman, a ſecretary, ſurgeon, and two boys; their livery was orange colour.

Their ſecond audience. The 8th of *February* the ſaid ambaſſadors demanded a ſecond audience; which being for weighty reaſons deferr'd till the 10th, they appeared a ſecond time at nine a clock in the morning in the great council, reiterating their former propoſitions concerning a ceſſation of arms: and leſt the governor-general might not as yet have received a full account of what had been tranſacted in *Europe*, they produced certain original letters, ſent by his *Portugueſe* majeſty to the viceroy: but theſe being only private letters from certain *Dutch* merchants living at *Liſbon*, and another letter from the ſtates-general to the admiralty of that place, and conſequently the ſame that were before ſent hither from our ſquadron at *Goa*, by the way of *Coromandel*, by the ſloop called the *Pipeli*. His excellency the governor-general reply'd, That the laſt being ſent to the council before by the commodore *Quaſt*, they had peruſed the ſame, and found, that in the letter of the ſtates-general, it was expreſly ſaid, *That the* Dutch *ſhould not moleſt the* Portugueſe *on the other ſide of the line*; which being to be underſtood of the north ſide, the *Indians* were not comprehended therein; beſides, that they had not received any inſtructions upon that account from the governors and directors of the *Eaſt-India* company. Baldæus.

But to convince the ambaſſadors that they were not entered into this war out of any other motive than to obtain an honourable peace, they could not but put them in mind, that though they had delivered their credentials from the viceroy, they had not brought along with them any poſitive proof, whether the ſaid viceroy were authorized by his majeſty of *Portugal* to treat concerning matters of ſuch great conſequence; and it was conſequently to be doubted whether the ſame would be approved of and ratify'd by his majeſty.

One of the ambaſſadors reply'd, That the viceroy of *India* was always endowed with a power of making peace and war, many inſtances of which could be alledged upon divers occaſions, which would leave no room to queſtion his authority in this caſe; but if they did, they were ready to remain as hoſtages for the accompliſhment of what ſhould be agreed upon. His excellency the governor-general return'd, That he was ſatisfied of the authority of the viceroy in making peace or war with the *Indian* princes, but remained doubtful, whether the ſame did extend alſo to the *European* nations: nevertheleſs, that he believed the viceroy would not tranſgreſs his commiſſion, and that therefore they had been acknowledged as plenipotentiaries; which being done, there remained nothing now to do, but to proceed to the treaty itſelf, and to make their propoſitions under what conditions they would have the truce ſettled.

The ambaſſadors anſwered, That they looked upon it as unneceſſary to inſiſt upon many conditions or limitations at this juncture, when they expected every day to hear of a peace concluded betwixt both nations in *Europe*; according to the conditions of which, both parties would be obliged to regulate themſelves hereafter: that their only aim now being to obtain a ceſſation of arms, the main thing in queſtion, was to fix a certain time of its beginning, which they thought ought to be taken from that very hour the truce was agreed upon and ſign'd betwixt them.

Baldæus. The governor-general told them, That he agreed with them in that point; that not many conditions were required at this time; but that it would be next to an impoſſibility the truce ſhould commence from the very hour the ſame was ſigned, it being very probable that the *Dutch* ſquadron would, in the mean while, not let ſlip any opportunity of taking their advantage over the *Portugueſe*; as the forces lately ſent to *Ceylon*, perhaps, might have made an enterprize upon *Negumbo* or *Columbo*; as, on the other hand, the *Portugueſe* might probably have undertaken ſomething againſt *Gale*, or have obtained ſome advantages againſt the *Dutch* in other places: the viceroy himſelf having commanded *Don Philippo Maſcarenhas*, that he ſhould (till the news of the truce did arrive) act with his utmoſt vigour againſt the *Dutch* in *Ceylon*. He urged, That all theſe things conſidered, it was to be feared, that in caſe the truce commenced according to their deſire, this might furniſh occaſion to new miſunderſtandings, it being more than probable that neither of the two parties would be willing to reſtore what they had conquered in the mean while; that therefore it was his opinion, that the beginning of the ſaid truce muſt be ſo fixed, as that ſufficient time might be allowed for giving notice thereof to the ſubjects of both parties.

The ambaſſadors made many objections againſt this, inſiſting to have the beginning of the truce ſettled from the date of the ſigning thereof; alledging, among the reſt, that they could ſcarce imagine the viceroy ſhould have ſent ſuch orders to *Maſcarenhas*. The governor-general reply'd, That he had certain advice of it from *Ceylon*; but that nowithſtanding this, he hoped the ambaſſadors ſhould not leave *Batavia* unſatisfied. He at the ſame time invited them to dine with him, where they were ſplendidly entertained, and drank to the health of the king of *Portugal*, and the prince of *Orange*.

The third Audience. The 18th of *February* the ſaid ambaſſadors had another audience; wherein they deſired a poſitive anſwer to their propoſitions, the time deſired by the governor to conſult with the great council being expired. They urged, That ſince the 14th of *February* ſome yachts were arrived, which had brought the confirmation of the news of the peace lately concluded betwixt both nations; therefore they did not queſtion but their excellencies would no longer deny them the deſired trade.

The governor-general gave for anſwer, That the ſaid yachts had touched at *Fernambuco*, from whence they had brought the articles of a ten years truce betwixt his *Portugueſe* majeſty *Don John* IV. and the high and mighty the ſtates-general of the *United Provinces*, in reſpect of their territories in *Europe*, with exception however of the places and colonies belonging to the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-India* companies; that they had alſo brought along with them the articles or conditions agreed upon betwixt their high an[illegible] *Triſtan de Mendoza* [illegible] *guese* ambaſſador, concerning the [illegible] *India* company: whence it appeared, that the ſame ought to be firſt ratified by his *Portugueſe* majeſty, and ſent back to the ſtates-general; and that the ſame after that ſhould not take effect before notice be given thereof in *Braſil*: and the ſame being agreed upon in reference to the *Eaſt-India* company, and our ſhips which left *Holland* in *September* laſt, being expected every day in theſe parts with the ratifications of the ſaid treaty, it was thought convenient by the great council to expect their coming, and to regulate themſelves according to the conditions agreed upon betwixt their reſpective maſters; eſpecially ſince the ſaid ſhips would probably arrive before the ſeaſon would permit the ambaſſadors to depart for *Goa*, and conſequently there would be no loſs of time in this reſpect. *Baldæus.*

The ambaſſadors told them, That they could not but think it ſtrange, that ſince both nations lived in amity in *Europe*, they ſhould act in a hoſtile manner againſt one another in the *Indies*. The governor-general reply'd, That ſince their reſpective maſters had thought it convenient it ſhould be ſo, till the ratification of the treaty by his *Portugueſe* majeſty, and that notice had been given thereof to them, they were obliged to take their meaſures accordingly. The ambaſſadors anſwered, That they had promiſed themſelves a quite other anſwer; though in all other reſpects they acknowledged the honours and obliging entertainment they had received, deſiring that a copy might be given them containing an exact account of all the tranſactions, during their ſtay here, betwixt their excellencies and them, by which it might appear that they had not been defective in their zeal and induſtry to bring this matter to the deſired effect. This was promiſed by the governor-general, with this addition, That to give them all imaginable ſatisfaction concerning the truce, they would alſo give them a faithful copy of the articles thereof, not queſtioning but that the ſhips would arrive in the mean while; but if they ſhould happen to ſtay longer, beyond expectation, they would conſult all proper means to give them what ſatisfaction they could. They thankfully received this anſwer, extolling once more the obliging entertainment they had met with at their hands; they dined with moſt

of

Baldæus. of the members of the great council at the governor-general's houſe, and towards the evening took the air on horſe-back.

The ſeventh audience. The 30*th* of *March* the ſaid ambaſſadors had another audience; in which they delivered a memorial to the great council: which being read, the governor-general told them, That what was alledged in the ſaid memorial was a matter of fact, and agreeable to what had been entered in their records; but that they would not have them deſpond concerning the arrival of the ſhips, which he was ſorry ſtaid ſo long behind; but that notwithſtanding this, he hoped they ſhould not depart without ſatisfaction. The ambaſſadors reply'd, His excellency would be pleaſed to remember his promiſe, of not letting them depart without ſatisfaction, or obtaining the end of their commiſſion, in caſe the ſhips ſhould not arrive.

The governor-general returned for anſwer, That by ſaying ſo, he did not intend to conſent to the truce, which was beyond his power, at leaſt till the arrival of the ſaid ſhips; but to give them all the poſſible marks of his good-will and eſteem, and that they ſhould be diſmiſſed with all the marks of reſpect they were able to pay them. That ſince his maſters had thought fit to limit the beginning of the truce to the time of its being ratified by his majeſty of *Portugal*, and being returned into *Holland*, and thence to the *Eaſt-Indies*, they were abſolutely obliged to wait for the arrival of it, leſt it ſhould ſeem as if they thought themſelves more underſtanding in this point than the ſtates-general.

One of the ambaſſadors made anſwer, That they were perſuaded his excellency the governor-general was ſufficiently authorized to make peace and war at his pleaſure in theſe countries, the ſame tending to the advantage of the *Dutch* nation; and that this ceſſation of arms could not but be acceptable to the ſtates-general, who had ſo lately concluded a peace with the king of *Portugal*. He further told them, That the viceroy of *Goa* was always authorized with ſuch a power; but in a more peculiar manner at this time, having received expreſs orders for that purpoſe by a carvel from his majeſty.

At laſt the ambaſſadors perceiving that the great council remained ſtedfaſt in their reſolution, they thought it unfit to puſh the matter any further for that time, reiterating their former requeſt, of having a copy granted them concerning their tranſactions here; and deſiring, that ſince the ſeaſon began to open the paſſage by ſea to *Coromandel*, they might be diſmiſſed forthwith, in order to proſecute their journey by land to *Goa* before the winter, the ſame being impracticable afterwards, by reaſon of the frequent rains. The governor-general promiſed them entire ſatisfaction upon both theſe heads, and that a ſhip ſhould be got ready for their excellencies; but that however, he could not forbear to tell them, That in his opinion they would do better to tarry a little longer, in expectation of the before-mentioned ſhips, and the ratification expected to be brought over by them. They replied, That having received expreſs orders from the viceroy to return to *Goa* with the firſt opportunity, they were obliged to obey, unleſs his excellency would lay his commands upon them to the contrary. The governor-general anſwered, That it was not in his power to command them, what he had ſaid being only by way of advice; but if they were reſolved to the contrary, they ſhould not be in the leaſt detained: that if they thought fit, advice might be ſent thereof to the viceroy by the ſhip that was then juſt ready to ſail for *Coromandel*; or if they diſliked this propoſition, one of them might tarry at *Batavia* till the arrival of the ratification, whilſt the other return'd to *Goa*. This expedient being approved by them, it was agreed that the *Franciſcan* father ſhould go back to *Goa* by the way of *Coromandel*, and the other ſtay at *Batavia*, till the arrival of the ratification.

Some particular requeſts of the ambaſſadors. Then the ambaſſadors deſired the releaſement of certain *Miſtices* and *Negroes* that were priſoners among us; which being ſoon granted by the governor-general, he asked the ſame favour in behalf of four other perſons who had been clapp'd in irons on occaſion of ſome mutiny at *Batavia*, in which they were the ringleaders; which was alſo granted, under condition that they ſhould depart the country with the *Franciſcan* father. They alſo made the like requeſt concerning *Franciſco de Souza de Caſtro*, who (at the requeſt of the governor-general) being releaſed out of his priſon by thoſe of *Achin*, was delivered up to the *Dutch*; he had likewiſe leave given him to depart with the *Franciſcan* father, provided he paid his debts before his departure.

Another audience. The firſt of *April* the two ſhips called the *Tyger* and *Naſſaw*, which had left *Holland* the 16th of *September* laſt, being arrived at *Batavia*, the ſaid ambaſſadors appeared once more in the great council, intimating, That they being informed that at the time of the departure of theſe ſhips out of *Holland*, the ratification of the articles of his *Portugueſe* majeſty concerning the *Eaſt-Indies* was not arrived; at which they were much ſurpriz'd, as not knowing what might be the reaſon thereof; they deſired to know whether his excellency had not received any more particular intelligence, which might induce him to grant the deſired ceſſation of arms. The governor-general reply'd, That he had

Baldæus.

Baldæus. had put it beyond all doubt, that the ratification would have been brought along with theſe ſhips; but ſince it had happen'd otherwiſe, it was not in his power to grant the required truce. The ambaſſadors ask'd, Whether they ſhould both depart? or whether his excellency thought convenient that one of them ſhould ſtay behind? The governor-general told them, That they were at their own diſpoſal; but that ſince they expected every day the arrival of their winter-ſhips, which infalliby would bring over the ſaid ratification, he judged it might be beſt for them to continue a little longer at *Batavia*.

One of the ambaſſadors returns to Goa.

Hereupon they reſolved once more, that the *Franciſcan* father ſhould go back over *Coromandel* to *Goa*, whilſt the other ſhould ſtay at *Batavia* for the arrival of the ratification. Accordingly a written certificate was given to the ambaſſadors concerning their zeal and induſtry in compaſſing their commiſſion, ſigned by his excellency the governor-general *Anthony van Diemen*, by *Cornelius van der Lijn*, *John Maatzuyker*, *Juſtus Schouten*, *Cornelius Witzen*, and *Peter Borcel*, in the caſtle of *Batavia*, *April* 9. 1642. To the *Franciſcan* father the council gave the following letter, directed to the viceroy of *Goa*.

Moſt Illuſtrious Lord!

A Letter to the viceroy of Goa.

"DIego *Mendes de Britto*, gentleman of the king's houſhold, and the reverend father, brother *Gonſalvo de S. Joſeph*, your excellency's ambaſſadors, "being come in our road the 28th of *January* aboard the *Dolphin*, were honourably received by us the next day. They "delivered to us your excellency's credential letters, dated in *Goa* the 6th of *December* of the laſt year; as alſo the letters of his *Portugueſe* majeſty to you, "concerning the truce betwixt *Portugal* and the *United Provinces*. The before-mentioned ambaſſadors have not been remiſs *Baldæus.* "in their zeal, induſtry, and duty, to preſs "in their ſeveral audiences the obtaining of "a truce; which we would willingly have "granted, had not we received certain "advice by ſome ſhips arrived the 14th of "*February*, by the way of *Fernambuco*, and "others arrived the firſt of *April* here, of "a truce concluded betwixt his majeſty of "*Portugal* and the ſtates-general of the "*United Provinces*; wherein it was expreſſly "agreed with his majeſty's plenipotentiary "*Triſtaon de Mendoza Furtado*, among "other points, that the truce agreed upon "for ten years in *Europe*, ſhould be of the "ſame validity in theſe parts, yet ſo that "the ſame ſhould not commence before "that his *Portugueſe* majeſty ſhould have "ſent back his ratification into *Holland*, "and the ſame be publickly proclaimed "afterwards in theſe parts, as will more "fully appear to your excellencies out of "the incloſed letters. Thus being obliged "to follow the directions of our lords and "maſters, we could not proceed further in "this buſineſs till the arrival of the next "ſhips from *Holland*; which being expected "daily, with the ſaid ratification, we did "adviſe your ambaſſadors to ſtay (or at leaſt "one of them) for the coming of the ſaid "ſhips, as the only means not to render your "excellency's embaſſy altogether fruitleſs: "accordingly Mr. *Diego Mendes de Britto* "intends to haſten his journey to *Goa*, "immediately after the firſt further notice "of the ſaid ratification, which we hope "will prove agreeable to your excellency's ſentiments. We recommend your "excellency to God's protection. Dated "in the caſtle of *Batavia*, the 8th of "*April*, 1642.

Subſcribed,

The governor-general for the *United Provinces* in the *Eaſt-Indies*.

CHAP. XV.

The Ratification of the ten Years Truce brought to Batavia. *A Proteſtation ſent to the Count* d'Aveiras. *Treaty of Peace with the Viceroy: The Articles thereof. Agreements about the Diviſion of the Limits betwixt the* Portugueſe *and* Hollanders *in the Iſle of* Ceylon. *Agreement betwixt* Maſcarenhas *and* Cornelius van Sanen.

The ratification publiſhed.

THE ſo-much-deſired ratification (ſigned at *Lisbon* the 16th of *January*, 1642, and delivered at the *Hague* the 15th of *February* following,) being at laſt brought to *Batavia*, the ſame was publiſhed the 8th of *October* throughout the *Indies*.

Anthony

Baldæus. "ANthony van Diemen governor-general, and the members of the great council of the *East Indies* under the jurisdiction of the *United Provinces*, make known to all it may concern; That whereas by two several letters, dated the 22d of *February*, and the 15th of *March*, 1642. brought over by the ship the *Salamander*, we have been advertised, That the 12th of *June* 1641. a firm alliance and truce has been concluded for ten years betwixt the most potent *Don John* IV. king of *Portugal*, *Algarve*, and lord of *Guinea*, and of the conquests made on the shore of *Ethiopia*, *Arabia*, *Persia*, and *India*, on one side, and their high and mightinesses the states general of the *United Provinces* on the other side, including all the before-mentioned kingdoms, countries, provinces, islands, and other places on both sides of the equinoctial line, (without exception,) all such as now actually are, or for the future may be under the jurisdiction of the said king and the states-general; during which space of ten years successively all hostilities betwixt their respective subjects shall cease both by sea and land, without limitation or exception of any places, persons, or circumstances, as by the articles of the said truce does more amply and fully appear. It is therefore that we are commanded to surcease all manner of hostilities from this day for the next succeeding ten years, according to which all our subjects shall regulate themselves; and to take effectual care that nothing may be transacted any wise contrary to the true intent of the articles of the said alliance and truce, but to maintain the same inviolably. And that nobody may plead ignorance in this case, we have ordered these presents to be published, enjoining every body, under severe penalties, not to infringe any of the before-mentioned articles, as they will answer the same at their peril. Dated in the castle of *Batavia*, *Octob.* 4. 1642. and first published the 7th of the same month, under the great seal of the company in red wax.

Anthony van Diemen.

By order of his excellency,

Peter Mesdach, Secretary.

However, this truce was but ill observed by the viceroy of *Goa*, especially in the territories of *Gale*, in the isle of *Ceylon*, which induced the *Dutch* general and great council to send him this following protest.

"BY letters from our commissary *Peter Baldæus*: *Boreel*, whom (after the ratification of the truce betwixt his *Portuguese* majesty and the states-general of the *United Provinces*) we dispatched to *Goa*, to give notice thereof to your excellency, we have been informed beyond all expectation, that upon his arrival there, and his earnest request to your excellency, (pursuant to our orders,) to withdraw the army under the command of *Don Philip* of *Masearenhas* from the territories of *Puntegale*, under our jurisdiction, your excellency has been pleased to shew so much aversion to comply with his demands, though founded upon undeniable and just grounds represented to your commissioners in the several conferences held upon that subject *, that he finding his presence useless at *Goa*, he was forced to return from thence without being able to encompass his just designs, and (pursuant to his orders received from us) to denounce before his departure, the continuation of the war to your excellency, till satisfaction might be obtained upon this score. And since the unjust detention of the territories of *Gale* tends to our considerable detriment, we declare, That upon perusal of the writings sent to us by your excellency by the hands of our commissary, we can make no better construction of the whole matter, than that your excellency's intention is, under this framed pretext, to render the truce concluded betwixt our respective masters invalid, and of no worth. It is therefore that we think ourselves obliged to approve every thing that has been transacted upon this head by our commissary, and to make use of such means for the justification of our rights, as God has put into our hands, and are altogether suitable to the laws of nations. And as upon these considerations, we have sent back this fleet, by which your excellency will at once receive this *Protest*, and be made sensible at the same time of our resolution of maintaining our just cause, which will questionless prove the occasion of new differences betwixt his *Portuguese* majesty and the states-general of the *United Provinces*, as also of much effusion of blood, of vast expences, and many other inconveniences; we call God to witness, and declare and protest by these presents, that we are innocent, and are not answerable for the direful consequences of this breach of the truce, which we were ready to have punctually observed on our side, pursuant to the intention

The Protest sent to the count d'Avoiras.

* *The Portuguese pretended that the Dutch jurisdiction did not extend without the walls of Gale.*

Baldæus. " tion of our masters, had not your excellency bereaved us of all hopes of " adjusting matters by an amicable composition for the recovery of our rights in " the country of *Gale*, unjustly detained by " your excellency.

Dated in the Castle of Batavia, *the 5th of* August, 1643.

Signed, *Anthony van Diemen,*
Francis Caron,
Justus Schouten,
Cornelius van der Lijn,
John Maatzuyker,
Solomon Sweers.

Thus matters remained in suspence betwixt the *Portuguese* and us, till the year 1644. when Mr. *Maatzuyker*, being authorized by their high and mightinesses, as also by the general and great council of the *Indies*, to treat with the count *d'Aveiras*, viceroy of *Goa*, concerning a firm truce, and to adjust the remaining differences for that purpose, (yet upon approbation of their respective masters,) the same at last concluded a truce the 10th of *November*, upon the following conditions.

Truce betwixt the Portuguese *and* Dutch *in the* Indies.

The conditions.

I. " BOTH parties declare that this " present agreement, intended for " the composing of such differences as " have hitherto occasioned much bloodshed, and obstructed the so-long-desired " peace, shall in no wise be deemed, or be " prejudicial to the rights and sovereignties either of the most illustrious king of " *Portugal*, or of their high and mightinesses the states-general of the *United* " *Provinces*, as the same are established (by " the truce agreed upon betwixt his *Portuguese* majesty, and the said states-general) in their respective cities, castles, fortresses, towns, harbours, and seas in the " *Indies*; and that this agreement shall be " inviolably observed on both sides immediately after its second publication at " *Goa*.

II. " Since the happy effects of the truce " have been obstructed hitherto by certain " differences arisen about the just division " of the limits in the isle of *Ceylon*, it is " agreed that the decision thereof shall be " entirely remitted to the respective masters and lords of both nations, and in " the mean while a full cessation of arms " and all hostilities to be kept inviolably, " and all forts, territories, and other matters, to remain in the same state as they " were at the day of the publication of " these presents at *Goa*; so that not the " least alteration or innovation is to be " made either in building, rebuilding, or *Baldæus.* " mending any thing, much less in making " any preparations either for a defensive " or offensive war.

III. " But that whilst the before-mentioned differences remain undecided, the " products of the country may not be neglected or lost by reason of the differences betwixt the possessors, it is agreed " that the same shall be divided into two " equal shares betwixt the *Portuguese* and " the *Dutch*, yet so that the same shall " be deposited (remain in custody) with " the last, till the decision of these differences by their respective principals " in *Europe*: whereby they oblige themselves at the same time to a full restitution in case the same be agreed upon " by the said principals. And the said " ambassador declares and protests, that " the word *deposited*, inserted at the request " of the viceroy (for the better adjusting " of matters) shall not in any wise be interpreted as prejudicial to the possession " and title of the states-general to these " lands and their products. And to avoid " all contests concerning the gathering of " these fruits, it is agreed the *Portuguese* " shall have full liberty to gather, without " any molestation or hindrance, such fruits " as grow in one part of the lands in dispute, *viz.* that part which is next adjacent to their fort; as on the other hand, " the *Hollanders* shall enjoy the same freedom in gathering the fruits in that half " part adjoining to their fortress. The " same is also to be understood of equally sharing the administration of justice " in these parts, lest malefactors may be " encouraged, and crimes pass unpunished, " by reason of the uncertainty of the administration of justice; publick proclamation hereof being to be made in this " isle by the respective governors of both " nations.

IV. " *Raja Singa* the king of *Candy* shall " be comprehended in this truce, (according to the third article,) with all his " kingdoms, provinces, and possessions.

V. " All proprietors, owners, or farmers in the villages, shall have full liberty to return to their possessions and farms, " of what nature soever, with their families, " provided they return within the space of " six months, either in person, or send their " deputies, and pay the usual taxes and " duties to those under whose jurisdiction " they live, without any trouble. And " that no inconveniencies may arise in point " of conscience, it is agreed, That liberty " of conscience shall be allowed, and the " free exercise of religion in all parishes or " villages, except in the fortified places be-

" longing

Baldæus. " longing to the *Hollanders*, till the before-
" mentioned deciſion be arrived out of *Eu-*
" *rope*.

VI. " The labourers of the iſle of *Ceylon*,
" called *Schalias*, employ'd in peeling of
" the cinnamon, ſhall have liberty to work
" with both parties, yet not without the
" conſent of that party under whoſe juriſ-
" diction they live; and the better to main-
" tain the truce, neither party ſhall be per-
" mitted to entice theſe labourers of *Ceylon*,
" or any other of the natives out of one an-
" other's ſervice, without mutual conſent,
" but ſhall be obliged to ſend them back
" to their reſpective dwelling-places.

VII. " All the goods ſeized on account
" of, or during theſe differences, ſhall be
" reſtored, or elſe the value thereof paid
" in money, provided they were actually
" in the poſſeſſion of either party, and not
" otherwiſe; upon which account the *Dutch*
" ambaſſador promiſes to pay here at *Goa*,
" or at *Suratte*, in the next following month
" of *January* at fartheſt, the ſum of one
" hundred thouſand *Spaniſh* reals, to be ac-
" counted for according to the true value
" thereof they bear at *Batavia*, as the pay-
" ment of the money ſhall be made, accord-
" ing to the courſe of money in thoſe places
" where theſe goods were taxed; to be un-
" derſtood of ſuch goods as, notwithſtand-
" ing the payment of the before-ſaid money,
" are found to remain as yet unſatisfied for
" from the 22d day of *February*, 1643.
" being a twelve-month after the ratifica-
" tion of his *Portugueſe* majeſty was ſent to
" the *Hague*.

VIII. " In caſe during this truce any dif-
" ferences ſhould ariſe betwixt both parties,
" this agreement ſhall remain firm and in-
" violable, and every thing remain in the
" ſame ſtate, till the deciſion of the reſpec-
" tive principals; and in caſe the nature of
" the matter admits of no delay, the ſame is
" to be referred to the determination of cer-
" tain arbitrators, to be choſen by both
" parties; and whilſt the ſame is in agi-
" tation, the pretended party to remain in
" poſſeſſion till the point is decided by the
" ſaid arbitrators.

IX. " This preſent agreement is not in
" the leaſt to be prejudicial to ſuch judg-
" ments or deciſions as have been made or
" given betwixt contending parties, or may
" be given for the future by our reſpective
" principals; but the ſame ſhall be regard-
" ed and taken as valid in all reſpects by
" both parties, notwithſtanding this agree-
" ment, intended only for the removing
" of differences till the ſame can be appro-
" ved of by our reſpective principals; which
" agreement for the ceaſing of all manner
" of hoſtilities, and maintaining a firm
" truce in the iſle of *Ceylon*, is promiſed by
" both parties to be publiſhed immediate- *Baldæus.*
" ly, and inviolably obſerved both in re-
" ſpect of the governors and ſubjects,
" as his excellency the viceroy engages
" the ſame for himſelf and his ſucceſſors,
" generals, and governors; and my lord
" ambaſſador for the ſtates of the *United*
" *Provinces*, and the *Eaſt India* company,
" purſuant to the authority granted him by
" the moſt noble *Anthony van Diemen*, ge-
" neral-governor of the *Indies*. In confir-
" mation whereof this agreement is autho-
" rized and confirmed by a ſolemn oath
" taken upon the goſpel in the preſence
" of the moſt reverend archbiſhop and
" primate of *Goa*, *Don Frey Franciſco de*
" *Martyres*, and *Don Alphonſo Medis*,
" patriarch of *Ethiopia*, members of the
" privy council of his majeſty, and in the
" preſence of the other privy counſellors of
" *Goa*, who have given their full appro-
" bation and conſent thereunto, as alſo
" in the preſence of *Wollebrand Gleynz*
" chief director in *Perſia*, *Abraham Fie-*
" *rens*, miniſter of the goſpel, *John Pot-*
" *tey* fiſcal, *Andreas Friſius* ſecretary, *Tho-*
" *mas Kuyk* head factor; who, together
" with his excellency the viceroy, and his
" excellency the ambaſſador, did ſet their
" hands to it; *Joſeph de Chaves Coto Ma-*
" *jor*, his excellency the viceroy's ſecreta-
" ry, having taken care to make the
" draughts thereof.

Signed thus,

Conde d'Aveiras,
John Maatzuyker,
Fr. Franciſco de Martyres,
Alphonſo Medis,
Franciſco de Melo de Caſtro,
Don Manoel Pereira,
Anthonio Saria Machado,
Anthonio Movis Baretto,
Joſeph Pinto Pereira,
Wollebrand Gleynz, jun.
Abraham Fierens,
John Pottey,
Don Bras de Caſtro,
Lovis Mugilhaon,
Andreas Friſius,
Andr. Selem.

" Several draughts of this agreement
" having been made both in *Latin* and
" *Portugueſe*, it is agreed betwixt the vice-
" roy and the ambaſſador, That in caſe
" any doubt ſhould ariſe about the inter-
" pretation of certain words, recourſe is to
" be had to the *Latin*, which being the
" original, is to be interpreted according
" to the plain ſignification of the words,
" without any collateral conſtruction: in
" confirmation of which this declaration

" was

Baldæus. " was thought fit to be made. Subſcribed " a ſecond time on the ſame day by the " under-written perſons.

Conde d'Aveiras,
John Maatzuyker,
Fr. Franciſco de Martyres Archbiſhop and Primate,
Alphonſo Medis Patriarch of *Ethiopia,*
Franciſco de Melo,
Don Manoel Pereira,
Anthonio Saria,
Anthonio Monis Baretto,
Joſeph Pinto Pereira,
Wollebrand Gleynz, jun.

In the year 1645. *January* 10. the diviſion of the limits in the iſle of *Ceylon* was agreed upon in the city of *Columbo*, *Don Philippo Maſcarenhas*, ſucceſſor to the count *d'Aveiras*, being then viceroy of *Goa*.

" THE countries betwixt *Columbo* and " *Negumbo* ſhall be divided into " two equal ſhares, according to their ſeve- " ral diſtricts, (called *Corles*,) as far as the " ſame can be done, to prevent the confu- " ſion which might otherwiſe ariſe from " the diviſion of the antient juriſdictions: " but in ſuch places where the ſame is not " to be done, this diviſion is to be made " by ſharing the villages; ſo that conſi- " dering there are ſeventeen diſtricts be- " twixt the two before-mentioned forts, " ſeven thereof are to be annexed to the " juriſdiction of *Columbo*, viz. *Herra Corla*, " *Omapauduna Corla*, *Quatigora Corla*, *Bi-* " *ligal Corla*, *Galbare Corla*, *Apitigan Corla*, " and *Pernacur Corla*, lying altogether to- " wards that ſide. To the fort of *Negumbo* " are to be annexed eight diſtricts, *viz.* " *Pitigal Corla*, *Diomede Corla*, *Urupula* " *Corla*, *Carvagal Corla*, *Vili Corla*, *Ma-* " *dura Corla*, *Hieriela Corla*, and *Mangur* " *Corla*; the reſt to be divided into two " equal ſhares, *Alicur Corla* by the river " *Dandagan* to be the common boundary " of both nations; ſo that part which lies " to the north ſhall belong to *Negumbo*, " and to *Columbo* what lies on this ſide. " The province of *Catugambala Corla* is to " be divided by the ſame river, together " with its three leſſer diſtricts, *Udacaba Pa-* " *toMienda Pato*, and *Jetigala Pato*; ſo that " *Jetigala* ſhall fall to the ſhare of *Ne-* " *gumbo*, and *Udacaba* to *Columbo*; but " *Mienda Pato* ſhall be divided into two " equal parts, in proportion to its villages, " ſuch villages as lie next *Jetigala Pato* to " be under the juriſdiction of *Negumbo*, " and thoſe on the ſide of *Udacaba* un- " der *Columbo*. The *Portugueſe* ſhall re- " main in the poſſeſſion of *Putelaon* and " *Calpentyn*; but the river of *Alican* is to *Baldæus.* " be the boundary betwixt *Columbo* and " *Gale*; ſo that part lying on the other " ſide of the river ſhall remain to the " *Hollanders*; but the other part on this " ſide, together with the river and har- " bour, to the *Portugueſe*, in the ſame " manner as they were formerly poſſeſſed of " it; under this condition however, That " the *Hollanders* living here, or in any other " parts, ſhall have the free uſe of the ſaid " river in fiſhing, or exporting and im- " porting their merchandizes without pay- " ing any cuſtoms. And whereas by the " ſeventh article of the agreement made at " *Goa* it was agreed, that the labourers " (called *Schalias*) who peel the cinnamon, " ſhall be employ'd by both parties, to pre- " vent all further differences for the future " upon this head, it is agreed, That the " *Hollanders* ſhall every year, in harveſt " time, ſend one half of theſe labourers " out of the villages of *Vili* and *Cofgure*, " under their juriſdiction on the other ſide " of the river *Alican*. to aſſiſt, as formerly, " the *Portugueſe* in peeling of cinnamon, " under condition that the cinnamon thus " peeled by them in the *Portugueſe* territo- " ries, ſhall be laid up in a certain place " upon the river *Dandagan*, to be divided " once every year in two equal ſhares be- " twixt the two parties, provided that each " party pay the uſual price to the *Schalias* " for the peeling of their ſhare of cinnamon. " This diviſion is to take place, and to " ſtand firm till the ſame be otherwiſe de- " cided by our reſpective principals in *Eu-* " *rope*, with this reſerve nevertheleſs in re- " gard of the *Hollanders*, who being igno- " rant hitherto in the true ſituation of the " country, may eaſily be deceived, in this " point; and therefore ought to have the " liberty to appeal to better judgment, and " deſire a recompenſation of their loſſes. " But in caſe the parties ſhould diſagree " upon this head, this ſhall not occaſion " any rupture, but the truce ſhall notwith- " ſtanding this remain in as full force, ac- " cording to the intent of the ninth article " of the before-mentioned agreement. *Don* " *Philippo Maſcarenhas* the preſent viceroy, " and Mr. *John Maatzuyker*, do alſo engage " to cauſe this treaty of the diviſion of the " limits to be publiſhed immediately, for " the general benefit of all ſuch as have any " concern therein, that the inhabitants of " this iſle may no longer remain in igno- " rance under whoſe juriſdiction they live; " and for the due performance thereof, " have confirmed the ſame with their oaths, " and ſubſcribed the draughts thereof both " in *Latin* and *Portugueſe*; yet ſo, that " in caſe of any doubt, recourſe is to be had " to the *Latin* original."

In

Baldæus. In the year 1647. a provisional agreement was made by *Don Philippo Mascarenhas*, the then viceroy, and *Cornelius van Sanen*, head-factor and director of *Wingurla*, for the adjusting of the differences concerning the fortress of *Malacca*.

Agreement betwixt Philippo Mascarenhas and Cornelius van Sanen.

"IN *the name of God, Amen.* Be it known to all who are concerned in "this present agreement, That 1647. *April* "18. the following agreement has been "made in the castle of the city of *Goa*, "in the presence of his excellency *Don* "*Philippo Mascarenhas*, viceroy of *Goa*, "and *Cornelius van Sanen*, head-factor and "director of *Wingurla*, authorized by the "governor-general and great council of the "*Indies*, for the adjusting of the differences "arising concerning some pretended rights "of the city and fortress of *Malacca*, con"cerning the customs and duties to be paid "at *Malacca*; several conferences having "been held with the merchants of *Macau*, "yet could not the same be reduced to any "just equilibrium, or settled upon a firm "basis, though we made as reasonable of"fers as possibly could be expected: so "that in case your excellency thinks it con"venient to proceed further in this matter, "you may treat upon this head with *Corne"lius van Sanen*, our head-factor at *Win"gurla*. By virtue of this commission, I "represented to the viceroy, that in point "of justice such of our ships as pass by "*Malacca* without unlading or selling "any of their commodities, ought to pay "no customs there: unto which his ex"cellency having given for answer, That "it appeared out of the treaties and wri"tings agreed upon betwixt both parties, "that they ought to pay the same, it was "thought fit, for the preventing of further "differences, and maintaining a good cor"respondence betwixt both nations, to "agree upon the following provisional "treaty, till the full decision of our re"spective principals; and with this pro"viso, That this agreement shall not in "the least tend to the prejudice either of *Baldæus.* "his *Portugueſe* majesty, or of the states"general, in their respective rights and "possessions. That his majesty's ships, "as well as the *Dutch* merchant-men bound "to *China*, or any other of the southern "parts, coming to *Malacca*, shall only be "obliged to pay six *per Cent.* for such "goods as they shall actually sell there; "the same to be paid to the *Dutch* from "all such goods as they shall sell in any "of his majesty's harbours. Pursuant to "the agreement made at *Batavia* by the "great council with the merchants of *Ma"cau*, in the presence of the reverend *Frey* "*Gonsalvo de S. Joseph*, each vessel, whe"ther small or great, bound to *Macau*, "whether it sells or unloads any goods at "*Malacca*, or not, shall pay two schuitleins "of gold for its passage thither and back"wards; from which duties, however, "are to be exempted his majesty's ships, "provided they may be searched, and an "oath taken thereupon, that they have no "merchandizes aboard; and if any are "found, the owners are to pay four and "a half *per Cent.* That such ships as pass "by *Malacca*, and are not bound to *China*, "shall pay four and a half *per Cent.* whe"ther they unload or sell any goods or "not; then they may proceed in their "voyage without any molestation. Which "agreement is to be published and strictly "observed by both parties, and confirmed "by oath, till the decision of our both "sides respective principals.

Signed, *Don Philippo Mascarenhas*,
Cornelius van Sanen,
Duarti de Fugeredo de Mello,
Frey Gonsalvo de S. Joseph,
Francisco de Melo de Castro,
Anthonio Souza Coutinho,
John van Teylingen, head-factor,
Anthony Ondermeulen,
Jacob Roscam,
Leendert Johnson.

CHAP. XVI.

A Description of Anchediva, Canara, Onor, Batecalo, Malabar. Cananor *built, and besieged by the* Malabars; *bravely defended by* Laurence de Britto; *besieged and taken by the* Hollanders.

The isle of Anchediva. THE isle of *Anchediva*, not far from *Goa*, and about fifty leagues from *Calecut*, is almost covered with woods and forests, but well stored with fish: the *Portugueſe* had formerly a fort here. *Sebajus*, the father of *Hidulcan*, sent a fleet of sixty ships to *Anchediva*, (whilst *Glineyda* was at *Cananor*,) to chase the *Portugueſe* from that island,

Baldæus. iſland, under the command of *Anthony Fernando*, a moſt impious wretch, who having forſaken both his religion, and the ſervice of his native country, turn'd *Mahometan*, aſſuming the name of *Abdala*; and being well verſed in maritime affairs, was in great favour with *Sebajus*. This renegado having landed a good body of men in this iſle, left no ſtone unturned to make himſelf maſter of the fort erected there by the *Portugueſe*: but being bravely defended by *Emanuel Paſſangie*, a native of *Genoa*, deſcended from a great family, and famous for his brave actions, *Abdala*, hearing of the return of the victorious fleet, was glad to leave both the fort and the iſle. The fort was not long after demoliſhed by the *Portugueſe* themſelves; who had been taught by experience, that too great a number of fortreſſes conſumed all their profit, and expoſes them beſides to no ſmall danger; like a hen who has more chickens than ſhe can protect with her wings, often loſes one by the rapacious kite.

The Portugueſe forts beſieged.

Is demoliſhed.

The reaſon thereof.

Canara The country of *Canara* is very fertile in rice and other neceſſaries of human life; its inhabitants, commonly called *Canarins*, are very robuſt, and fit for all manner of hard labour. The chief cities near the ſea-ſhore, are the city and kingdom of *Onor*, not far diſtant from *Goa*, where the *Portugueſe* had alſo a fort, it being formerly a place of conſiderable traffick. Next to *Onor* lies *Batecalo*, about twenty five leagues from *Goa*, the king whereof became tributary to the crown of *Portugal* under the reign of *Emanuel*; but refuſing afterwards to pay the uſual tribute, *Sequeria* ſent *Alphonſo Menes* with ſome ſhips to block up the harbour, which ſoon reduced the king to obedience. Afterwards the queen of *Batecalo* entertaining the pirates in her harbours, and refuſing likewiſe to pay the tribute, *Soſa* ſailed thither with forty nine ſhips and one thouſand five hundred land-men; and after he had caſt anchor in the harbour, ſent his meſſengers into the city to require the payment of the tribute, and the ſurrendering of the pirates. She being frighted at the ſight of ſo powerful a fleet, ſurrendered four of the pirates ſhips; but endeavouring for the reſt to detain the *Portugueſe* with fair words, theſe landed their men, not a little incommoded by the arrows ſhot at them by the inhabitants from the cocoa-trees; but having put themſelves in order of battle, they advanced towards the city, where they were (in the abſence of the queen) ſo warmly engaged by the inhabitants, that the combat remained doubtful for ſome time, till theſe being worſted, they ſet the city on fire, with the loſs of twelve men only on their ſide. In this action one *Almeyda*, a brave *Portugueſe*, *Baldæus.* ſeeing his comrade incloſed on all ſides by the enemy, fought his way through them; and having reſcued his companion, withſtood the whole force of the enemy, till he was relieved by a body of the *Portugueſe*. Afterwards they made incurſions into the country, which ſoon obliged the queen to conſent to the payment of the tribute.

Onor.

Batecalo.

Barcelor, *Baranor*, and *Mangalor*, being places of no great conſequence, deſerve no particular deſcriptions; wherefore we will proceed to the country of *Malabar*, which (according to common computation) begins about fifty leagues to the ſouth of *Goa*, and extends to the cape of *Comoryn*, to the utmoſt borders of *India*, on this ſide of *Ganges*. This whole country being full of rivers, is conſequently of an eaſy paſſage; though moſt of the rivers here are ſo ſhallow, that they are not capable of bearing any ſhips of bulk or burden. The largeſt rivers are *Bergera*, (a great receptacle for pirates,) *Panane*, and *Cranganor*, the common boundaries of the kingdoms of *Calecut* and *Cochin*: theſe, as well as the river of *Cochin*, are about eighteen or nineteen foot deep at high-water. The whole country of *Malabar* is divided into five kingdoms, viz. *Cananor*, *Calecut*, *Cranganor*, *Cochin*, and *Coulang*, unto which ſome add the kingdom of *Trevancor*, the leaſt fertile of all, and the two petty kingdoms of *Porca* and *Calecoulang*.

Malabar.

Its extent.

Its rivers.

In former ages *Malabar* was ſubject to one ſovereign prince, who kept his court at *Calecut*, now the reſidence of the great *Sammoryn*. This king having, at the perſuaſion of ſome of his courtiers, undertaken a voyage over the *Red Sea*, to viſit *Mahomet*'s tomb, and to be thorowly inſtructed in that faith, died in his return from thence; and leaving no iſſue, the whole empire was divided between his eſquire, ſword-bearer, and ſceptre-bearer: the firſt taking for his ſhare *Cananor*, the ſecond *Calecut*, and the third *Cochin*.

The ancient ſtate of Malabar.

Sammoryn, the emperor.

The nights are very cold all along the coaſt of *Malabar*, with very thick fogs, eſpecially in *January*, *February*, and *March*, when the days are exceſſive hot. They have every day a ſea and land wind; the firſt begins every morning at nine or ten a clock, and holds till ſunſet. This coaſt is ſcarce navigable from *June* till *November*, the beſt time here being from *April* till *June*. Their winter begins in *May*, and continues till *November*.

The climate.

And ſeaſons.

The chief products of *Malabar*, are pepper and cardamum: *Cochin* affords great quantities of pepper; but *Cananor* yields the beſt, eſpecially in the inland countries, whence

Products.

Baldæus. whence the *Moors* and other merchants from *Carnatica* and *Visiapour* use to fetch it in considerable quantities. The pepper of *Calecut* is lesser of grain than those of *Cananor* and *Cochin*. This commodity is generally cheaper at one place than another. They buy it by the canda, at the rate of three hundred and ninety or four hundred fanams a canda, a fanam being worth about ten pence of our money. In the year 1640. the price rose to four hundred and fifty fanams. The pepper delights in shady places; the stem is weak like those of the vines, and uses to be upheld by stalks like our hops: each stem bears commonly six bunches, every one a foot long, resembling in colour to our grapes before they are ripe. They are gathered green in *October* and *November*, and dry'd in the sun upon mats, when they turn black. Besides the pepper and cardamum, this country produces also ginger, and borborri of a saffron colour. Formerly these two commodities used to be sold for five fanams a man; it affords also some aloes, but in no great quantity. Besides these, *Malabar* affords very few commodities, except a few bezoar-stones,* found about *Cananor*, salt-petre, gummilacca, (though none of the best, being sold for a fanam the man,) and abundance of wax and honey.

Baldæus. His situation next to *Goa*. His residence is about three or four leagues in the country from the river of *Balipatan*; the extent of his kingdom is from *Montedely* to *Bergera*; he maintains a considerable number of musketeers and archers, who are very expert in managing their scymetars.

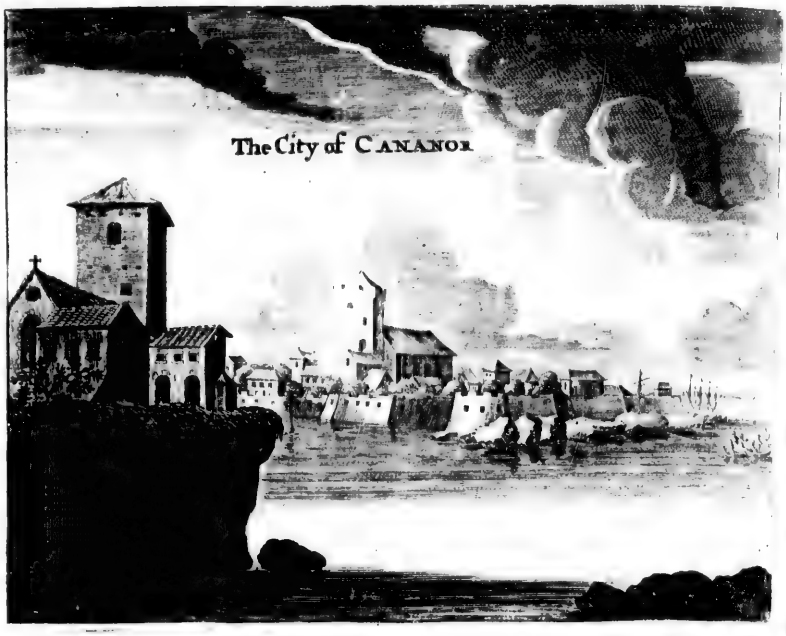
Cananor is a populous city, inhabited chiefly by rich *Mahometan* merchants, who live without, yet under the cannon of the fortifications. They had formerly a considerable traffick to *Suratte*, *Cambaja*, and the *Red Sea*, whither they used to send yearly twenty five or thirty ships; but this place is much decayed in trade of late years, and is likely to be worse. Cananor.

About two leagues to the south of *Cananor* lies the city of *Termapatan*, under the jurisdiction of a *Mahometan*; it is strengthened to the land-side by a good wall. The rebellious pirates of *Bergera* do considerable mischief to the king of *Cananor* and his subjects, who, as well as the other nations trading in these seas, are forced to buy passports of them for their security. They used formerly to infest these seas with forty frigates at a time, but are not so potent of late years, since the *Dutch* have frightened the *Portuguese* out of these parts; since which time they have now and then attempted the *Dutch*, as they did with the ship called the *Dolphin*, but got nothing but blows. Their chiefs are *Mahometans*, and the soldiers partly *Moors*, partly *Pagans*. Termapatan. *Pirates of Malabar.*

Cananor lies about forty leagues to the north of *Cochin*, having a spacious and secure harbour: the country thereabouts abounding in pepper, cardamum, ginger, mirabolans, tamarinds, &c. *Peter Alvarus Capralis*, commander in chief of the second fleet sent by *Emanuel* king of *Portugal* into the *Indies*, after having given a visit to the king of *Cochin*, and the great *Sammoryn*, came also to *Cananor*; where being kindly received, the king sent an ambassador along with him to the king of *Portugal*. *Almeyda* did erect here (with the king's consent) a strong fort for the security of their commerce; which being afterwards most vigorously attacked by those of *Calecut* and *Cranganor*, was bravely defended by *Laurence de Britto*, to his immortal honour. And upon this occasion it will not be beyond our purpose, to give you the reasons which induced the *Moors* to enter upon this war, which was accompany'd with many most remarkable actions. *The Portuguese build a fort at Cananor.*

The

* Found in the abdomens, and sold at five or seven reals a piece; some are as big as a hen's egg, and sold for twelve reals apiece.



Baldæus.

Reaſons why the Malabars *entered into a war with the* Portugueſe.

The *Portugueſe* having made themſelves maſters at ſea, not only on the coaſt of *Ethiopia*, but alſo of *India* and *Arabia*, would not permit the inhabitants of theſe countries to ſend out their ſhips without paſſports obtained from them; for which purpoſe they kept a ſtrict eye over all the *Malabars*, in a moſt peculiar manner. A certain *Portugueſe*, captain of a man of war, having attacked a veſſel of *Cananor*, which he ſuppoſed to have come from *Calecut* without a paſs, he cauſed the maſter thereof, and another perſon of note on board her, to be ſewed up in a cloth, and ſo threw them overboard; which being done not far from *Cananor*, the dead carcaſſes were caſt aſhore there. The inhabitants knowing the perſons, and underſtanding their fate, were ſo exaſperated at the *Portugueſe*, that they cry'd out for vengeance, and aſſaulted the fort. *Almeyda* offered them ſatisfaction, and caſhier'd the captain; but in vain, the *Moors* continuing obſtinate, and reſolving to revenge the death of their countrymen upon the *Portugueſe* in the fort.

Britto *ſends to* Almeyda.

Laurence de Britto being ſenſible that he muſt expect a formal ſiege, reſolved to ſtand the brunt bravely; and ſent his meſſengers to *Almeyda*, to deſire prompt ſuccours. In the mean time the king of *Cananor* was not idle, but having intrenched himſelf near the harbour, all along the ſea-ſide he erected certain forts, to cut off the communication betwixt the city and caſtle. At the ſame time being reinforced by twenty thouſand men, ſent from *Calecut*, they now reſolved upon a formal ſiege. There was a certain ſpring betwixt the city and caſtle, which being the only one whence the *Portugueſe* garriſon could be ſupplied with freſh-water, this occaſioned frequent and bloody skirmiſhes; ſo that they were forced to purchaſe their water with much effuſion of blood. *Laurence Britto* had with him in the fort a certain mathematician, named *Thomas Ferdinand*, by whoſe advice they digged from the fort underground to the ſpring, and by pipes conveyed it to the place where they had occaſion for it; ſo that after having ſupplied their own wants, they ſtopped in the next valley the ſpring; ſo that the *Moors* were forced to remove their camp from thence; but they in the fort enjoy'd the benefit thereof. They then began their attack on the other ſide, and by the help of ſacks filled with cotton, advancing to the ditch,

Baldæus.

The ſpring was afterwards incloſed within the fortifications.

Baldæus. ditch, filled it with faggots, and made a fierce assault; but being bravely repulsed by the *Portuguese*, and forced to retreat, these sally'd out upon them, and made a great slaughter of the barbarians.

These finding that force was not likely to do their business, resolved to reduce it by famine, knowing that the winter seasons would cut off all hopes of relief to the besieged. On the other hand, the *Portuguese* made many successful salleys upon them; in one of which a *Castilian*, named *Guadalajara*, charged with one hundred and fifty men, a strong body of the enemy, killing above three hundred of them upon the spot, and taking some of their great cannon. Soon after it happened unfortunately for the *Portuguese*, that a fire arising in the fort by the carelesness of a slave, some part of their magazines of provisions was consum'd, whereby a great scarcity being occasioned in the fort, many negroes run over to the enemy, and gave them a full account of the condition of the garrison, who were now forced to feed upon cats, rats, mice, &c. At last heaven was pleased to commiserate the miserable state of the *Portuguese*, by sending a prodigious quantity of locusts from the sea, (a thing not unfrequent in those parts,) which served them both for food and refreshment. The spring beginning to approach, when the *Sammoryn* fearing the besieged might be shortly reliev'd by their countrymen, redoubled his fury against the fort; and having sent them divers considerable supplies of men, (which had increased his army to fifty thousand men,) he resolved to try his utmost to reduce them by force, (the *Portuguese* being in the mean while supply'd with provisions by a certain prince of the country, an enemy to the *Sammoryn*.) *De Britto* having receiv'd intelligence that the enemy were preparing for a general assault, took care to guard all the avenues both on the sea and land-side. The *Moors* assaulted the *Portuguese* with their utmost fury, promising themselves an assured victory, by reason they continually relieved their men with fresh troops: but the *Portuguese* received them so warmly, that after a smart fight they put them to the rout, and pursuing them with great slaughter, the king of *Cananor* thought it his best way to make peace with the *Portuguese*.

Great distress in the fort.

Baldæus.

Peace with the king of Cananor.

Thus much of *Cananor*, whilst in the hands of the *Portuguese*: the next thing which falls under our consideration, is how it came to fall into the hands of the *Hollanders*. These having made themselves masters of *Cranganor*, *Cochin*, and *Coulang*, sailed 1663. from *Cochin* with a considerable fleet, and a good number of land forces, under the command of *Jacob Hustar*, *Peter du Pon*, *Henry van Rhede*, and divers other brave officers, for *Cananor*. Having landed their men, and soon made themselves masters of the city, (which was without defence,) they battered the fort with their great cannon, but without any great success, the bastions and ditches on the land-side being cut out of the rocks, and the fortifications to the sea-side impregnable. However, after a siege of few days the *Portuguese* considering, that by the taking of *Cochin* all hopes of relief were banished, they surrendred upon honourable terms; and the *Dutch* having put a garrison of two hundred men in the fort, entered into a strict alliance with the king of *Cananor*, 1664.

How Cananor *was reduced by the* Dutch.

Cananor surrendred to the Dutch.

CHAP. XVII.

A Description of Calecut *and* Panane. *The Arrival of* Vasco de Gama. *His Treaty with the* Sammoryn. Panane *fortified, besieged, and demolished by the* Portuguese. *Alliance betwixt the* Dutch *and the* Sammoryn. *The* Portuguese *Fort in* Calecut *attacked by the* Sammoryn, *and defended by* John de Lima.

Kingdom of Calecut.

THE second kingdom of *Malabar* is that of *Calecut*, under the jurisdiction of the *Sammoryn*: it begins about three or four leagues to the south of *Bergera*, and ends at the river *Cranganor*; its whole extent being in length thirty two leagues, and twenty in breadth. This king is the most potent of all the *Malabar* kings, having a considerable number of *Nairos* under his jurisdiction, who are very expert both in handling the bow and fire-arms. He has made considerable encroachments upon his neighbours of late years, the revenues of his new conquests amounting now to three hundred thousand *Fanams* yearly. The *Sammoryn*, who reigned 1662. was, when I saw him, not above fifty years of age, and yet much impaired in his intellectual parts by the excessive use of *Opium*, a drug much in request among the *Malabars*.

An. 1502. *the Sammoryn brought into the field sixty thousand men; and* 1529. *one hundred thousand.*

In the kingdom of the *Sammoryn*, and in most others along the coast of *Malabar*, the

Baldæus. the crown is not inherited by the ſon of the king, but by him who is next of kin to his mother or ſiſter; for they looking upon that as the ſurer ſide, they have introduced this cuſtom to prevent the baſtardizing of the crown. Thus the king who reigned 1642. was ſucceeded by his uncle on the mother's ſide, and he was to be ſucceeded by his ſiſter's ſon. The *Sammoryn* monopolizes all the pepper of the growth of his country, none of his ſubjects being allowed to ſell it to any but his factors.

An odd cuſtom of ſucceſſion to the crown.

Panane. Betwixt *Cananor* and *Calecut* lies the town of *Panane*, ſeated upon the ſea-ſhore: here the *Dutch* came 1607. to treat with the *Sammoryn*; but he being then in the field againſt the *Portugueſe*, the admiral ſent three deputies to him with a letter from prince *Maurice* of *Naſſau*. In this place the *Sammoryn* kept his reſidence at that time, when *Don Vaſco de Gama* came into theſe parts. He having caſt anchor before *Calecut*, diſpatched immediately a meſſenger to the *Sammoryn*, to give notice of his arrival, and to let the king know that the renown of his great name having reached the ears of the king of *Portugal*, his majeſty had entruſted him with a letter, which he being deſirous to deliver in perſon, therefore deſired leave to wait on his majeſty.

The *Sammoryn* being extremely pleaſed with the compliment, ſent immediately certain pilots to conduct the *Portugueſe* fleet into the harbour of *Capocate*, where there was much better and ſafer anchorage; from whence he was conducted with extraordinary pomp to the *Sammoryn*. *Baldæus.* *Gama comes to Panane.*

For *Don Gama* being got aſhore, attended by eight gentlemen richly attired, was received in the *Sammoryn*'s name by the *Catual*, (or he that manages all foreign affairs,) accompanied with a vaſt number of guards, hautboys, drums, and litters, and thence carried through *Calecut* to *Panane* (where the *Sammoryn* then reſided) under ſuch a vaſt concourſe of ſpectators, that ſeveral were crouded to death. At court *Gama* was welcomed by the *Caimales*, (or chief courtiers,) and afterwards by the high prieſt of the *Brahmans* dreſſed in white callico, who taking *Gama* by the hand, conducted him to many ſpacious apartments (at the door of each whereof ſtood about ten ſentinels) into a ſpacious hall, the walls and floor whereof were covered with rich tapeſtry, and carpets of ſilk and gold; the chief men of the kingdom ſitting round the hall upon wooden ſeats, artificially wrought one above another, like the ſeats in an amphitheatre. The *Sammoryn* himſelf was *Gama's reception at court.*

The Factory of the Provinces of Calecut aſſaulted by the Indians.

Baldæus. seated (according to the cuſtom of the country) upon an *Alkatyf*, or carpet, dreſſed in white fine callico, brocado'd with flowers of gold, adorned with divers rows of diamonds of great value: in his ears he had ſtately pendants of precious ſtones, and on his head a cap (after their country faſhion) covered with diamonds, pearls, and other precious ſtones; his bare feet being likewiſe adorned with rings ſet with all ſorts of precious ſtones.

The Sammoryn's dreſs.

One of the king's attendants offered his majeſty a golden veſſel with arrack and betel, which the *Indians* chaw almoſt continually to preſerve their teeth and gums, and treat their gueſts with it as we do with wine, ſtrong liquors being not much in uſe here. *Gama*, after having paid his obeiſance to the king, began thus:

Gama's ſpeech to the Sammoryn.

"EMANUEL, the preſent king of *Portugal*, my maſter, moved by the renown of the greatneſs of your majeſty among the kings of *Malabar*, has ſent me with credentials, to enter into a ſtrict league with you, in order to ſettle a firm correſpondence and commerce betwixt both nations; which my maſter would have been willing to have performed in perſon, had not the vaſt diſtance of your majeſty's dominions prov'd an invincible obſtacle to his generous intentions".

After which having delivered his preſents, the king anſwered by his interpreter:

The king's anſwer.

"THAT he had not the leaſt doubt of the good intentions of his brother *Emanuel*, king of *Portugal*, having ſuch convincing proofs thereof before his eyes, by honouring him with ſo ſplendid a legation, notwithſtanding the vaſt diſtance of their countries; that he was willing to enter with them into a ſtrict league and amity; and that they ſhould enjoy the benefit of a free commerce in his territories."

Then the king having asked them ſeveral particulars concerning their voyage, ſhipping, and traffick, order'd *Gama* to be conducted to the lodgings prepared for his reception.

The Moors endeavour to obſtruct the deſigns of the Portugueſe.

The news of this embaſſy ſoon came to the ears of the *Mooriſh* merchants in thoſe parts; who fearing, not without reaſon, that the *Portugueſe* would do them conſiderable miſchief in their traffick, joined with the *Arabians* trading in thoſe parts to hinder the conſummation of this treaty; for which purpoſe having purchaſed the favour of many of the courtiers by money, they inſinuated into the king, that *Gama* was no more than a great pirate, who endeavoured to get a footing in the king's dominions, which in time might prove his ruin; whereas he might reſt ſecure in his dominions by incouraging his ſubjects in their traffick with the excluſion of foreigners. Theſe inſinuations proved ſo effectual, that the *Sammoryn* began to give a favourable ear to them, and had, perhaps, proved of very ill conſequence to *Gama*, had not a certain *African*, a native of *Tunis*, who underſtood *Portugueſe*, and had formerly converſed with them, diſcovered the danger to him; who thereupon, without further delay, got aboard his own ſhips with his attendants, and having weighed his anchors, kept at a greater diſtance from the ſhore; whence he writ to the *Sammoryn*. *Baldæus.* *Gama gets privately aboard.*

"THAT the ill deſigns of the *Moors* againſt his perſon being diſcovered him, he had thought fit to retire aboard, to and to deſire his majeſty not to be diverted from his promiſe by their falſe inſinuations, aſſuring him that he would reap much more benefit by the friendſhip of the king of *Portugal*, than by the *Moors* and *Arabians*." *His letter.*

The *Sammoryn* promiſed the meſſenger to make a ſtrict enquiry after, and to puniſh ſeverely theſe offenders, who had infringed the law of nations; and in his letter to the king of *Portugal* aſſures him,

"THAT the arrival of the *Portugueſe* in his dominions was very acceptable to him, provided they might regulate themſelves ſo, as not to give any occaſion of diſturbance there; and that the league he was entering upon with his majeſty, might not prove prejudicial to the good correſpondence he had hitherto entertained with divers other nations." *The king's anſwer to it.*

Gama having received this letter, ſet ſail for the iſle of *Anchediva*, where having furniſhed himſelf with freſh proviſions, he returned to *Portugal*, to give an account of his tranſactions to king *Emanuel*. The famous *Vaſco de Gama* died 1524. being the firſt who diſcovered the paſſage into the *Eaſt Indies* by the cape of *Good Hope*.

And upon this occaſion I cannot paſs by in ſilence what is mentioned by *Ferdinand Lopes de Caſtanbeda**, *viz.* That *Gama*, with ſome of his retinue, being at *Calecut*, and entering into one of the pagan temples, paid their reverence to the images, as taking them for the ſame they had left in their own churches in *Portugal*; a convincing proof that ſuperſtition and idolatry very near reſemble one another. * *Hiſt. In l.* 1. c. 16.

Panane being well fortified by the *Sammoryn* with two forts, erected on both ſides of the entrance of the harbour, the *Portugueſe* notwithſtanding, this reſolve to attempt it. They no ſooner appeared in ſight of the harbour, but a certain number of the *Panane.*

Mahometans

Baldæus. *Attack'd by the Portugueſe.*

Mahometans aſſociated themſelves in one of the pagodes, and with direful execrations engaged to one another to defend the city, or die in the attempt. *Triſtan d' Acunha*, the *Portugueſe* general, detached a certain body of his beſt troops, under the command of *Laurence* and *Nonnius*, in ſmall galleys, to lead the van, being to be followed by the great ſhips: theſe entered the harbour with unſpeakable bravery, notwithſtanding the enemy's fire, who ſent their great and ſmall ſhot very thick upon them from both ſides of the ſhore, but without any conſiderable effect, moſt of their bullets paſſing over their heads, becauſe the ſoldiers kept cloſe, lying upon their bellies in the galleys. The enemy ſeeing them, enter'd the harbour, leap'd in whole troops into the water, attacking them with incredible fury, in hopes of boarding them: but the *Portugueſe* ſtood to it with ſo much reſolution, that at laſt they forced the *Indians* to give way; and purſuing them to the ſhore, made themſelves maſters of the two forts, and ſet fire to all the ſhips in the harbour, which were richly loaden, as alſo to the city. In this action a certain *Portugueſe* enſign, with his ſoldiers, did wonders, and the *Mahometans* fought like lions; but one of their commanders, a fellow of a huge bulk, being ſlain by *Laurence*, the reſt betook themſelves to their heels. The *Indians* loſt five hundred men in this engagement, and the *Portugueſe* about twenty two. After which *Almeyda* and *Acunha* ſailed to *Cananor*, from whence the firſt ſteered his courſe to *Cochin*, and the ſecond for *Portugal*. About *Panane* grows, beſides cardamum, the beſt pepper, and is ſold here at a very reaſonable rate.

The forts taken.

Baldæus. *Five hundred ſlain of the Indians.*

Thus much of *Panane*: we will now proceed to give you an account of *Calecut*, the capital city of *Malabar*, and the reſidence of the *Sammoryn*, where *Steven van der Hagen*, the then *Dutch* admiral, in 1604. entered into a ſtrict league with that king, who granted a free commerce to the *Dutch* throughout all his dominions. Many years before the *Portugueſe* had obtained the ſame liberty of the *Sammoryn*, who had aſſigned them certain habitations in that city; ſo that they began to flouriſh in their commerce, and the *Portugueſe* prieſts were very ſucceſsful in the converſion of many of the pagans. This exaſperated the *Moors* and *Arabians*, who inticed the *Nairos* (always greedy after prey) to fall, to the number of four thouſand, upon the

Calecut.

League between the Dutch and the Sammoryn.

The Reception of Don Vaſco de Gama by the Sammoryn.

Baldæus. *Portugueſe* (not above ſeventy ſtrong) in their factory, who were almoſt all maſſacred by them.

Portugueſe maſſacred.

Pedro Alvarez Capral, the *Portugueſe* general in thoſe parts, being informed of this barbarous attempt, and finding that the *Sammoryn* had not been altogether ignorant of the matter, to revenge the death of his countrymen, burnt ten of their merchant ſhips richly loaden, battered the city with his great guns, and killed them above ſix hundred men. The ſame treatment theſe barbarians received afterwards from *Meneſes*. We will not in this place pretend to give a particular account of all the differences and warlike exploits of the *Portugueſe* here, and of the famous actions of *Albuquerque*, *Henry Meneſes*, *James Sylveria*, *Capral*, &c. we will only mention in this place, that the *Portugueſe* having found means to erect a fort at *Calecut*, by the connivance of *Nanbeadar*, the old *Sammoryn*'s ſiſter's ſon, (who favoured the *Portugueſe*,) the kings of *Cananor* and *Cochin* were ſo nettled thereat, that they did not deſiſt till they had engaged the *Sammoryn* to attack it.

Their death revenged.

The Portugueſe fort beſieged.

It being then in the winter ſeaſon, when the *Portugueſe* could ſcarce expect any relief, and the fort provided with a garriſon of three hundred men only, they were driven to great diſtreſs. A certain renegado, a native of *Sicily*, who had ſerved as an engineer in the ſiege of *Rhodes*, directing the *Moors* in their attack. Hereupon *John de Lima*, governor of the fort, did all he could to defend himſelf, in hopes of the approaching ſpring; and having extended his fortifications (by means of great casks filled with ſand) to the ſhore, ſent notice of his diſtreſſed ſtate to *Henry de Meneſes*, who without delay ſent one hundred and forty land ſoldiers aboard two ſhips, commanded by *Chriſtopher Juſart* and *Edward Fonſeca*, to his relief; but the laſt being becalmed near the ſhore of *Calecut*, and the other not having above eighty men aboard, *John Lima* did not think it adviſable to land with ſo ſmall a number, as being not ſufficient to break through the enemies works into the fort. However *Juſart* being reſolved to venture at all, landed in a boat with thirty volunteers, who fought their way through the enemy, and with the loſs of four of their men reached the fort, which in the mean while was aſſaulted by the barbarians, who were ſo warmly received by the *Portugueſe* grenadeers, that they were glad to retire in great confuſion to their works.

Bravery of the Portugueſe.

Soon after *Fonſeca* arriving with his ſhip, convey'd a letter, faſtened to an arrow into the fort, intimating his arrival, and deſiring his inſtructions how to ſerve him. *Lima* ſent an anſwer, That he thought it not adviſable to expoſe himſelf and his men to the ſame danger as *Juſart* had done, but that he ſhould return with all ſpeed to *Meneſes*, and ſollicit a ſuccour of five hundred men, with a good quantity of ammunition, wherewith he did not queſtion but to defend the place. *Fonſeca* being returned to *Cochin*, and having delivered his meſſage to *Meneſes*, he diſpatched immediately *Anthony de Sylva*, with ſome ſhips for the relief of the beſieged, whilſt he was making all neceſſary preparations to follow with a much greater force in the ſpring.

Baldæus. *Fonſeca ordered not to land.*

The *Sammoryn* fearing the worſt, left no ſtone unturned to oblige the beſieged to a ſurrender before that time; and the beforementioned *Sicilian* having done his utmoſt endeavours with mines, mortars, and battering pieces, but in vain, he reſolved to reduce them by famine, which he might queſtionleſs have effected, had he had only a ſmall ſquadron of ſhips to block up the harbour. But the beſieged being from time to time ſupplied with proviſions and refreſhments by ſmall boats, which entered in the night time, they held it out bravely till ſpring; when *Meneſes* arriving with fifteen hundred *Portugueſe*, landed his men, and having put the *Malabars* to the rout, with the loſs of three thouſand men on their ſide, (among whom was alſo the *Sicilian*,) the *Sammoryn* was ſo terrified thereat, that to prevent his country from being ravaged by the *Portugueſe*, he clapped up a ſudden peace; and the *Portugueſe* judging the fort too chargeable to keep, did afterwards demoliſh it of their own accord; in the ſpringing up of which many *Malabars* (greedy after prey) were blown up into the air.

The fort relieved.

And demoliſhed.

Notwithſtanding this peace, the *Sammoryn* let ſlip no opportunity of doing miſchief to the *Portugueſe*, being encouraged thereunto by the differences ariſen betwixt the *Portugueſe* generals, as betwixt *Meneſes* and *Gama*, and *Sampajo* and *Maſcarenhas*, about the viceroyſhip, which had almoſt proved fatal to the *Portugueſe* affairs in the *Indies*. This is evident from a letter writ by *Chriſtopher de Souſa* to the ſaid *Sampajo*; in which he repreſents to him the danger unto which the *Portugueſe* (a ſmall number in compariſon of their enemies) were expoſed daily in the *Indies*, by his difference with *Maſcarenhas* about the viceroyalty, exhorting h'm not to have recourſe to violence, but th arbitration of ſuch perſons as were competent judges; telling him, That in caſe of refuſal he muſt not expect to be obey'd by him. Which coming from a perſon noted for his courage, liberality, and generoſity in theſe parts, did not a little abate the haughtineſs of *Sampajo*; and *Maſcarenhas* returning into *Portugal*, was favourably received by the king, who having recalled *Sampajo*, obliged him to

Differences among the Portugueſe generals.

Baldæus. give full ſatisfaction to *Maſcarenhas* for the impriſonments, affronts, and damages, he had ſuſtained upon that account. For the more ample relation of which, we refer ourſelves to the *Portugueſe* hiſtorians. From *Calecut*, we will turn towards *Cranganor*, in order to give you a deſcription of its origin and ſituation, and by what means it fell into the hands of the *Hollanders*. *Baldæus.*

CHAP. XVIII.

A Deſcription of Cranganor: *How it was beſieged, and taken by the* Dutch: *Its Excellencies. The Iſle of* Vaypin. Cochin *fortified: Its Inhabitants, Buildings, Plenty of Proviſions,* &c. *Is beſieged the firſt Time by the* Dutch, *who raiſed the Siege.*

The river and city of Cranganor.

CRANGANOR lies five leagues to the north of *Cochin*, and twenty to the ſouth of *Calecut*, upon a ſandy hill. On the ſouth ſide of the entrance of the river, is built a ſmall fort called *Paliport*; a mile above which, higher up the river, lies the city and fortreſs of *Cranganor*, a place ſtrongly fortified by the *Portugueſe* at divers times; for in the beginning they had only a tower, which they afterwards ſtrengthened by a wall, and at laſt encloſed the whole by regular fortifications of earth. The king of *Cranganor* keeps his reſidence not far from *Cranganor*. He that then reigned was a young, luſty, and tall perſon, a declared enemy of the *Portugueſe*, as well as the *Sammoryn*.

In the year 1661. after the *Dutch* had made themſelves maſters of *Coulang*, and by ſtrengthening the ſame with fortifications, and a good garriſon, had ſecured the ſouth ſide, they thought it expedient (before they attempted the conqueſt of *Cochin*) to get alſo a firm footing on the north ſide at *Cranganor*, eſpecially ſince they feared they might be obliged to paſs the winter thereabouts, it being in *December*. Accordingly we landed our men; but found (beyond expectation) the fortifications in ſuch a ſtate, as not to be attacked without great cannon. Above fourteen days being ſpent in raiſing batteries, making of trenches and breaches, but to no great purpoſe, and the approaching ſeaſon obliging us to carry on the ſiege with all poſſible expedition, it was reſolved (upon intelligence given by a certain perſon, concerning the condition of the place) to attack the point next to the river on *Sunday*, *Jan.* 15. 1662. very early in the morning.

Is beſieged by the Dutch.

And taken by ſtorm.

The ſignal being given accordingly by a cannon-ſhot, our forces advanced under the favour of the ſmoke of our great artillery to the bulwark, which they took with ſword-in-hand, chaſing the *Portugueſe* thence to the jeſuits church. In this action the *Dutch* captains, *Poolmann*, *Schulenburg*, and *Simon Werding*, as alſo lieutenant *Sylveſter*, acquired immortal honour, being ſlain as they were mounting the breach, with ſeventy eight common ſoldiers, and many wounded.

On the *Portugueſe* ſide above two hundred chriſtians were killed, beſides a great number of the *Nairos*; and among the reſt, *Urbano Fialho Ferreira* the governor of the place. *Lo'ſmish* ſoldiers.

The *Portugueſe* then hung out a white flag, deſiring a parley upon reaſonable conditions, which were granted them; and by virtue thereof the *Portugueſe* ſoldiers tranſported into *Europe*. During this ſiege we found the nights very cold, though the days were almoſt inſupportable by the exceſſive heat. And after the conqueſt thereof, being ordered to preach the thankſgiving ſermon in one of the pariſh churches, (of which there were ſeven,) I pitched upon a text in *Deuteronomy* xxiii. 14.

The *Hollanders* judging it at that time convenient to ſurrender the place into the king's hands, the ſame was done accordingly; but regained and refortified the ſame after ards, when they found themſelves engaged in a war with the *Sammoryn*, who made frequent excurſions as far as *Cochin*, a thing ſo common among theſe barbarians, that no ſettled peace can be expected with ſo many kings.

And upon this occaſion I cannot ſufficiently commiſerate the condition of the inhabitants of the countries about *Cranganor* and *Cochin*, who being guided by ignorant *Romiſh* prieſts, are in great danger of falling by degrees into paganiſm again, the diſtrict of *Cranganor* having formerly been ſo conſiderable for the great numbers of chriſtians of *St. Thomas* (as they are called) inhabiting there, that a *Portugueſe* archbiſhop had his reſidence in that city. It is the general opinion here, that *St. Thomas* the apoſtle coming firſt to *Socotora*, an iſle at the entrance into the *Red Sea*, there preached the goſpel with good ſucceſs; whence coming to *Cranganor* and *Coulang*, he converted a great number to the chriſtian faith. *Cranganor an archbiſhoprick.*

CHAP. XVIII.

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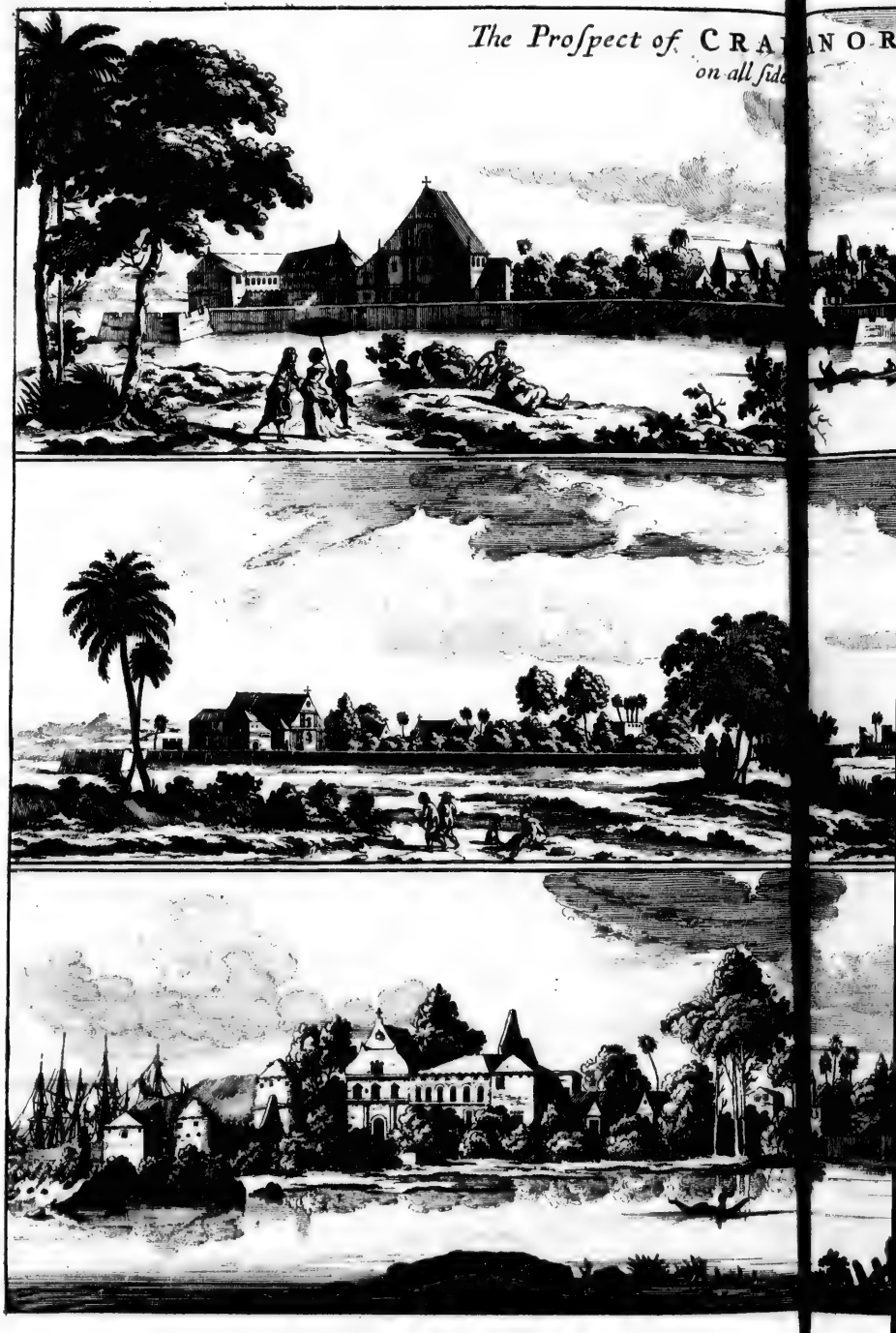
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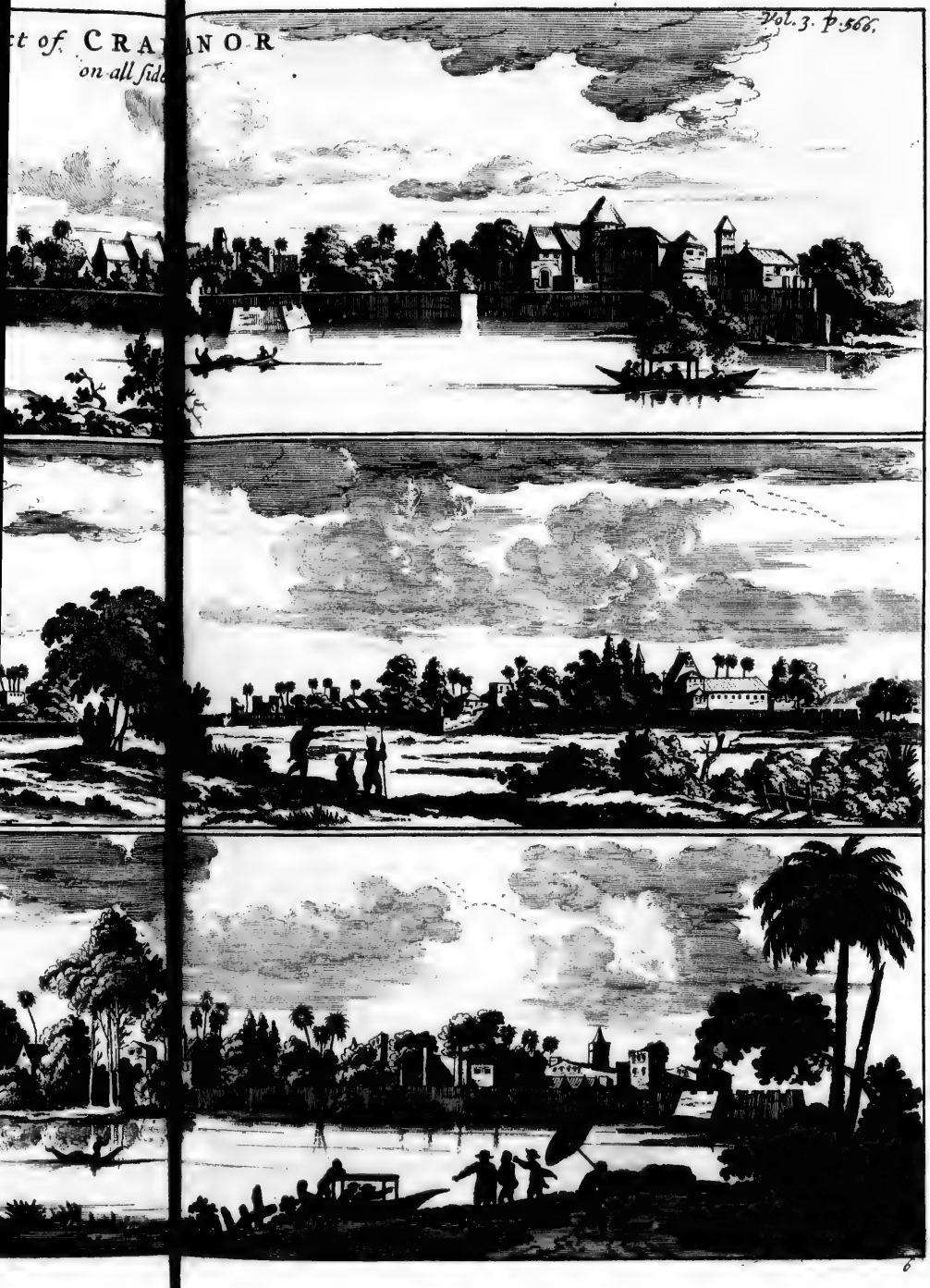

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Baldæus. faith. From hence taking his way through *Coromandel* into *China*, he returned to *Maliapour*, where he ſuffered martyrdom. But of theſe chriſtians of *St. Thomas* we ſhall have occaſion to ſay more hereafter, our preſent purpoſe being to ſay ſomething of the ſtate of affairs in the *Portugueſe* times.

The jeſuits college. Firſt then, at our arrival at *Cranganor*, we found there a noble college of the jeſuits, with a ſtately library belonging to it, the ſtructure itſelf being not inferior to many in *Europe*; beſides the church of the *Franciſcans*, they had a ſtately cathedral, adorned with the tombs of the archbiſhops of this place. Without the wall of *Cranganor*, was the college of *Chanotte*, famous for the reſort of the chriſtians of *St. Thomas* hither, who exerciſed their religious worſhip here in the *Syriac* language; and having erected a ſchool for the education of their youth, had ſeveral maſters and prieſts of their own; of which more in the deſcription of *Cochin*.

The college of Chanotte.

This language being in high eſteem among the natives here, and uſed ſometimes alſo by our ſaviour and his apoſtles, not only a printing-houſe, but a ſeminary has been erected at *Rome* for the cultivating thereof, and propagating the ſame among the youth.

The Syriac language propagated at Rome. Thus, 1622. a *Syriac* dictionary was publiſhed at *Rome* by *John Baptiſt Ferrarius*, a native of *Siena*; and the *Syriac* grammar of *Georgius Ameira*, a famous divine and philoſopher of the college of the *Maronites*, born near the mount *Libanus*. And 1628. *Abrahamus Ecchelenſis* obliged the world with his *Introduction to the Fundamentals of the Chriſtian Faith* in the ſame language. Whence it is evident that the *Roman* clergy exceed ours, in their zeal of propagating the *Roman* religion; though on the other hand, it muſt be allow'd that their plenty furniſhes them with ſufficient opportunities of performing of thoſe things, which the *reformed miniſters* for want of means are forced to let alone. I have ſeen divers books printed with the *Portugueſe* characters, in the *Malabar* language, for the inſtruction of the *Paruas*; one whereof I keep by me to this day; though at the ſame time I muſt confeſs, that in caſe we ſhould follow the ſame method in printing with our characters, though in their language, it would not have the ſame effect, they being much bigotted both to the *Roman* clergy, and the *Portugueſe* language; ſo that I have met with ſome of the *Paruas*, who ſpoke as good *Portugueſe* as they do at *Lisbon*. For the reſt, the products of *Cranganor* are the ſame as in the other parts of *Malabar*, except that now and then they meet with ſome gold duſt, but in no great quantity.

The iſle of Vaypin. Betwixt the river of *Cranganor* and that of *Cochin*, lies the iſle of *Vaypin*. When the *Dutch*, in *February*, 1662. beſieged *Cochin* the firſt time, they erected a fort upon the bank of the river, from whence they battered the place, the river being there not above a muſket-ſhot over. This fort was called the *New Orange*; and here we found a goodly edifice, formerly belonging to the biſhop of the place, as alſo a very large church, in which I preached the 29th of *Jan.* 1662. The iſle itſelf is tolerably fertile, under the juriſdiction of the king of *Cochin*, whoſe dominions extend from the river of *Cranganor*, ſix leagues ſouth of *Cochin*, the whole length being about ten leagues. The kings of *Cochin* have always kept firm to the *Portugueſe* intereſt, ever ſince *Triumpara*, being conquered by the king of *Calecut*, ſought for refuge among the *Portugueſe*, who reſtored him to his kingdom, though he afterward preferred a private life before his crown. Baldæus.

Cochin is a very antient city; but was not fortify'd till 1504. in the time of the two *Albuquerques*, who ſet ſail 1503. from *Belem* in *Portugal*; and after many ſmart engagements with the *Sammoryn*, *Alphonſus* returned into *Portugal*, where he obtained the ſirname of *The Great*, his actions being deſcribed in a peculiar treatiſe publiſhed at *Lisbon* 1576. by *John Batreira*. Soon after the *Portugueſe* built a church there, and entered into a league with the *Sammoryn*, and the fortifications were conſiderably augmented by *Edward Patieco*, and a wall erected by *L. Vaſco* towards the ſea-ſide. In ſome years after this city began to increaſe ſo conſiderably, that it might compare with ſome of the beſt in *Europe*, its length being near two *Engliſh* miles. Cochin.

Chriſtians and mahometans brought firſt together. At firſt the chriſtians and mahometans lived promiſcuouſly in the city, which occaſioning frequent diſturbances, *Albuquerque* obtained from the king *Naubeadora*, that each ſhould have their peculiar quarters aſſigned them to live in. In and about the city of *Cochin* lived alſo formerly ſome *Jews*, who even now have a ſynagogue allowed them without the fortifications; they are neither white nor brown, but quite black. The *Portugueſe* hiſtories mention, that at a certain time certain blaſphemous papers againſt our ſaviour, with ſome ſevere reflections againſt the jeſuit *Gonſalvus Pereira* (who afterwards ſuffered martyrdom at *Monopatapa*,) being found in a box ſet in the great church for the gathering of alms, and the ſame being ſuppoſed to be laid there by ſome *European Jews*, who now and then uſed to reſort thither privately, this gave occaſion to introduce the inquiſition into *Goa*.

Cochin may for its bigneſs juſtly challenge the ſecond place after *Goa* among the *Indian* cities formerly in the poſſeſſion of the *Portugueſe*, though at preſent it is not near

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Baldæus. so big as the city of *Batavia*. Its situation lies at ten degrees of north latitude, bordering to the west upon the sea, and the river has about seventeen or eighteen fathom water at high tide; but its entrance is very difficult in the winter-time, being commonly choaked up by the sands which are carried thither by the stream in the winter-season; which, however, are again removed by the violence of the current in the summer-time.

About *Cochin*, as well as all along the coast of *Malabar*, they have every day two sorts of winds, *viz.* the land-wind, beginning in the evening; and the sea-wind, at ten in the morning. *Cochin* is not accounted so wholesome as most of the other places seated on the coast of *Malabar*, by reason of its situation in low and marshy grounds, but abounds both in fish and flesh; and its situation is extremely delightful, by reason of the many brooks and adjacent little islands in the river, wherein many of the *Portuguese* have built themselves very pleasant summer-seats.

The river runs on the back-side of the best houses of the city, where they catch fish with casting-nets, at which the *Chinese*, inhabiting here, are very dexterous. Formerly this city could boast of divers stately churches, since demolished by the *Dutch*. The jesuits church and college facing the sea-shore, had a lofty steeple, and a most excellent set of bells: the college, which was three stories high, and contained about twenty or thirty apartments, being surrounded with a strong wall. The cathedral was also a noble piece of architecture, adorned with two rows of pillars, and a lofty steeple.

Antient churches and convents of Cochin.

The church and convent of the *Austin* friers stood upon the bank of the river; and the church of the *Dominicans*, with their convents, were two rare pieces of workmanship, beautified with a double row of pillars of most excellent stone. The church and monastery of the *Franciscans* is the only that remains standing as yet, but has no more than two brothers left, who are allow'd the free exercise of their religion.

The best houses of *Cochin* have their court-yards and gardens belonging to them, enclosed with very thin, yet strong and high walls, so that the neighbours cannot overlook one another. The situation of the city is much more in length than breadth, without any channels in the streets; however, that end towards the sea-side is much broader than the other, as may be seen by the annexed draught; which also representing an exact view of its fortifications, we will refer the reader to it.

The Malabar Cochin.

The *Malabar Cochin* is seated somewhat lower, and built after the *Indian* fashion, with very broad streets: it is very populous, and the royal palace is built with bricks and mortar after the *European* way, with apartments very spacious and lofty; near which stands the *Pagode*, with a very large cistern adjoining to it. *Baldæus.*

Anno 1662. in *February*, at the time of our first landing before *Cochin*, the *Nairos* inhabiting hereabouts (notwithstanding we positively declared we were no enemies of the king, but only of the *Portuguese*) assembled in great numbers in this palace and the *Pagode*, and from thence assaulted our forces; which obliged us to drive them from thence, with the slaughter of four hundred on their side, they fighting very desperately, by reason they had beforehand inroxicated their brains with very large doses of *Opium*. The old queen of *Cochin* being taken prisoner in the fray, by *Henry van Rheede* an ensign, was kept in safe custody for some time after.

Four hundred Nairos slain.

The queen of Cochin taken prisoner.

Afterwards we began to form our attacks against the *Portuguese Cochin* in three several places; that on the land-side near the church of *St. Thomas*, (which served us for a chapel and hospital,) being commanded by the general in person; that along the sea-side, by *Yibrand Gotsken*; and the third, near the river by the commodore *Roothaus*. After some time spent in making of trenches, and raising of batteries, it was thought expedient to surprize the enemy on that side near the river. The first *Sunday* in *February* being appointed for that purpose, captain *Peter Wash* was ordered to begin the assault with a certain detachment at four a clock in the morning: but it being after sun-rising before they could reach the place, the *Portuguese* took the alarm; and being timely sustained by fresh troops drawn thither by the ringing of the bells, gave such a warm reception to the *Hollanders*, that after a most obstinate engagement, they were forced to sound the retreat, with the loss of divers of their best men, and among them the beforementioned captain, who was killed by two musket-bullets. The general *Ryclos van Goens* and the commodore *Roothaus* were also both in great danger, the first receiving several shots through his hair, the last being likely to have been cast into a deep well.

An unsuccessful assault upon Cochin.

Notwithstanding this disappointment, the trenches were carried on with all imaginable speed, though not without great difficulty, by reason of the marshy grounds, which cost us a good number of men, more than we could conveniently spare at that time, when our forces were not a little weakened before, we having left at least three hundred sick and wounded at *Coulang*, and a considerable garrison at *Cranganor*, and in the fort of *New-Orange* on the point of the isle of *Vaypin*. We continued, however, to batter the town incessantly with

Baldæus. our great artillery, and to omit nothing we thought might annoy the enemy; till a whole month being ſpent in this ſiege, and the number of our men reduced to fourteen hundred, we began to conſider of the approaching winter, the uncertainty of the event, and the want of ſeveral things neceſſary to carry on a long ſiege; ſo that after mature deliberation, it was judged neceſſary to raiſe the ſiege, and delay the execution thereof to a more convenient time.

The ſiege raiſed.

Accordingly our cannon, ammunition, and other moveables, being ſent aboard upon floats, the general made a ſafe retreat in the night-time, without beat of drum; and the better to cover his deſign, had gained a certain *Jew* by money to make the clock of *St. Thomas* church ſtrike as uſually: to which alſo contributed not a little the ingenious invention of a certain gunner, named *Henry Boerdorp*, who went the rounds all night long, and calling, *Who is there? Stand*, and that in a different tone, deceived the enemies centinels, that they had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of our retreat; ſo that all the *Dutch* forces got ſafely aboard, without the loſs of as much as one man, except a negro ſlave. When the *Dutch* ſoldiers ſaw the artillery and baggage going on board, they were not a little diſſatisfied thereat; but being appeaſed by commodore *Roothaus*, who told them that it was done only to ſecure them againſt the enemy, who intended to make a general ſalley, they were afterwards glad to follow their officers directions in the retreat *Baldæus.*

Threatens of the Dutch.

It was almoſt noon before the *Portugueſe* were convinced of our retreat, as ſuſpecting the ſame to be only a ſtratagem to draw them into an ambuſh; but when they ſaw us weigh our anchors, they expreſſed their joy with the diſcharge of their cannon round the walls. The *Dutch* general having left a ſufficient garriſon for the guard of the fort of *New-Orange*, another at *Cranganor* under the command of captain *Verſpreet*, and conſtituted *Peter du Pon*, a brave ſoldier, commander in chief of all the forces in thoſe parts, ſailed to *Coulang*; which place being likewiſe provided with all neceſſaries, he took his courſe towards *Batavia*, with an intention to give *Cochin* a ſecond viſit in the ſpring; which he did accordingly with better ſucceſs.

CHAP. XIX.

The Iſle of Formoſa *ſurprized by the* Chineſe. Cochin *beſieged a ſecond Time by the* Dutch, *is forced to ſurrender; the chief Articles of the Capitulation, The City made more compact, and ſtrengthened with regular Fortifications. The Roman Catholick Biſhop of the Chriſtians of* St. Thomas *comes to* Cochin. *His Original Bull of Indulgence.*

BY this time we were ſufficiently inform'd of the miſerable ſtate of our countrymen in the iſle of *Formoſa*; (which the *Portugueſe* would often upbraid us with during the ſiege.) A compleat account whereof would be perhaps too tedious, and looked upon as beyond our purpoſe; therefore I will only for the ſatisfaction of the reader, inſert a letter written by the reverend Mr. *John Kruyf*, miniſter of the goſpel there in the fort of *Zealand*, and afterwards at *Negapatan* on the coaſt of *Coromandel*, (where he died,) and directed to me and Mr. *A. Breyl* my fellow-miniſter in theſe parts.

" AFTER my arrival here the 6th " of *October* with my family, I was " ſeized with ſo violent a fever, as diſabled " me to write to you, yet did not hinder " me to remember my hearty ſervice to " you by Mr. *Roos*, captain of our ſhip, " and the factor Mr. *Reuf*. Whether the " ſame was brought to you, or not, I am " ignorant as yet, having for ſome time " after been ſo dangerouſly ill with my " diſtemper, that my recovery was almoſt " deſpaired of; but am now by God's pe- " culiar mercy ſo far recovered, that I " went firſt to church on *Thurſday* laſt, " and preached twice the *Sunday* following, " and intend to viſit the ſick to morrow, " and to adminiſter the holy ſacrament on " *Sunday* next. To give you a particular *Miſerable condition of Formoſa.* " account of the late miſerable ſtate of the " iſle of *Formoſa*, is both beyond the " compaſs of a letter, and my preſent " ſtrength; and though I tremble at the " very thoughts of it, yet will I mention " the chiefeſt tranſactions: The firſt aſſault " of the furious *Chineſe* was made againſt " the caſtle of *Sacam*, whereabouts, after " they had cut ſome of our ſoldiers in " pieces, they took my eldeſt ſon and my " wife's brother, who, though very young, " had one of his arms cut off. The next " day our ſhip, called the *Hector*, being

Baldæus. "engaged with a vaſt number of *Chineſe* "*Joncks*, was blown up, and in her ſome "of our beſt ſoldiers, among whom was "alſo my father-in-law *Thomas Pedel*. The "fort of *Sacam* being, after a defence of "a few days, forced to ſurrender for want "of freſh water and other neceſſaries, the "miniſters, officers, ſchoolmaſters, ſol-"diers, and in general all the inhabitants "of the flat country, were forced to make "the beſt terms they could for themſelves. "The ſquadron of ſhips commanded by "Mr. *Kauw*, (after it had for a ſmall "time rejoiced our drooping ſpirits,) be-"ing diſperſed by tempeſts, and the ſhip "the *Urk* forced upon the ſands, and ta-"ken by the enemy, the ſame was neither "ſeen nor heard of in five or ſix weeks "after. To be ſhort, the whole coun-"try being over-run by the *Chineſe*, our "ſoldiers every where routed, *Koukerken* "laid in aſhes in ſight of our fort; ſuch "of our countrymen as had not ſecured "themſelves by a timely flight, fell into "the hands of the mercileſs enemies, who *Several Miniſters beheaded by the* Chi-neſe. "ſacrificed the reverend Mr. *Hambroek*, "with his ſon, and divers others in *Tilo-*"*cen*, to their fury; as alſo Mr. *Peter* "*Mus* miniſter of *Favourlang*, and Mr. "*Arnold Winſheim* miniſter of *Sinkan*, who "had their heads cut off, and their wives, "with many others, carried into ſlavery. "By this there being great want of neceſ-"ſaries in the fortreſs, the ſoldiers died "daily of the bloody-flux, ſcurvy, and "dropſy; ſo that in nine months time, ha-"ving loſt above one thouſand ſix hundred "men, both by famine and the ſword, we "were forced (for the preſervation of our "lives) to capitulate. Who can without "tears remember the unexpected deſtruction "and ruin of ſo many families, and of near "thirty miniſters, partly in their lives, part-"ly in their fortunes, (among whom I had "my ſhare, having loſt all that I had ga-"thered in fifteen years time,) the loſs and "diſhonour of the company, with the un-"ſpeakable miſeries, among which I reckon "mine none of the leaſt, as the loſs of "three parts of my library? all which we "ought to look upon as the effects of "God's juſt indignation, on account of "our manifold ſins. I have no more to "add, than that it is none of the leaſt "among my other afflictions, that matters "are both ſo ill repreſented, and worſe "taken at *Batavia*."

Subſcribed,

Your affectionate collegue,

Negapatnam 13. Octob. 1662. to ſerve you,

Joannes Kruyf.

But it is time to leave the miſerable in the iſle of *Formoſa*, and to come to the ſecond ſiege of *Cochin*. *Anno* 1662. in *September*, *Jacob Huſtart*, late governor, of the *Moluques* and *Amboyna*, and afterwards reſiding in the ſame quality in *Ceylon* and *Malabar*, ſet ſail from *Batavia* with a good ſquadron of ſhips, *Ysbrand Goske* commodore, for *Cochin*, leaving Mr. *Ryklof Van Goens* at *Batavia*, by reaſon of his ſickneſs, but followed ſoon after. In *November* we began to batter the place moſt furiouſly, being willing to reduce it before we could receive the news of a peace concluded betwixt us and the *Portugueſe*, (which we expected every day,) and having the laſt year received certain inſtructions from the governours of our company to allow free commerce and liberty of religion to all ſuch *Portugueſe* as would ſubmit to us, we propoſed to the beſieged, That they ſhould be left in full poſſeſſion of their churches, (except one,) provided they would receive a *Dutch* garriſon. This was not ill reliſhed by ſome; but *Ignatio Sermento* the governor refuſing to comply with it, we reſolved to loſe no time to reduce the place by force. *Baldæus.* *The ſecond ſiege of Cochin.* *Propoſals made to the beſieged.*

Accordingly it was reſolved in a council of war to aſſault it on the river ſide at low tide; and to render the paſſage the leſs difficult, a great number of ſacks filled with ſand were prepared to be thrown into the river. But this attempt proved unſucceſsful, our people meeting with ſo hot a reception there, that they were glad to think of retreating. But as we had no time to loſe, ſo we ſoon pitched upon another, which was carried on with better ſucceſs: for that brave commander *Peter du Pon* being ordered to aſſault the baſtion on the bank of the river, he executed his commiſſion ſo ſucceſsfully, that (though not without great reſiſtance) he broke through the enemy, and maintained himſelf in ſome of the adjacent houſes againſt the whole force of the enemy, till being ſeconded by freſh troops of his own, they put out the white flag, and ſent their deputies to capitulate upon the following conditions. *Unſucceſsful attempt of the Dutch.*

THE *Franciſcans* to enjoy the free exerciſe of their religion under the protection of the ſtates. The clergy to have free liberty to carry away all their images, church-ornaments, relicks, &c. and what elſe belonged to them. The governor *Ignatio Sermento* and his family, together with all the officers, to be received civilly by the *Dutch*. The garriſon to march out with enſigns diſplayed, drums beating, with bag and baggage; and to be conducted in *Dutch* veſſels to *Goa*, except ſuch of the ſoldiers as were in immediate pay of his majeſty, who were to be tranſported to *Portugal*, ſuch *Articles of ſurrender of Cochin.*

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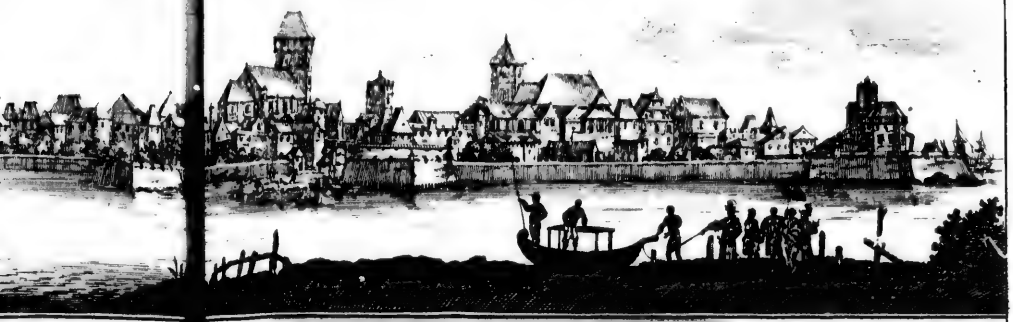
A Prospect of the CITY *of* COCHI
to the North

COCHIN, *to the Sea side.*

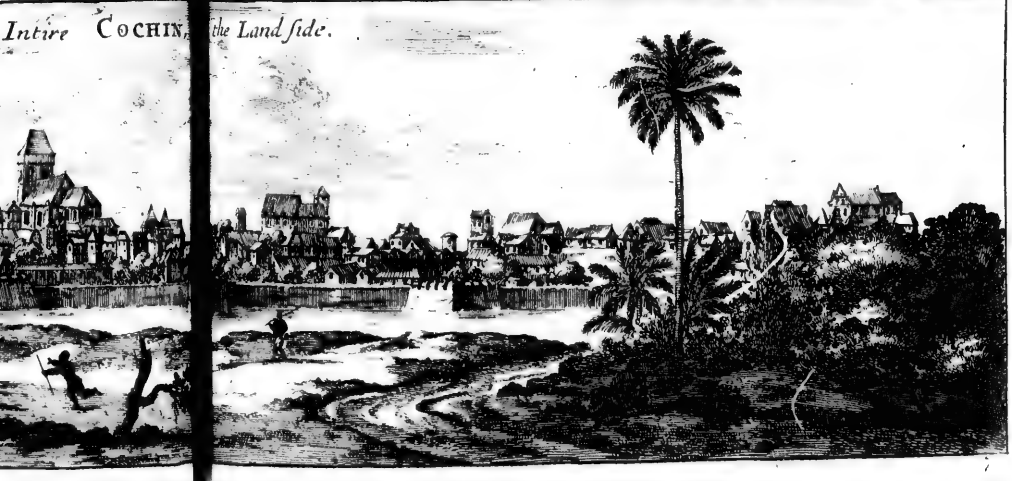
Intire COCHIN, *the Land*

ect of the CITY *of* COCHIN
to the North.

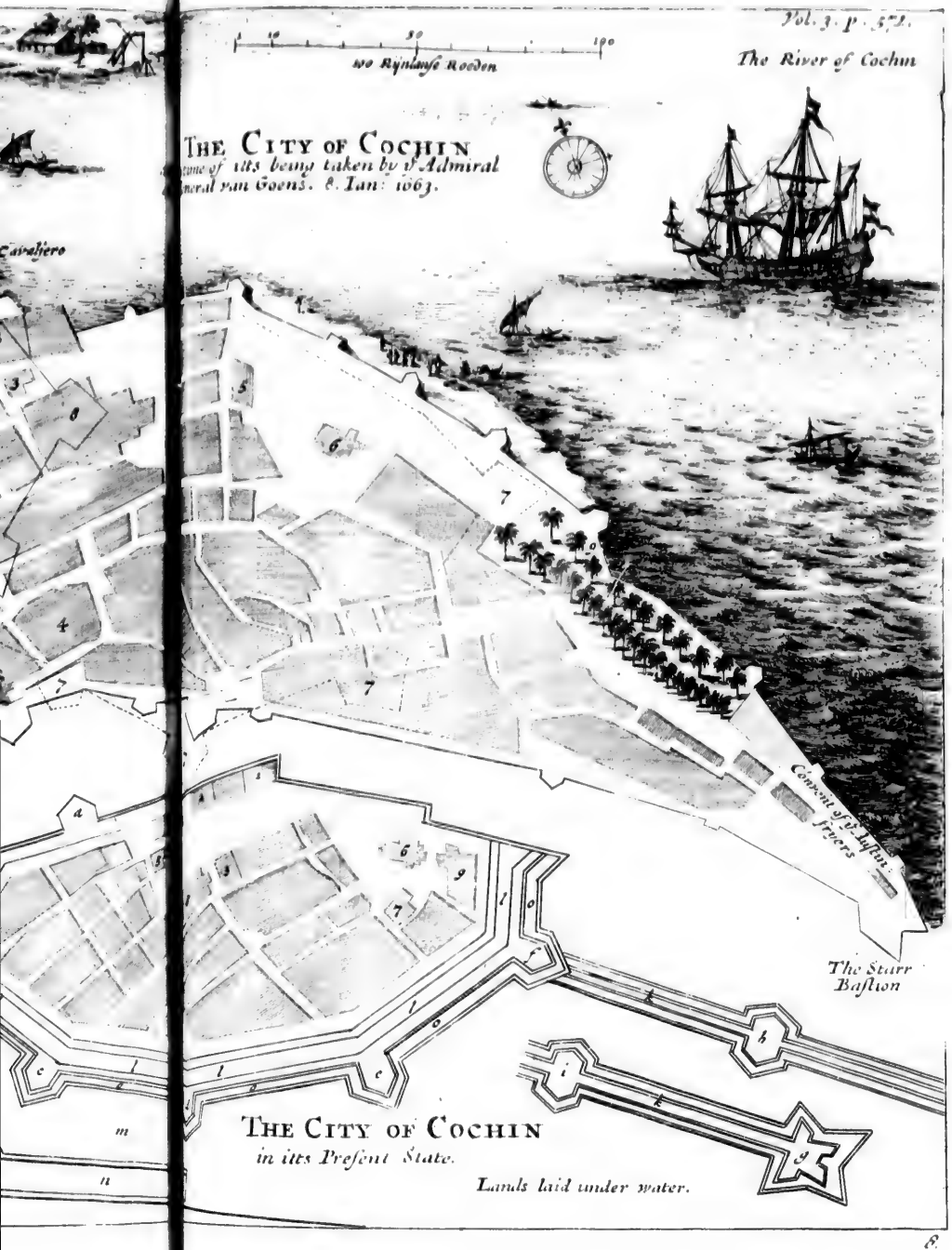


COCHIN, *on the Land side.*

Intire COCHIN, *the Land side.*



Directions for Old Cochin	g. Overysse
1. St. Pauls Convent	h. Cuylenbergh
2. Governors Pallis	i. Vaican
3. ye Church Bon voygge	k. Bear
4. ye Chez & Ct. of St. Domingo	l. ye Inward ditch
5. St. Mary's Church	m. ye Outward ditch
6. ye Stad house	n. ye Counterscarp
7. ye Draught of new Cochin	o. ye Fouffbree ye Chefest
8. ye Draught by Mr. Newstard	livings in new Cochin.
9. ye Timber wharfe	1. Pallace of ye Governer
Directions for New Cochin	2. of ye Admanistrator
a. ye Bastion of Gelderland	3.4. of ye Mins: & Assise:
b. ye Bastion of Holland	5. ye Reformed Church
c. ye Bastion of Zeland	6. Cathedrall called Co'
d. ye Baston of Friseland	7. ye Chz Misericordia
e. ye Bastion of Utrecht	8. Convent of Franciscans
f. ye Bastion of Gonningen	9. ye Stad house



THE CITY OF COCHIN

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THE CITY OF COCHIN

in its Present State.

Baldæus.

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Orders given by the Dutch general.

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Baldæus. Such of the inhabitants as were willing to ſtay behind under the juriſdiction of the *Dutch* company, to have free liberty to remain in their full poſſeſſions. And that care ſhould be taken of the ſick and wounded.

All which was punctually performed, and the keys of the city delivered to our general, who ſoon after entered victorious on horſeback in great pomp, and ordered a ſolemn thankſgiving to be made in the great church lately belonging to the jeſuits for the conqueſt of ſo important a place; which was done accordingly.

Orders given by the Dutch general.

Being thus become entirely maſters of *Cochin*, after it had been one hundred and fifty years in the poſſeſſion of the *Portugueſe*, the *Dutch* general made it his chiefeſt care to iſſue his orders not to moleſt the *Portugueſe*, but to obſerve punctually the articles of the capitulation. The next was to demoliſh a certain part of the houſes and churches of the city, in order to draw it into a more narrow compaſs, and to render the fortifications the more regular, the former requiring too great a number of men to defend them. The king of *Cochin* being crowned, and divers of the neighbouring petty princes obliged to become his tributaries, ſeveral ſtrict alliances were made with the neighbouring kings to the ſouth of the river of *Cochin*.

Baldæus. About the ſame time *Joſeph de Sancta Maria*, of the order of the *Diſcalceated Carmelites*, ſent by the pope in quality as a biſhop among the chriſtians of *St. Thomas*, came (in his return into *Europe*) to *Cochin* to ſalute our general, and was very kindly received by his excellency. He had two ſorts of enemies to contend with during his ſtay in theſe parts: firſt of all, with the *Portugueſe*, who could not brook that any other but their countrymen ſhould be exalted to that dignity; and that not by the pope, but by their own king; the other was the *Archidabo*, (as the *Portugueſe* ſtile him,) or chief head of the chriſtians of *St. Thomas* hereabouts, who being a negro, would neither ſubmit himſelf nor his flock to the *Romiſh* juriſdiction.

A Roman biſhop over the Chriſtians here, comes to Cochin.

Concerning the chriſtians of *St. Thomas*, we ſhall ſpeak more at large anon. But to return to the biſhop, brother *Joſeph de Sancta Maria*, he was ſent from *Rome* with a bull of indulgence, granted *Jan.* 16. 1660. in the fifth year of *Alexander* VII. pope of *Rome*, ſubſcribed by the cardinal *Barberini*, *Joſeph Caetanus*, &c. the true original whereof being in my cuſtody, and containing many things tending to the elucidation of the affairs of the chriſtians of *St. Thomas*, (of whom we are to treat immediately after,) we thought it not beyond our ſcope to oblige the reader with the tranſlation thereof.

Franciſcus

Baldæus.

Franciſcus, *Biſhop of* Portua; *Cardinal* Barberini, *Vice-Chancellor of the holy* Roman *Church, and Protector of the honourable Fraternity of the Church of St.* Jerome.

Joſephus Caetanus, *Keeper of both the Seals of his Holineſs, Referendary and Prelate*; Carolus Antonius à Puteo, *Knight*; Franciſcus Cinus, *Sollicitor-General of the Court of* Rome; Johannes Baptiſta Valentis, *Abbot*; Petrus Baſſanus, Carolus de Comitibus, Pompejus Scrinus, Marianus Vecchiarellius, *and* Joh. Bapt. Ciofanus, *Commiſſioners:*

The bull of indulgence. "WISH to our dearly beloved brothers and ſiſters in Chriſt, of the moſt reverend fraternity of the apoſtle of St. *Thomas*, of the church dedicated to that ſaint, without the walls of *Cochin*, founded by legal authority, eternal ſalvation in the lord.

"The more than ordinary inclination you have ſhewn to piety, charitable works, and other holy exerciſes, have induced us, who, according to our duty, are to take care of the ſalvation of the faithful, and promoting of piety and religious exerciſes, to receive into and unite with our ſociety your fraternity intended for the exerciſe of pious and charitable works, and by theſe preſents receive you as ſuch, and thereby make you partakers of all the indulgences, authority, and other ſpiritual gifts granted us by pope *Paul* V. of happy memory. And the reverend father, brother *Johannes de Sancta Maria*, frier of the order of the diſcalceated *Carmelites*, preſident of your fraternity, having in your name earneſtly ſollicited for the ſaid reception, and a grant of the indulgences, we the abovementioned prelates and commiſſioners, relying upon the authority of pope *Clement* VIII. of happy memory, and his grant of *Nov.* 7. 1604. and moved with a holy zeal and chriſtian love for the promoting of the true religious worſhip, we do, by virtue of theſe letters, receive your fraternity, founded according to the apoſtolical and canonical inſtitution, with the approbation of the moſt reverend biſhop, or the ordinary of that place, into our communion and ſociety, purſuant to the apoſtolical authority granted us for that purpoſe; and therefore impart to the ſaid fraternity, and to all its members, all the indulgences and other ſpiritual gifts, ſpecified and granted to our ſociety by the ſaid papal bull of *Paul* V. to give encouragement to your fraternity for the performance of all ſorts of pious works, and the obtaining of eternal ſalvation (by God's mercy) after this life. *Baldæus.*

[*N. B.* The bull of *Paul* V. being very long, fulſome, and not material, was not thought fit to be inſerted.]

"And it being our full intention, that all the indulgences, and other ſpiritual gifts granted us at large, as before ſaid, ſhould be enjoyed by your fraternity and its members, purſuant to the inſtitution of pope *Clement* VIII. of happy memory, we will and command, that theſe our letters ſhall have the ſame authority, (when produced,) as if they contained the original itſelf. For the confirmation whereof, we have ordered this letter to be ſigned by the ſecretary of our ſociety, and our ſeal, together with that of the protector thereof, to be affixed to it. Given in *Rome*, at the uſual place of our aſſembly, in the year, after the nativity of our ſaviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, 1660. of the XIIIth indiction, the 16th of *January*, in the fifth year of the reign of our holy father *Alexander* VII."

Subſcribed,

Cardinalis Barberinus protector.
Joſeph Caetanus prelate.

Franciſcus Cinus,
Carolus Antonius à Puteo,
Marianus Vecchiarellius,
Petrus Baſſanus,
John Bapt. Ciofanus,
Philippus de Rubeis,
} Commiſſioners.

Andreas Leonius ſecretary.

CHAP. XX.

The Voyages, Miracles, and Death of St. Thomas *the Apoſtle. The Doctrine of the Chriſtians of St.* Thomas; *of the* Greek, Syriac, *and* Georgian *Chriſtians; of the* Ruſſians, Neſtorians, Jacobites, Coptes, Abyſſines, Armenians, Maronites. *A good Correſpondence betwixt the Eaſtern and Weſtern Churches very neceſſary.*

Baldæus. IT is the general opinion, that the apoſtle St. *Thomas* did come into the *Indies*, but eſpecially into theſe parts: his firſt coming was in the iſle of *Socotora*, (at the entrance of the *Red Sea*,) where he converted many to the chriſtian faith; it being certain, that to this day many of the inhabitants ſtile themſelves *Chriſtians of St. Thomas*, which alſo induced *Xaverius* to touch at that iſland in his voyage to the *Indies*, and, if we may credit *John de Lucena*, would fain have ſtaid there. From *Socotora* St. *Thomas* failed to *Cranganor*, whence, after he had converted many to the chriſtian faith, he went to *Coulang*. Upon the rocks near the ſhea-ſhore of *Coulang* ſtands a ſtone pillar, * erected there (as the inhabitants report) by St. *Thomas*. From *Coulang* croſſing the high and dangerous mountains he travell'd into *Coromandel*, where having likewiſe planted the ſeed of the goſpel, he ſailed into *China*; where, after he had preached the goſpel to the infidels, he returned to *Maliapour* to confirm ſome of the new converted chriſtians in their faith, and there ſuffer'd martyrdom.

St. Thomas in his arrival in the Indies.

His ſeveral voyages.

* *Anno* 1662.

Maliapour (afterwards called *St. Thomas* by the *Portugueſe*) was at that time a famous city in *Coromandel*, where this holy man would fain have built a church, but was prevented by the *Brahmans*, and their king *Sagam*. They relate a very miraculous thing of St. *Thomas*: The ſea having caſt up a tree of a vaſt bulk, the king, who was deſirous to uſe it in the building of a houſe, had employed a great number of men and elephants to bring it from thence, but in vain, the wood being not to be moved from the place: St. *Thomas* ſtanding by, told the king, That if he would preſent him with the piece of wood, he would carry it alone to the city, (then ten leagues from the ſhore.) The king looking upon him as a mad-man, told him, He ſhould do with it what he pleaſed. Whereupon St. *Thomas* tying his girdle to one of the branches, and making the ſign of the croſs, drew the whole tree after him with a great deal of eaſe, followed by a vaſt number of people; and coming to the city, erected a ſtone croſs there, telling the ſpectators, That whenever the ſea ſhould riſe up to that place, God would ſend certain ſtrangers from far diſtant places to ſettle the chriſtian religion here; which the *Portugueſe* would have to be verified at the time of their coming there.

One of St. Thomas's miracles.

Baldæus.

St. *Thomas* having by this miracle, and the converſion of a vaſt number of pagans, arrived to a great authority among them, this ſo incenſed the *Brahmans*, that one of them killed him with his launce upon a hill near the city, where he uſed to perform his devotion. They had before that accuſed him falſly of a murder; but St. *Thomas* having reſuſcitated the child from death, he declared his own father to have been his murderer; which had ſo powerful an influence upon many of the chief men of the country, and the king himſelf, that they received baptiſm. Some ſay that St. *Thomas* was killed at *Calaminha*, by miſtaking this word for *Calurmina*, i. e. *upon a ſtone*; *Calur* ſignifying in the *Malabar* language *a ſtone*, and *mina upon*, St. *Thomas* having been ſlain upon a rock: whence it is, that if to this day you ask one of the chriſtians of St. *Thomas*, where St. *Thomas* ſuffered martyrdom, they will tell you, *Maliapour Calurmina*, at *Maliapour* upon the *ſtone*, where he was ſtoned, and at laſt run through with a launce.

Another miracle.

His death.

They tell you of a certain croſs made by his blood, and a vaſt number of miracles wrought by it, for which I will refer my ſelf to *Lucena*, *Oſorius*, and *Baronius*. The chriſtians of St. *Thomas* teach their children in their very infancy theſe following heads concerning St. *Thomas*. St. *Thomas* was the man who firſt aboliſhed idolatry; it was he who converted the *Chineſe* and *Negroes*; it was he that baptized them, and taught them the true faith, and to profeſs God the Father, the Son, and Holy Ghoſt. They alſo tell you, that he converted the three kings of the eaſt, (one of whom, called *Perumal*, they ſay was king of *Ceylon*,) and that St. *Thomas*'s body was transferred from *Maliapour* to *Edeſſa* in *Meſopotamia*.

** Tom. I. 1557.

But ſetting aſide all theſe uncertain relations, the moſt ſecure way (founded upon no ſmall probabilities) is, that St. *Thomas* was actually in theſe parts, and converted a great

Baldæus. great number of people to the chriſtian faith: which contradicts that bold aſſertion of the *Roman* catholicks, that all nations have received the chriſtian faith from *Rome*; it being beyond all queſtion, that at the time of the arrival of the *Portugueſe* in thoſe parts under *de Gama*, the inhabitants declared themſelves to be chriſtians from moſt ancient times, deſiring the protection of the king of *Portugal* againſt the pagans, and in token of their obedience preſented him with a ſilver ſceptre gilt. Nay,

Vain boaſts of the church of Rome.

the church of *Rome* cannot boaſt of that honour, even of all parts of *Europe* itſelf; ſince the kings of *England* and *Scotland*, *Lucius* and *Donaldus*, embraced the chriſtian faith one hundred and twenty four years after our ſaviour's nativity, without having the leaſt communication with the church of *Rome*; whence *Tertullian* rightly ſays, *Britannorum loca Romanis inacceſſa Chriſto ſubdita ſunt.* And *Cyprianus* ſays to the ſame purpoſe, two hundred and forty years after the birth of Chriſt, *That the vine-branches of the goſpel have ſpread themſelves beyond the extent of the* Roman *empire.* Thus *Dorotheus*, biſhop of *Tyrus*, under the reign of *Conſtantine the Great*, poſitively aſſerts, That the chamberlain of queen *Candace* did introduce the goſpel into *Ceylon* and the *Happy Arabia.*

The chriſtians of St. *Thomas* remained many years in the primitive purity of the chriſtian religion, till in time, for want of

The chriſtians of St. Thomas decay'd, and afterwards reſtored to their primitive purity.

good paſtors, they began to be infected with ſome pagan ſuperſtitions, and were in moſt imminent danger of loſing the remnants of the truths of the goſpel, had not *Martome*, a native of *Syria*, taken care of the decay'd ſtate of chriſtianity in theſe parts; and being ſeconded in his endeavours by divers other teachers out of *Syria*, *Babylonia*, *Chaldea*, and *Egypt*, the *Syriac* language was introduced, and the former purity of religion reſtored among them, till in time the *Neſtorian* hereſy got footing in *Syria*, and was from thence tranſplanted hither, as is ſufficiently evident from the records of the *Malabars.*

This *Martome* (ſignifying in their language as much as lord *Thomas*) being much reſpected by the kings of *Cranganor* and *Coulang*, and by the chriſtians of St. *Thomas* in general, was declared by them their

Had their own biſhops.

head: and the biſhops of *Cochin*, *Coulang*, and *Cranganor*, being afterwards ſent for out of *Syria*, theſe introduced the *Syriac* language, and acknowledged the patriarch of *Alexandria* or *Babylon* for their metropolitan, till at laſt they ſubmitted to the

Acknowledge the juriſdiction of Rome.

pope of *Rome*; for the ſupreme eccleſiaſtical head of the *Indians* (at the perſuaſion of the *Portugueſe*) did, 1562. acknowledge the ſupremacy of the pope of *Rome*, provided they might continue in the former free exerciſe of their religion, which was confirmed in the ſynod of *Goa*, where they would not conſent to the leaſt alteration of any of their church-ceremonies. But after the deceaſe of this biſhop, his ſucceſſor, 1599. embraced, with the reſt of his clergy, in another ſynod, the *Roman* faith.

Baldæus.

Where the chriſtians of St. Thomas inhabit.

The chriſtians of St. *Thomas* inhabit for the moſt part on the coaſt of *Malabar*, about *Cranganor*, *Cochin*, *Coulang*, *Travancor*, and ſome in *Coromandel*, amounting in all to a conſiderable number. Before they were united with the church of *Rome*, they were infected with the *Neſtorian* hereſy, as ſome are ſtill to this day; whence it is that they deny the two natures in the perſon of Chriſt. This *Neſtorius* was biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, and *Eutyches Archimandrit* was abbot in the ſame city. His doctrine was received at firſt in the council of *Epheſus*, by the intereſt of *Chryſapius*, (to pleaſe *Eudoxia* the empreſs,) lord-chamberlain to *Theodoſius* the emperor; but *Chryſapius* being ſlain at the inſtigation of *Pulcheria*, the ſiſter of the emperor, the ſame was afterwards condemned in another ſynod of *Epheſus*, held in the year 431. two years after the death of St. *Auſtin*, wherein *Cyril* biſhop of *Alexandria* preſided, as the before-mentioned council of *Epheſus*, and the doctrine of *Eutyches* was condemned in the council of *Chalcedon*, 451.

Their doctrine.

For the reſt, the ancient chriſtians of St. *Thomas* did adminiſter the holy ſacrament in both kinds, uſing ſalt, bread, and the juice of raiſins inſtead of wine. It was a very ancient cuſtom among them, not to baptize their children till they were forty days old, except in caſe of imminent danger of life. They uſed no unction, neither any images, except that they had croſſes in their churches. Their prieſts were forbid to marry a ſecond time. They were declared enemies of *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, a great antagoniſt of the *Neſtorians*, but reverenced *Neſtorius* and *Dioſcorus* as ſaints. They did not acknowledge the ſuperiority of the pope of *Rome*, and uſed the *Syriac* New Teſtament in their churches.

Many ſects in the Eaſt.

As divers religions have been broached of late years in *Europe*, ſo there are many ſects of ancient ſtanding in the *Eaſt*. The chiefeſt of theſe are the *Greeks*, who acknowledge the patriarch of *Conſtantinople* for their head, *viz.* thoſe of *Natolia*, (except *Armenia* and *Silicia*,) *Grecia*, *Ruſſia*, *Bulgaria*, *Servia*, *Boſnia*, *Walachia*, *Moldavia*, *Podolia*, and *Muſcovia.*

1. The Greeks.

The next are the *Melchites*, the moſt numerous of all the ſects in the *Eaſt*: they are called *Syrians* from *Syria*, and *Melchites* by their enemies, becauſe they conformed themſelves

2. The Melchites.

Baldæus. selves in their religious worſhip, according to the emperor's orders. * They acknowledge for their head the archbiſhop of *Damaſcus*, who anciently had his reſidence at *Antioch*.

* *See Niceph. Hiſt. Eccl.* l. 18. c. 8. & l. 18. c. 45.

3. *The Georgians.* The third ſect is that of the *Georgians*, inhabiting the ancient *Iberia* between the *Euxine* and *Caſpian* ſeas. Some would have them to be called *Georgians*, becauſe, as they ſay, they reverence St. *George* as their patron; but erroneouſly, the *Georgians* having been mentioned both by *Pliny* and *Mela*, long before St. *George* was known. They are of the ſame religion with the *Greeks*, and have eighteen biſhops of their own, beſides a metropolitan.

4. *The Ruſſians.* The fourth ſect is the *Ruſſians*, who likewiſe profeſs the *Greek* religion, denying with them the proceeding of the Holy Ghoſt from Father and Son, the main point in queſtion betwixt the eaſtern and weſtern churches.

5. *The Neſtorians.* The fifth ſect of the *Neſtorians* follow the heretical doctrine of *Neſtorius*, and live for the moſt part among the *Pagans* and *Mahometans* in *Babylon*, *Aſſyria*, *Meſopotamia*, *Parthia*, *Media*, &c. Nay, *Paulus Venetus* affirms, that they are found from the north ſide of *Cataja* to the moſt ſouthern parts of the *Indies*; ſo that on the eaſt ſide beyond the river *Tigris* ſcarce any other chriſtian ſect is to be met with: the reaſon whereof they alledge to be, that *Coſroes* king of *Perſia*, a declared enemy of the emperor *Heraclius*, forced all his ſubjects to embrace this doctrine. The patriarchal ſeat of the *Neſtorians* is at *Muzal*, a city of *Meſopotamia* upon the river *Tigris*, now ſubject to the *Turks*; notwithſtanding which it has forty thouſand chriſtians, and fifteen churches. Some of the *Neſtorians* did ſubmit to the *Roman* juriſdiction under Pope *Julius* III. who was created pope 1550. and reigned five years. And the patriarch *Abdieſu*, who was inveſted with the epiſcopal dignity by pope *Pius* IV. was preſent at the council of *Trent*.

6. *The Jacobites.* The ſixth is that of the *Jacobites*, having got their name from one *Jacob*, a native of *Syria*, and a follower of the doctrine of *Eutyches* 530. according to *Nicephorus* and *Damaſcenus*. They inhabit for the moſt part in *Syria*, *Aleppo*, *Cyprus*, *Meſopotamia*, *Babylon*, and *Paleſtina*, whence the patriarch of *Jeruſalem* is alſo a *Jacobite*; but the patriarch of the *Jacobites* reſides at *Caranut*, an ancient noted city in *Meſopotamia*. They acknowledge but one nature in Chriſt, make the ſign of the croſs with one finger only; they mark their young children with the ſign of the croſs by means of an hot iron; uſe both baptiſm and circumciſion, and reject the purgatory, it being their opinion that the ſoul remains with the body under-ground till the day of judgment; and that the angels are compoſed of a fiery and lucid ſubſtance. *Baldæus.*

7. *The Coptes.* The ſeventh are the *Coptes*, or *Egyptian* chriſtians, being rather the name of a nation, than belonging to any peculiar religion: they are the ſame with the *Jacobites*, the word *Cophti* being the ſame with *Ægophti*; for notwithſtanding the doctrine of *Eutyches* was condemned in the council of *Chalcedon*, and *Dioſcorus* patriarch of *Alexandria* depoſed upon that ſcore, the ſame took deep root in the eaſtern parts, and more eſpecially in *Egypt*. Theſe *Egyptians* (according to *Tecla Maria*, an *Abyſſine* prieſt) agree in point of doctrine with the *Abyſſines*, and acknowledge the juriſdiction of the patriarch of *Alexandria*, whoſe reſidence is now at *Cairo*.

8. *The Abyſſines.* The eighth ſect is that of the *Abyſſines*, or *Mediterranean Ethiopians*, being generally *Jacobites*, whence their king (called erroneouſly by ſome * *Preſter John*) is ſtiled the *Prince of the Jacobites*. They reject abſolutely the council of *Chalcedon*, and will allow it no place in their writings. To their patriarch they give the name of *Albuna*, i. e. *our father*, who muſt be a native out of the territories of *Alexandria*, and of St. *Anthony*'s order; for it is obſervable, that all the patriarchs and biſhops in the *Eaſt*, are either of the order of St. *Baſil* biſhop of *Ceſaria* and *Cappadocia*, or elſe of the order of St. *Anthony*. The patriarchs of *Conſtantinople*, *Antiochia*, and *Armenia*, are of the order of St. *Baſil*; thoſe of *Alexandria* and *Ethiopia*, as alſo thoſe of the *Jacobites* and *Maronites*, of St. *Anthony*'s order; but the patriarchs of the *Neſtorians* are promiſcuouſly of either of theſe two orders. The *Abyſſines* have for their head the patriarch of *Ethiopia*: they are rebaptized once every year, on the 12th day, as indeed are moſt of the other eaſtern chriſtians. They follow the rules of the Old Teſtament in reference to clean and unclean things. It is obſervable that, contrary to the cuſtom of all the other eaſtern chriſtians, (except the *Armenians*,) they uſe unleavened bread in the holy ſacrament: though ſome affirm, that this is only done on *Thurſday* in the holy week, and that at other times they uſe leavened bread. All perſons, both eccleſiaſtical and civil, take and receive the ſacrament ſtanding; and that always in the church, the king himſelf not being diſpenſed with in this point: the prieſt gives the bread, and the deacons the wine; and that day the ſacrament is received (which is generally once a week) they are forbidden to ſpit. They baptize both with fire and water; beſides which, they circumciſe their children on the eighth day; and that both ſexes, not according to the manner of the *Jews*, but

* *Preſtegan was the title of a certain* Aſiatick *prince: ſome will have it a* Perſian *word.*

Baldæus. but after the mahometan way; whence it ſeems as if it were rather a cuſtom than a point of religion. And if we deduce their original from the antient *Ethiopeans*, *Herodotus* tells us, that they uſed to practiſe the ſame in very antient times; if from the *Arabians*, the matter is ſufficiently evident, the *Arabians* being deſcended from *Iſhmael*, though they are generally ambitious to trace their origin rather from *Sarah* than *Hagar*. For the reſt, they reject purgatory, and prayers for the dead; as alſo all traditions, looking upon the word of God as the only rule of faith; but, with the *Jacobites*, allow no more than one nature in Chriſt. Of the religion of the *Abyſſines*, *Damian a Goes*, *Athanaſ. Kircher*, *Alvarius*, and others, have given a more ample account.

9. *The* Armenians. The ninth ſect is that of the *Armenians*, in great eſteem among the *Mahometans*, by reaſon of their traffick and riches; though ſome alledge another reaſon, *viz.* That an *Armenian* did ſortel *Mahomet*'s future greatneſs. In the year 1656. a certain *Armenian* merchant, named *Goja Salomon*, a very grave and ſober perſon, travelled in our company to *Macaſſar*, where we were to treat about a peace with the king, and he to fetch ſome money due to him from the *Daniſh* company, who gave us ſeveral needful inſtructions concerning both the eccleſiaſtical and political affairs of the *Armenians*. They antiently belonged to the juriſdiction of the patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, purſuant to a decree of the council of *Chalcedon*; but afterwards having withdrawn themſelves from the *Greek* church, ſet up two patriarchs of their own, *viz.* one in the *Greater*, the other in the *Leſſer Armenia*. We were told that they adminiſter the ſacrament to the very infants; whereas the *Ruſſians* don't allow it to children under ſeven years of age. They declare poſitively againſt the purgatory and tranſubſtantiation. They rebaptize ſuch as turn to their religion from the weſtern churches: they don't allow any happineſs to the ſouls of the deceaſed till after the day of judgment.

10. Maronites. The tenth ſect is that of the *Maronites*, having got their name, not from the famous heretick *Maron*, (as *William Tyrius* and *Prateolus* falſly imagine,) but from a certain holy man, in certain antient records, mention being made of the convent of St. *Maron*, the friers whereof were called *Maronites*: ſome of them inhabit in *Aleppo*, *Damaſcus*, *Tripolis*, *Syria*, and *Cyprus*; but their chief ſeat is the mount *Libanus*, whoſe whole compaſs being computed of ſeven hundred leagues, but in moſt places rocky and barren, is inhabited by about twelve thouſand families of the *Maronites*, who pay to the grand ſeignior ſeventeen crowns *per annum* apiece for every head that is above twelve years old; and a crown a-year for each piece of ground of ſixteen ſpans in the ſquare. The mountain is of ſuch a height, that it may be diſcovered at forty leagues diſtance. The patriarch of the *Maronites* has eight or nine ſuffraganean biſhops, he himſelf being always a frier of the order of *St. Anthony*, and reſides ſometimes near the mount *Libanus*, in a convent of St. *Anthony*, ſometimes at *Tripolis*. The *Maronites* are at preſent under the juriſdiction of the ſee of *Rome*; and pope *Gregory* XIII. (the ſame who cauſed the alteration of the new ſtile to be inſerted in the almanack) erected a college of the *Maronites* at *Rome*. The *Maronites* agree with the *Greek* church in this opinion, That the Holy Ghoſt proceeds only from the Father, that every ſoul was created in the beginning. They look upon a female infant as unclean for eighty days after its birth, and the males for forty, which is the reaſon they don't baptize them before that time; and adminiſter the ſacrament to the children ſoon after they are baptiz'd. They don't carry the ſacrament in proceſſion, and allow not of a fourth marriage; but don't ordain any prieſts or deacons without they are married before; and allow a parent the power of annulling the marriage of his ſon or daughter, if the ſame be done without his conſent. Beatitude they do not believe till after the day of judgment. For the reſt, they follow the opinion of the *Monothelites*, that there is but one nature in Chriſt. The *Maronites* had united themſelves four hundred years ago with the ſee of *Rome*; but when *Saladyn*, king of *Egypt* and *Syria*, did conquer thoſe parts, the *Maronites* relinquiſhed the *Roman* communion, till they were reunited to them a ſecond time under *Gregory* XIII. and *Clement* VIII. Of the *St. Thomas* chriſtians we have ſpoken before.

See Will. Tyrius de Bel. Sacr. l. xxii. c. 8.

The mount Libanus *inhabited by the* Maronites.

Among all theſe eaſtern ſects, there are few who teach any points contrary to ſalvation, except thoſe of *Neſtorius* and *Eutyches*; for they execrate the adoration of images, reject purgatory, allow marriage to the clergy, adminiſter the ſacrament to the laity in both kinds, deny tranſubſtantiation, and do not acknowledge the juriſdiction of the ſee of *Roome*.

Maffæus relates, that the patriarch of the *Abyſſines* being deſired by their king to diſpute with the jeſuit *Roterigio*, told the king, *That he would not enter into diſpute with an heretick*, and charged the king, under pain of eternal damnation, not to read their writings. It is beyond all diſpute, that the *Coptes* avoid the *Latin* church as much as the *Jews*. Cardinal *Baronius* tells us indeed, that *Marcus*, patriarch of *Alexandria*, did ſend his deputies to pope *Clement* VIII.

The eaſtern churches acknowledge the ſupremacy of the Roman *See.*

The Greeks uſed always five days before Eaſter to excommunicate the Pope.

Baldæus. in order to subject himself and all *Egypt* to the papal chair; but the same proved abortive, and proved no more than a complement in the end. See *Thomas a Jesuit, l.* vii. *c.* 6. Whence it is evident, that setting aside the doctrine of the Holy Ghost proceeding from the father only, they are subject to not near so many errors as the *Roman* catholicks.

In what language the christians worship God.

The eastern christians exercise their religious worship in different languages. Some are of opinion that all the primitive christians, for one hundred and twenty years after Christ's nativity, *viz.* till the reign of *Hadrianus* the emperor, used only one language, *viz.* the *Hebrew*, but without any certainty. Certain it is, that the *Armenians* have a translation of the bible into their own language; which by some is attributed to *Chrysostom* while in exile. *Alvares* affirms, that the *Abyssines* have translated the bible in their own language, and so have the *Russians*, or *Muscovites*, contrary to what is practised by the *Romans*; for pope *Pius V.* put the bible among the prohibited books. And *Erasmus*, in his letter to *Charles Utenhofer*, tells him, that *Lewis Berquin* was, 1529. burnt at *Paris*, for no other reason, but his having asserted, That the *bible might be translated into the vulgar tongue, and read by the common people*; notwithstanding St. *Jerom* and *Chrysostom* had employ'd themselves in the work.

A correspondence with the eastern christians necessary.

The other eastern christians perform their religious service in the *Greek*, *Latin*, and *Chaldean* languages; and use divers liturgies, as those composed by *Petrus*, *Jacobus*, *Sixtus*, *&c.* Whence it is evident that it would be no very difficult task to settle a good mutual correspondence betwixt them and the protestant churches of *Europe*, which has been too much neglected hitherto, though we have had several opportunities given us by the eastern christians to embrace so useful a design. Thus (as *Camerarius* tells us) the *Greeks* of *Constantinople* did encourage the *Bohemians* and *Hussites* against the *Roman Catholicks*. *Joseph*, patriarch of *Constantinople*, sent one *Demetrius* a deacon, to *Wittemburgh*, to confer with the divines there concerning an union, who carried a *Greek* copy of the *Augustan* confession back with him to *Constantinople*. At the synod of *Thorn* in *Poland*, 1595. certain deputies sent by the *Greek* christians appeared to exhort to a unity, and endeavour a reconciliation betwixt the *Calvinists* and *Lutherans*. And in the year 1616. *Cyril*, patriarch of *Alexandria*, sent one of his priests to *George Abbot*, the famous archbishop of *Canterbury*, in order to have him instructed in the university of *Oxford* in the true principles of the protestant churches. Neither ought we to pass by in silence the confession of *Cyril*, patriarch of *Constantinople*, of his adhering to the doctrine of *Calvin*, which drew upon him the hatred of the jesuits, who could not rest satisfied till they had underhand procured his death, 1638. *Baldæus.*

His Letter writ upon that Subject to a certain Friend of his, and preserved by the learned Andrew Rivet, *is as follows:*

" PERCIO ho voluto scriver a V. R.
" e protestarvi che mi siate testimo-
" nio se jo more, que jo more *Catholico*
" *Orthodoxo*, nella fede del N. S. *Jesu*
" *Christo* nella dottrina Evangelica confor-
" me la *Confessione Belgica* la confessione
" mia e le altra delle chiese Evangelice che
" soni tutti conformi. Abhorrisco li er-
" rori delli *Papisti*, e le superstitione delli
" *Greci*, provo e abraccio la dottrina del
" dottore meritissimo *Giovanni Calvino* e de
" tutti che sentono con lui, in questo voglio
" che mi siate testimonio, per che con sin-
" cera conscienza cosi tengo, cosi professo
" e confesso como anco la mia confessione
" mostra, e recommando a vos questo de-
" posito, caso che morssi, di farne parte-
" cipi Tutti li fratelli Christiani Ortho-
" doxi: e mi recommando alle preghiere
" di V. R."

Alli 15-25. Marzo.

Cyrillo Patriarcha di Constantinopoli.

Which translated into English *runs thus:*

Letter of the patriarch of Constantinople.

" THerefore I was willing to declare to
" you, and desire you to be my wit-
" ness, that in case I die an *Orthodox Ca-*
" *tholick*, and in the purity of the faith
" taught by *Jesus Christ*, agreeable to the
" *Confession* of faith of the church of the
" *United Provinces*, mine being altogether
" the same with theirs, and with the other
" evangelical churches. I abhor the errors
" of the *Roman* church, and the superstiti-
" tions of the *Greek*, but approve and em-
" brace the doctrine of the most worthy
" *John Calvin*, and of all those that have
" the same sentiments with him. I call you
" to witness, that I believe, confess, and
" attest the same by these presents, recom-
" mending this my confession to your care,
" in order to communicate the same (in
" case of my death) to all truly-be-
" lieving brethren, and myself to your
" prayers."

March 15-25.

Cyril, Patriarch of *Constantinople*.

Baldæus. As the preceding letter is a convincing proof of the ſtedfaſtneſs of *Cyril*, in his adhering to the doctrine of *Calvin*, ſo out of what hath been ſaid before, it is evident that moſt of the eaſtern chriſtians have an averſion to the *Roman* religion. And I remember that *Benjamin* the *Jew*, in his travels, makes the ſame obſervation, in particular, in reſpect of the patriarch of *Conſtantinople*. In the year 1664. being at *Cochin*, I addreſſed myſelf to Mr. *Jacob Huſtart*, our general, to grant leave to the archdeacon, or chief of the chriſtians of St. *Thomas* in eccleſiaſtical affairs, to come thither, in order to have a free conference with him: which being readily granted, he ſent his letter to the archdeacon for that purpoſe; but he excuſed himſelf, alledging, (and not without reaſon,) That we having given ſo extraordinary a reception to the *Roman* biſhop, *Joſeph de Sancta Maria*, he could not appear in perſon among us, without his prejudice, to my great diſſatisfaction, being extremely ſorry it was not in my power to perform my promiſe made in my letters to the ſtates-general 1662. And upon this occaſion I cannot, without praiſe, mention the generous zeal of the ſtates-general, who at their own charge did order to have the New Teſtament and our Catechiſm tranſlated in the tongue uſed among the modern *Greek* chriſtians, the ſame being very different from the antient *Greek* language. *Baldæus.*

CHAP. XXI.

A Deſcription of the Kingdom of Percatti, *and* Calecoulang. Coulang *twice taken by the* Hollanders. *The Nature and Manner of living of the* Nairos. *The* Paruas *made Chriſtians. Extraordinary Zeal of Don* John *King of* Portugal.

The kingdom of Porca. THE kingdom of *Percatti* (called by ſome *Porca*) begins about four or five leagues to the ſouth of *Cochin*, and extends to *Coulang*, its whole length being about twelve leagues.

The Dutch *treat with that king.* In the year 1642. the *Dutch* appeared the firſt time in this place, and treated with the then king of *Siam*, *Baatchory Vaubaar*, (who was not above twenty three years of age,) concerning a free trade with pepper. Which the king was very glad to accept of, being three years paſt engaged in a war with the *Portugueſe*, who had ſeized upon part of his dominions, and would have erected ſome fortifications there. He delivered to our deputies a ſealed letter, directed to the general and great council of the *Indies*, in which he requeſted, that we would at leaſt once a year ſend thither a ſhip freighted with ſuch commodites, as before that time uſed to be carried to *Cananor* and *Calecut*: whereupon an interpreter was ſent aboard the next day, to deſire a paſſport from his majeſty for ſuch of our ſhips as paſſed that way, which was granted.

The king who reigned here 1664. of whom Mr. *Jacob Huſtart* and I had audience at that time, was about twenty four years old, a very active and well-limbed perſon, his hands, feet, and ears adorn'd with jewels of a great value. Formerly they uſed to tranſport their pepper from hence to *Mocha*;

Factory of the Engliſh. but ſince that time the *Engliſh* have trafficked there in that commodity, who had their factory juſt upon the ſea-ſhore. The greateſt ſtrength of this king conſiſts in about five hundred ſmall galleys, wherewith in the rainy ſeaſon, when the rice-fields lie under water, he uſed to make his excurſions from the utmoſt point of the cape of *Comoryn* as far as *Panane*, and eſpecially to annoy the king of *Cochin*. He proved a troubleſome neighbour to the *Dutch* company, till by the terror of their arms they brought him to ſubmiſſion, having in the ſiege of *Cochin* ſided with the *Portugueſe* againſt us.

Deeper into the country live abundance of chriſtians converted by the *Portugueſe*: they get their livelihood by managing and gathering the pepper; which they are obliged to ſell to the king's factor, a *Brahman*.

The air unwholeſome. The air of this country being accounted extremely unwholeſome, hence it is, that moſt of the inhabitants are troubled with ſwelled legs; the cauſe whereof they attribute to the nitrous water, which they uſe for their common drink: blindneſs is alſo an ordinary diſtemper here. For the reſt, the ground is exceeding fertile, and very fit for tillage; ſo that moſt of the inhabitants live upon husbandry, eſpecially of rice.

Calecoulang. The next adjoining kingdom is that of *Calecoulang*, of no great extent: here the *Dutch* company has had their factory many years ago, which uſed to buy up a great quantity of pepper in theſe parts.

Coulang. The leaſt among the *Malabar* kingdoms is that of *Coulang*, extending to the utmoſt point of the cape *Comoryn*, about fifteen or ſixteen

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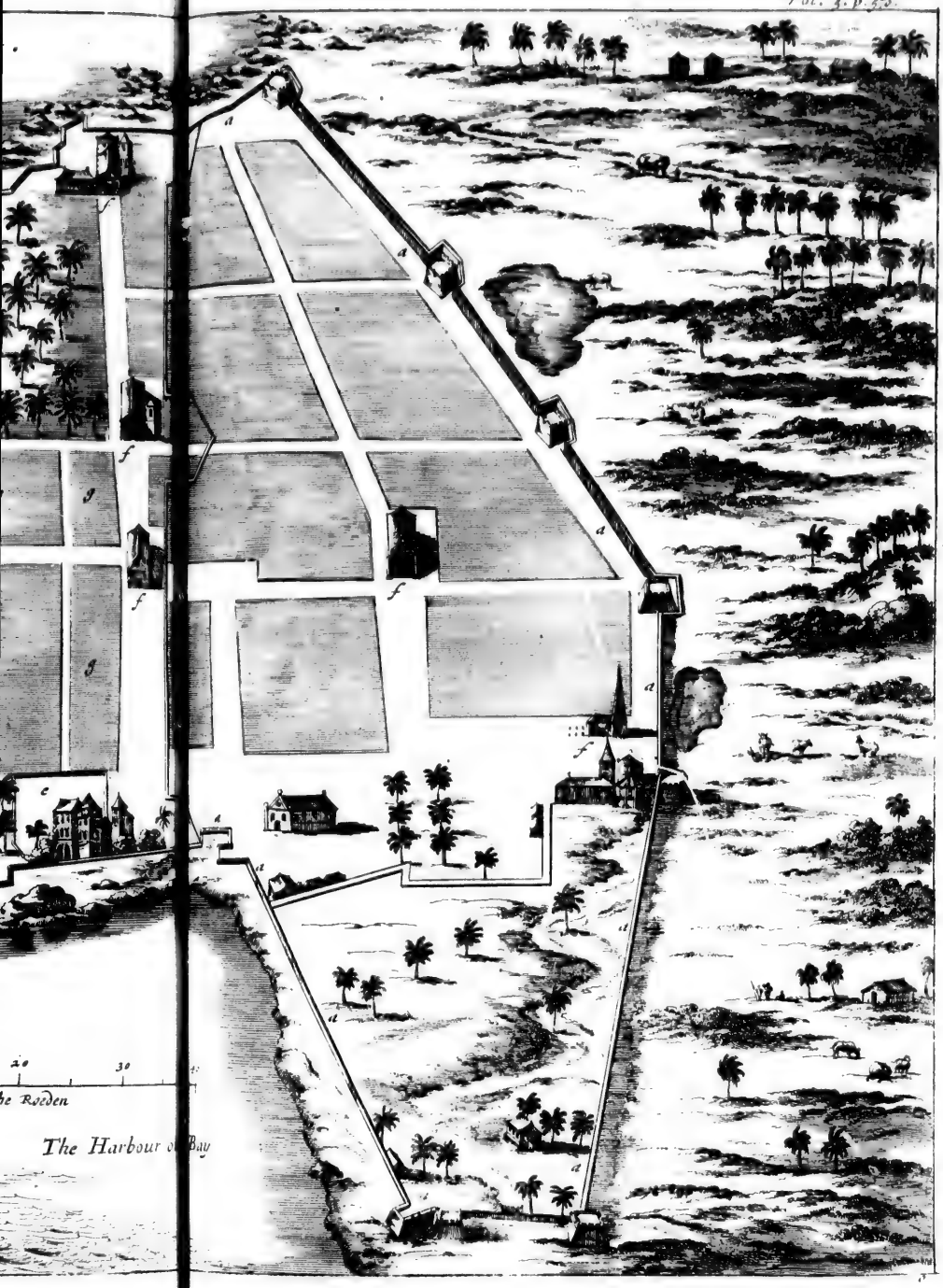

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The Harbour of Bay

Baldæus. fixteen leagues in length. The city of *Coulang* was firſt built by the *Portugueſe*, being much of the ſame bigneſs as *Puntegale* in the iſle of *Ceylon*, having no leſs than ſeven churches, ſome very good houſes, and many thouſands of trees, eſpecially towards the ſea-ſide. This city is reckoned one of the wholeſomeſt on the whole coaſt of *Malabar*, by reaſon of its pure air, and moſt excellent ſprings. The *Portugueſe* at their firſt coming erected only a ſtrong houſe, to defend themſelves in caſe of neceſſity againſt the inhabitants; notwithſtanding which, they were at a certain time ſurprized by them, and all cut to pieces; which barbarity was afterwards revenged by *Laurence Almeyda*, ſon to *Francis Almeyda*, who burnt twenty of their ſhips richly loaden.

The air very wholeſome.

In the year 1503. one brother *Rhoteric*, a *Dominican* frier, coming into theſe parts to propagate the goſpel, did convert many of the pagans, and encouraged the chriſtians of *St. Thomas* inhabiting here to perſevere in their faith.

The inhabitants are generally very barbarous and treacherous, of which they have given ſeveral times ſufficient proofs to the *Dutch*. At a certain time they aſſaulted the city by night, and had almoſt carried it by ſurprize; and at another time captain *Henry Gluwing* taking the freſh air with ſome officers without the gate, were treacherouſly murdered by them.

The inhabitants treacherous.

In the time of the *Portugueſe* there ſtood a certain *Pagode* about four leagues without the city, famous for its riches throughout the *Indies*, which induced *Sofa* to plunder it, notwithſtanding there was then a peace betwixt them and the *Portugueſe*. The *Nairos* revenged the loſs by killing about thirty of the *Portugueſe*; and *Sofa* having ſent a large veſſel full of fanams (their coin) to *John* king of *Portugal*, the ſame was by the advice of the pope ſent back to the king of *Coulang*, by whom it was placed again in the ſaid *Pagode*.

A pagan temple pandered ayde Portugueſe in time of peace.

The Dutch *reduce Coulang a ſecond time, having left it before.*

In the year 1661. when the *Hollanders* came to theſe parts to beſiege the city of *Coulang*, they were forced to have three ſmart engagements with the *Nairos*, who, to the number of ſeven or eight thouſand men, armed with ſcymetars and muskets, and being intoxicated with opium, fell upon them like deſperate men; in which action Mr. *Dublet*, our under-factor, loſt his life.

The Nairos.

And upon this occaſion we ought not to paſs by the *Nairos*. Theſe are the gentlemen of *Malabar*, deſcended for the moſt part either from royal families, or *Brahmans*, and are for that reaſon exceedingly haughty, proud, and bold: if they meet any of the common people in the ſtreets, they cry out, *Po, Po*, i. e. *Give way, Give way*. They ſeldom appear without their ſcymetars and ſhields, which they leave at the door when (by a peculiar privilege) they go to give a private viſit to one of their neighbours wives, as a ſign that no body muſt enter there in the mean while to diſturb them. They are all bred to the war, even from the ſeventh year of age, when they begin to anoint their limbs with certain ointments, to render the nerves pliable, which makes them very active and nimble, and the beſt wreſtlers in the world. They are not only well acquainted with the uſe of bows and arrows, but alſo with muskets and great cannon; for I have ſeen them give a ſalvo with the ſame order and dexterity as our beſt-diſciplined troops in *Europe*; and they are of late years arrived to that perfection, that they make their own gun-barrels, gunpowder, and matches. They commonly engage naked, having only a piece of ſtuff wrapp'd about the middle: being very nimble they often turn their backs, but ſoon return to the charge, when they find the leaſt opportunity of having an advantage againſt their enemies. On the hilts of their ſwords they wear certain pieces of metal, which making a noiſe as they move, ſerves them for a certain muſick: they are very dextrous in defending their bodies with their ſhields; and conſequently are better at handy blows than at firing, for they commonly fire too high. Among the *Nairos*, thoſe who call themſelves *Amok* are the worſt, being a company of deſperadoes, who engage themſelves and their families by oaths, to revenge ſuch injuries as are done them. They are often ſeen at *Batavia*. The power of the kings of *Malabar* is generally eſteemed by the number of the *Nairos* under their juriſdiction. If any of their kings ſhould be murdered, they would ſacrifice all to revenge his death. As they are naturally fierce, and addicted to all manner of luſt and pride, ſo they are declared enemies of the chriſtians.

Baldæus.

The Amok.

Scarce were the *Dutch* maſters of *Coulang*, but their fleet, conſiſting of twenty three ſhips, great and ſmall, were ſurprized by ſo violent a tempeſt, (which laſted three days,) that they thought to have been all loſt, as lying at anchor under a low ſhore, and therefore expoſed to the utmoſt fury of the winds. The ſhips names were, the *Ulieland*, *Sea-horſe*, *Haddock*, *Bantam*, *Fluſhing*, *Marygold-flower*, *Cat*, *Tertolen*, *Red-Lion*, *Eraſmus*, *Sluyce*, *Achilles*, the *Romer*, *Flower-Valley*, *Walnut-tree*, the *Houſe of Swicten*, the *Elburgh*, *Stadthouſe of Amſterdam*, and the *Exchange of Amſterdam*; the four laſt being lately come from *Holland* freighted with proviſions, ſuch as meal, bacon, cheeſe, wine, oil, and mum, beſides a good number of land-men, many whereof were ill of the bloody flux. During this ſtorm we ſent

The Dutch *fleet in great danger of being loſt.*

Baldæus. our fervent and conſtant prayers up to heaven for the delivery of our fleet, on which depended all our ſafety; for the *Stadthouſe of Amſterdam* was in ſuch diſtreſs, that ſhe gave one ſignal after another for relief, having above ſix foot water; the *Eraſmus* had loſt all her anchors, but by good fortune got clear of the ſands; the *Sea-horſe* had taken fire, but was ſoon extinguiſhed; ſo that we came off with the loſs of three ſloops only. The fury of the tempeſt beginning to allay on the third day, juſt at the very time when we were coming from prayers out of the church, and by midnight the ſame being quite ceaſed, a ſolemn thankſgiving was ordered to be kept the 23d of *November*, 1661. when I preached upon the text of *Pſal.* lxvi. 12. By this time it being judged fit for our fleet to depart, a convenient garriſon was left in the place under captain *Kocks* and Mr. *Nyhof*, for the defence of the fortifications of the city, which were lately made of earth.

The fleet ſails for Cochin.

The kingdom of Trevancor.

The kingdom of *Trevancor* borders upon that of *Coulang*: all along the ſea-ſhore inhabit the *Paruas*, who being for the moſt part chriſtians, you ſee the ſhore all along as far as *Comoryn*, and even beyond it to *Tutecoryn*, full of little churches, ſome of wood, others of ſtone. Theſe people owe their converſion to *Franciſcus Xaverius*, he being the firſt who planted the principles of chriſtianity among them; they being ſo much taken with the reaſonableneſs of the ten commandments, that they received baptiſm in great numbers, though an accidental quarrel betwixt a *Paruas* and a *Mahometan* proved a ſtrong motive to their converſion: whence it is that *John de Lucena* ſays, *As the differences ariſen betwixt the* Jews *and the* Egyptians, *proved the means of the delivery of the people of God, and of the recovery of their ſpiritual and temporal liberty; ſo by God's direction, a quarrel which happened betwixt a* Paruas *and a* Mahometan, *proved the delivery of the firſt from their ſpiritual and temporal ſlavery.*

Converſion of the Paruas.

The *Paruas* being ſorely oppreſſed by the *Mahometans*, one *John de Crus*, a native of *Malabar*, but who had been in *Portugal*, and honourably treated by *John* the then king of *Portugal*, adviſed them to ſeek for aid at *Cochin* againſt the *Moors*, and to receive baptiſm. Accordingly ſome of the chief men among them (called *Patangatys* in their language) were ſent upon that errand to *Cochin*; where being kindly receiv'd, they (in honour of him who had given this advice) took upon them the ſirname of *Crus*; a name ſtill retained by moſt perſons of note among the *Paruas*. In ſhort, being delivered from the *Mooriſh* yoke, and the pearl-fiſhery (which formerly belonged to them) reſtored to the right owners, above twenty thouſand of them received baptiſm. *Baldæus.*

But though they were baptized, moſt of them being deficient in the knowledge of the true fundamentals of the chriſtian religion for want of teachers, they had in a little time ſcarce any marks of chriſtianity left among them, except the ceremony of baptiſm; as *Maffæus*, *John de Lucena*, and *Michael Vas* in his ſpeech to *Franciſcus Xaverius* ſufficiently teſtify. For the *Portugueſe* being too eager in baptizing theſe people, provided they could ſay by heart the *Creed*, *Our Father*, and *Avemary*, and being unprovided with teachers to inſtruct them, they ſoon returned to paganiſm; ſo that upon this ſcore the *Romiſh* prieſts need not talk ſo big as they often do.

Care of the king of Portugal *for their converſion.*

John the then king of *Portugal* being ſenſible of this defect, did all that in him lay to remedy this evil, by ſending divers young ſcholars to the univerſities of *Salamanca*, *Paris*, and *Conimbria*, to be educated and fitted for the miſſions into the *Indies*. About the ſame time *Ignatius Loyola*, the founder of the jeſuits order, began to be famous at *Rome*, for having with his ſociety made a vow to preach the goſpel throughout the world: whereupon the king of *Portugal* ordered *Peter Maſcarenhas*, his ambaſſador there, to confer upon that head with *Ignatius*, and to deſire ſix *Miſſionaries* for the *Eaſt Indies*; two being only granted, *Simon Roterigius*, a *Portugueſe*, (who had ſtudied at *Paris* at the king's charge,) and *Franciſcus Aſpilcota Navarrus*, ſirnamed *Xaverius*, were ſelected for that purpoſe: but the firſt being ſeized by a quartan ague, and forced to ſtay at *Lisbon*, *Xaverius* (after having received pope *Paul*'s benediction) ſet out, 1540. for the *Indies*.

Xaverius goes to the Indies.

He was no ſooner come thither, but having underſtood the deplorable ſtate of the *Paruas* from the mouth of *Michael Vas*, he did not reſt ſatisfied till he might deliver them out of their darkneſs: for this purpoſe having had ſeveral conferences with *John Albuquerque* biſhop of *Goa*, and *Martin Alphonſo de Souſa* the viceroy, he obtained leave to go among them; for though he appeared there in the quality of the apoſtolical nuncio, yet would he pay his due reſpects to the civil government.

Comes among the Paruas.

He left *Goa* in the beginning of *November*, 1542. in company of *Franciſcus du Manacias*, and two young interpreters educated in the college of *St. Paul*; and coming among the *Paruas*, applied all his care in having the chief fundamentals of the chriſtian religion tranſlated into the *Malabar* language, or in inſtructing the ſchoolmaſters in the right way of educating their youth. For the [illegible] with what zeal *John* king of *Portugal* proſecuted the propagation of the chriſtian

Baldæus. christian religion in the *Indies*, will best appear out of his letter written 1546. to *Don John de Caſtro*, his viceroy of the *Indies*, as follows: *Baldæus.*

To John de Caſtro, *Viceroy of* India, *all Happineſs:*

John king of Portugal's letter.

"YOU knowing what an abominable thing idolatry is in our eyes, the "the ſame ſhall for the future not be tole- "rated in my dominions. Being informed "that in the country about *Goa* the pagan "temples are ſuffered and frequented both "in publick and private, as well as divers "ſorts of pagan diverſions, we command "you once for all to have the ſame demo- "liſhed, burnt, and rooted out; and that "all imaginable care be taken to prevent "the importation of idols, either of wood, "metal, earth, or any other matter. The "heatheniſh ſports ſhall be aboliſhed, and "the *Brahmans* not in the leaſt encouraged, "and ſuch as contravene this our mandate "ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed. And con- "ſidering that the pagans may be brought "over to our religion, not only by the "hopes of eternal ſalvation, but alſo by "temporal intereſt and preferments, you "ſhall for the future not beſtow any offices, "or any other places in the cuſtom-houſe, "(as has been practiſed hitherto,) upon the "heathens, but only upon the chriſtians. We "underſtand alſo, that you commonly preſs "the *Indians* for our ſea-ſervice; in which "caſe we would have you ſhew as much "favour as you can to the chriſtians; and "if neceſſity will not allow you to ex- "cuſe them from that ſervice, to encou- "rage them with good pay and rewards: "In which point you ſhall conſult with "*Michael Vas*, a perſon well known to "us for his piety and zeal in propagating "the chriſtian religion. Being further "informed, that oftentimes negro ſlaves, "that might be inſtructed in the prin- "ciples of our religion, are for filthy lu- "cres ſake ſold to the *Mahometans*, the ſame "ſhall be ſtrictly prohibited, and care "taken againſt all manner of uſury. In the "city of *Bazain* you ſhall build a church, "and dedicate it to St. *Joſeph*, and pro- "vide for the ſubſiſtence of the vicar and "his aſſiſtants; to accompliſh which you "may employ ſomething out of our reve- "nues, and the three thouſand pardaus for- "merly employed to the maintenance of "the *Mahometan* moſque and their ſervice, "ſhall for the future be allotted for the "ſubſiſtence of the prieſts, and ſuch other "perſons as give a helping hand towards "the converſion of the infiuels. Among "the new converts, or all ſuch as have "hitherto, or for the future may be brought "over to the chriſtian religion, by the "care of *Michael Vas*, you ſhall diſtribute "yearly nine hundred quarters of rice "out of our revenue: it being our will, "that all the agreements made with the "chriſtians of *St. Thomas*, concerning the "weight, meaſures, and price of their "commodities, ſhall be inviolably ob- "ſerved. And underſtanding neverthe- "leſs that the contrary is practiſed in and "about *Cochin*, in the pepper-trade, we "command you to aſſiſt theſe chriſtians, "and to take effectual care they may not "be damnified, but treated with all mild- "neſs, as becomes chriſtians. You ſhall "alſo ſollicite the king of *Cochin*, not to "permit any ſorcery, or ſuch like things "to be tranſacted, by the ſale of pepper; "and being informed that the ſaid king "bereaves ſuch of his ſubjects as embrace "chriſtianity of all their means, you ſhall "earneſtly intercede with him on their "behalf; and we will alſo write to him "for that purpoſe. We could wiſh heart- "ily, that the buſineſs of *Socotora* (which "you have recommended to our care in "your letter) might be ſettled ſo as to "deliver thoſe miſerable people out of "their ſlavery, provided the ſame could "be done without exaſperating the *Grand* "*Seignior*, under whoſe juriſdiction they "live. You may upon this head conſult "with *Michael Vas*, and act in the matter "according to your diſcretion. It being "alſo come to our ears, that the *Paruas* "are ſometimes but very indifferently uſed "by our officers, who force them to ſell "their pearls (got by fiſhing or diving) "at what rate they pleaſe to take them; "this you ſhall not allow of, but permit "them to diſpoſe of their commodities at "the beſt price they can get. You ſhall "make an exact enquiry, whether the in- "habitants of the ſea-ſhore might not be "protected, and our revenues ſecured with- "out a fleet; ſo that the ſhips employed "in that ſervice might be made uſe of "upon other occaſions. You ſhall conſult "and debate with *Franciſcus Xaverius*, "whether it were not practicable, for the "better increaſe of the chriſtians, that "the pearl-fiſhery might not be permitted "only to the chriſtians, with excluſion of "the *Mahometans* and *Pagans*. And as "many among the *Paruas*, who have "embraced chriſtianity, meet with very "ill treatment from their *Pagan* friends and "relations, and are deſpoiled of all, theſe "you ſhall aſſiſt out of our revenues, accord- "ing as *Michael Vas* ſhall judge it conve- "nient.

Extraordinary care of the Paruas.

"We have further underſtood that a "certain royal youth has eſcaped from his

Baldæus. " father or uncle to *Goa*, in order to be " baptiſed: as his converſion is of great " moment, ſo you ſhall be very careful of " his perſon, and of his inſtruction and " education in the college of *St. Paul*, and " provide for his entertainment in cloaths, " attendance, and other matters, ſuitable " to his quality: he having notify'd to us " in his letter, that he is the legal heir of " the crown of *Ceylon*, you ſhall make due " enquiry after that matter, and write to " us your ſentiment thereof. The furious " attempts of the tyrant of *Ceylon* againſt " ſuch of his ſubjects as embrace chriſtia- " nity, oblige us to command you to take " a ſlow and ſecure, but a ſevere revenge of " him, to let the world ſee, that we are " ready to give all imaginable protection " to thoſe poor creatures, who have re- " nounced their pagan and diabolical ido- " latries. It being a general rumour here, " that the images of our ſaviour and the vir- " gin *Mary* are made and ſold by the pagans, " a thing unſeemly, and unbecoming the " chriſtian name, the ſame ought not to " be allowed of. The cathedral churches " of *Cochin* and *Coulang*, which have been " building for a conſiderable time, being " (as we hear) going to decay, we command " to be finiſhed, and covered with a good *Baldæus.* " roof, to keep out the rains. It is alſo " our pleaſure that a church dedicated to " St. *Thomas* ſhall be built in the ſtreet of " *Noroa*, and that the church of *St. Cruz*, " lately begun to be built at *Calapor*, ſhall " be brought to perfection. In the iſle of " *Cioran* you ſhall order a church and " ſome meeting-houſes to be built, for the " conveniency of the new converts to be ca- " techiz'd in, and to be inſtructed in the " word of God. We could alſo wiſh with " all our heart, that idolatry might be ba- " niſhed out of *Salſete* and *Bardes*; but in " this matter you muſt proceed with cau- " tion, for fear of exaſperating the minds " of the people; which end may be moſt " conveniently obtained, by ſhewing them " with all imaginable mildneſs their groſs " errors, and how, inſtead of the true God, " they pay their devotion to inſenſible " images and idols. For the ſame reaſon " you ſhall not neglect to confer with their " principal men upon this head, and to " encourage ſuch as embrace chriſtianity by " your favour, preſents, and otherwiſe. It " is our will that a peculiar regard ſhall " be had to this our letter, and the con- " tents thereof punctually obſerved."

CHAP. XXII.

A Deſcription of Tutecoryn, *and the Pearl-Fiſhery: That City taken by the* Hollanders. *The Iſle of* Rammanakoyel. Adam's-Bridge; *the Shape of his Foot imprinted in a Stone.* Tindi. *The taking of* Megapatan, *which is beſieged by the* Naike; *reduced to great Extremity by Famine: Once more attacked, and maintained.*

The Paruas *are now very obſtinate in the* Romiſh *ſuperſtitions.*

THE *Paruas* ever ſince this union with the *Romiſh* church, are ſuch zealots in that religion, that there are ſcarce any hopes of ever bringing them over to our ſide; their ignorance in religious concerns being ſuch, that beſides the uſe of their beads, and making the ſign of the croſs, they know nothing of the true fundamentals of the chriſtian religion they pretend to profeſs. In the year 1661. I was ordered to take a journey from *Tutecoryn* to *Coulang*, to viſit the churches along the ſea-ſhore, and endeavour to introduce a reformation there; but my endeavours proved ineffectual by reaſon of the great number of popiſh prieſts yet remaining in that country; and ſuppoſing a reformation could have been introduced, there were no miniſters to maintain it in ſo large a tract of land, where the *Paruas* were for the moſt part great favourers of the *Portugueſe*, and blind zealots in their religion, of which I had ſufficient proofs before at *Tutecoryn*. For the *Dutch* being become maſters of that place, 1658. I was ſoon after employ'd in the buſineſs of reformation, but without ſucceſs; for when I preached in *Portugueſe*, ſcarce any one of the *Paruas* durſt enter into the church, but remained in the porch for fear of the *Romiſh* prieſts living among them; for though theſe prieſts did not then live in the city, nevertheleſs the inhabitants would carry their children a great way into the country, to be baptiz'd by the prieſts.

Blind zeal of the Paruas.

I remember that paſſing one time through the market-place of *Tutecoryn*, a great number of people, at the accidental ringing of a bell, proſtrated themſelves upon the ground; whom I asked, whether they thought this a fit place for their devotion, when the church was ſo near at hand, deſiring them to follow me thither. They anſwered, That ſince the church was deſpoiled of the images and

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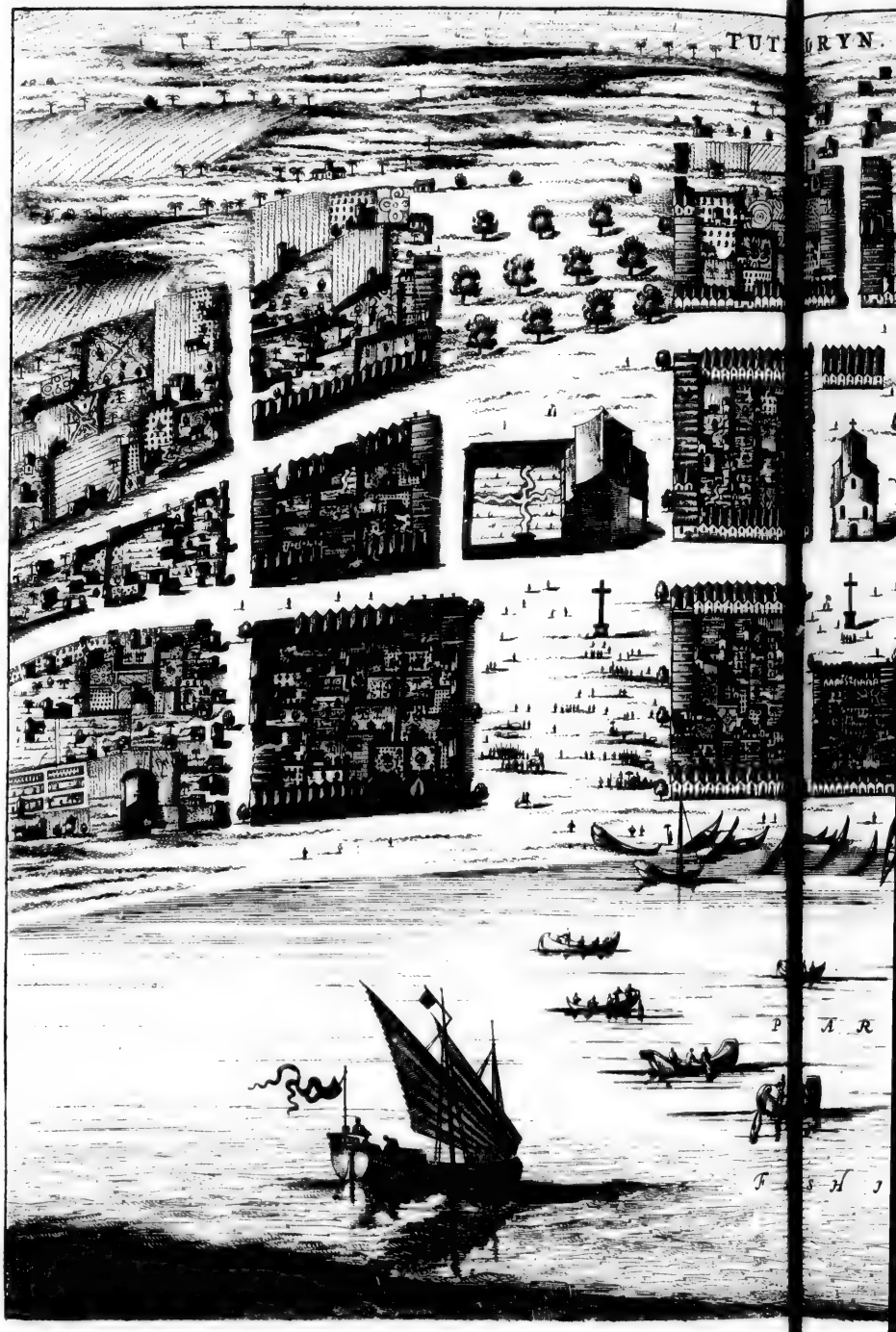
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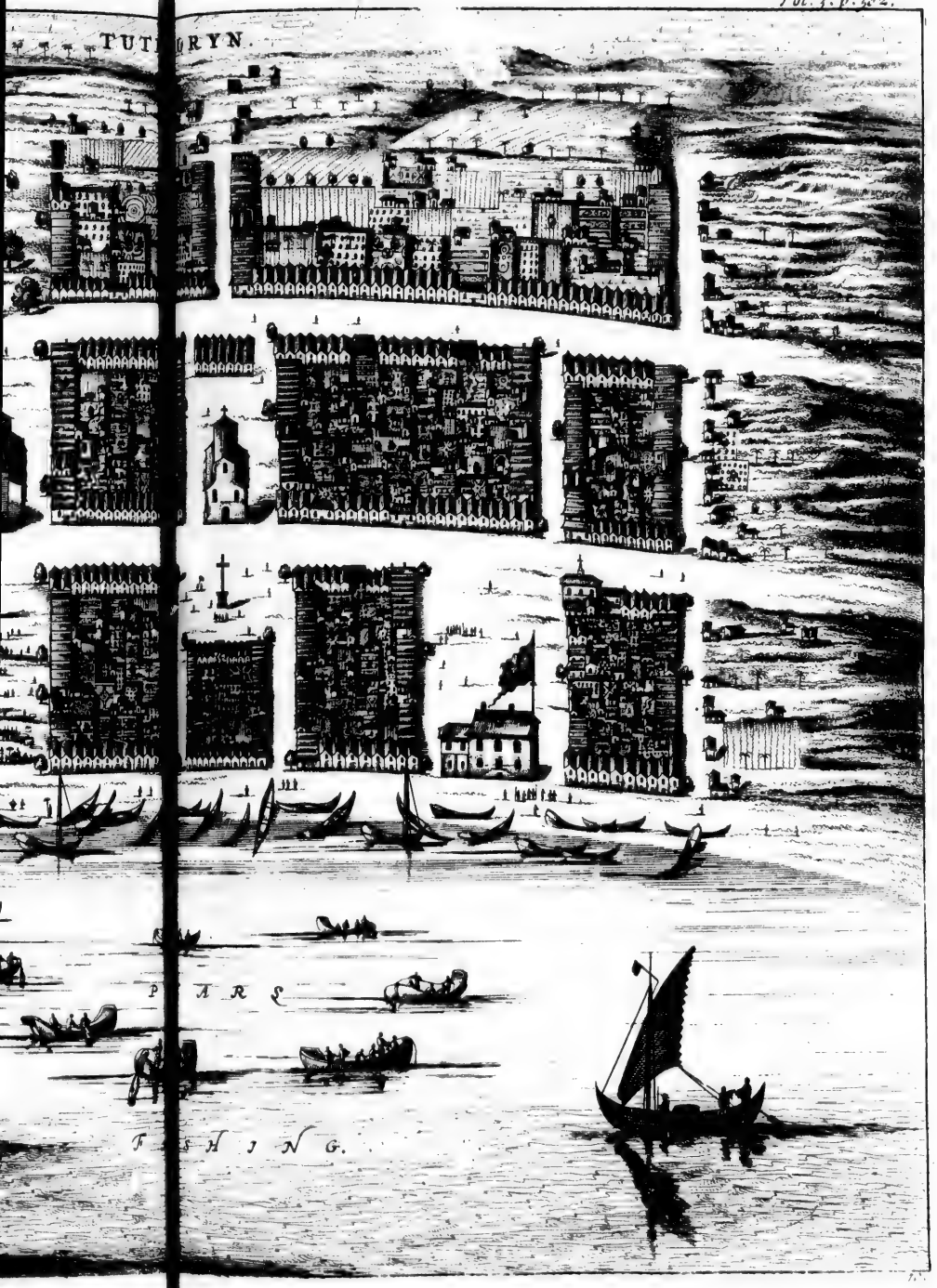

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Baldæus. other ornaments by us, they muſt look upon us as enemies to their religion. I replied, That we were no enemies of images, but only of the worſhipping of them, as appeared by ſeveral hiſtories of the baptiſm of our ſaviour, the converſion of St. *Paul* and others, remaining in the churches. To be ſhort, I found that the whole knowledge of the *Paruas* (both young and old) conſiſted in being able to ſay by heart the *Creed*, *Our Father*, the *Ten Commandments*, and the *Ave Mary*.

Ferreira employ's in reforming the Paruas. After my departure the reverend Mr. *John Ferreira Almeyda*, a native of *Lisbon*, was for a whole year employ'd in the reformation of the *Paruas*, but with leſs ſucceſs than myſelf, they having conceived an *Odium* againſt him, as one who had quitted that religion, and whoſe effigies upon that ſcore was burnt at *Goa*.

Tutecoryn taken by the Dutch. In the year 1658. in *January*, we ſet ſail from *Negumbo*, and in the beginning of *February* landed near *Tutecoryn*, after ſome reſiſtance from the natives, who ſet the city and their ſmall galleys on fire, and ſo retired deeper into the country. *Tutecoryn* is properly no more than a large village, without walls, ditches, or gates; it has three ſpacious churches, and abundance of goodly houſes built of ſtone, which afford a good proſpect at ſea. Hereabouts they make the beſt lime in *India*. The *Dutch* company has been ſeveral times endeavouring to erect ſome fortifications here; but the *Naike*, or lord of the country, not willing to conſent to it, they have hitherto been contented with a factory in one of the three churches; where always reſides a factor and under-factor, with three aſſiſtants, and ſix or eight ſoldiers.

The Pearl-fiſhery. Near this place is the famous pearl-fiſhery, whereof there are no more than three in the eaſt, *viz.* one near *Ormus*, the ſecond in the bay of *Ainam*, on the *Chineſe* coaſt, and the third in the bay betwixt cape *Comoryn* and the iſle of *Ceylon*, wherein are alſo comprehended *Manaar* and *Aripou*. The pearls are found in certain oiſter ſhells, (which are not good to eat,) and are taken by diving ſeven, eight, nine, or ten fathom deep, ſometimes not without great danger. The pearl-fiſhery is not allowed every year, ſometimes the oiſter-banks being covered with ſand, and ſometimes the oiſters not being come to their full maturity. To make a trial of the laſt, they take out a few, and by the quantity and quality of the pearls taken in them, judge whether it will quit coſt to fiſh, or not. If the fiſhing be reſolved upon, the inhabitants of the circumjacent parts come in great numbers with their families and boats, and pitch their tents near the ſea-ſide, where they remain until the fiſhery is over. The *Dutch* company has a certain ſhare in what is taken for their protection, the reſt being ſold publickly in the markets of *Tutecoryn* and *Calipatnam*. The *Paruas* alſo dive ſometimes for certain hours for a kind of ſea-ſnails, called *Chancos*, whereof they make rings, that bear a good price at *Bengale*. *Baldæus.*

The Paruas though chriſtians, never dive before they have made certain conjurations to prevent their being hurt by the ſharks.

The pearls of *Tutecoryn* and *Manaar* are neither in colour nor brightneſs comparable to thoſe taken near *Ormus* on the *Perſian* coaſt. The pearls are queſtionleſs nouriſhed both by the ſea and river water, as being often found at the time of low tides in the rivers. Abundance of pearl duſt is from hence tranſported into *Europe*, where it is uſed in the cordial medicines. The large pearls are valued according to their bigneſs, ſhape, and whiteneſs. Much cloth is made at *Tutecoryn*, the weaving-trade being very conſiderable here, which, together with the plenty of eatables, rice, ſugar, *&c.* makes this place to be much regarded by the company.

The climate of Tutecoryn. This tract of land is ſubject to moſt furious winds in *October*, *November*, and *December*; and in the winter ſeaſons to heavy rains. It is very ſandy near the ſea-ſhore, and has nothing but ſalt-water, which produces ſcabs, and other cutaneous diſtempers, as I can teſtify by my own experience. During the months of *January*, *February*, and *March*, the nights are extremely cold, by reaſon of the thick fogs, which fall conſtantly at that time, the days being at the ſame time ſo exceſſive hot, that there is no touching of the ground without their ſhoes, called *Seripous* by the inhabitants.

Different Seaſons on the north and ſouth ſide of the mountains. And upon this occaſion I cannot paſs by without making this obſervation, That notwithſtanding the nearneſs of *Tutecoryn* and *Comoryn*, they at the ſame time have very different ſeaſons: for in *April*, *May*, *June*, *July*, *Auguſt*, and *September*, thoſe inhabiting on the ſouth-ſide of the ſaid cape, enjoy all the bleſſings of the ſummer ſeaſon, whilſt thoſe living on the north-ſide are at the ſame time ſubject to all the inconveniences of the winter; this ſide being then conſtantly peſtered with tempeſtuous winds, whilſt on the other ſide the air is ſerene and calm; the difference of which muſt needs be looked for among the mountains, the receptacles of winds, rains, and ſnow, the ſame being obſerved in other parts of the *Indies*, as well as in *Africa*. For if *Africa* were not mountainous, it would be altogether barren and uninhabitable, no more than the countries under the *Torrid Zone*, which if they were deſtitute of mountains, would alſo want rivers, (the ſources of them being all in the mountains,) nor hard rains. Thus it is obſervable, that about *Columbo*, *Gale*, and *Mature*, abundance of rains fall at different times, becauſe that part of the iſle of

Ceylon

Baldæus. *Ceylon* is mountainous; whereas near *Manaar*, *Jaſnapatnam*, and the other places, where there is a flat country, it rains only in *October*, *November*, and a little in *December*, all the reſt of the year being without the leaſt rains; the defect whereof is however ſupply'd in ſome meaſure by the fogs or dew; the ſouth winds which blow then from the cape of *Comoryn*, prevent the rains on that ſide. The inhabitants of *Peru* are very ſenſible of this difference; for whilſt the inhabitants of the mountains are often rejoiced with ſudden ſhowers of rain, thoſe of the flat country, and eſpecially near the ſea-ſide, never feel any rain, but only a thick fog or dew.

The mountains occaſion the difference of ſeaſons.

Whence it [illegible], that according as the mountains [illegible] the winds and rains on one ſide or the other, they produce the difference of ſeaſons in theſe parts; this is very perſpicuous on the cape of *South Point* of *Africa*, where ſuch violent guſhes of wind are ſometimes ſent forth out of the concavities of the mountains, that they are able to overturn all that meets in their way. I remember that travelling once that way, I had enough to do to keep myſelf and my horſe upright; and at another time a coach belonging to the *Dutch* company there, was overturned by ſuch a guſh of wind. They take it for an infallible ſign of an approaching tempeſt on the cape of *Good Hope*, when they ſee thick clouds appear on the top of *Tablemaintainand*. The ſame is obſerved in moſt other mountains under the *Torrid Zone*; for the inhabitants near the *Equinoctial Line* have their due rainy ſeaſons twice a-year, *viz.* in ſpring and autumn, occaſioned by the gathering of the clouds in the mountains, the pinacles of which reaching very high, ſtop the courſe of the air, (which in thoſe parts moves conſtantly from eaſt to weſt,) which thereby being condenſed into clouds, theſe produce of neceſſity either ſudden winds or rains on one ſide, and bleſſes the other ſide at the ſame time with a ſerene air and happy climate, the tops of theſe mountains being in theſe parts like a partition-wall to ſummer and winter: for the further elucidation whereof, I will refer myſelf to the moſt ingenious lord *Bacon*, and *des Cartes*.

Iſle of Rammanakoyel.

From *Tutecoryn* towards the iſle of *Rammanakoyel* are to be ſeen divers churches of the *Paruas*, as at *Baipaar*, *Manapaar*, *&c.* where *Xaverius* planted the chriſtian doctrine. The iſle of *Rammanakoyel* abounds in cattle, having got its name from *Bramma* or *Ramma*, and the *Malabar* word *Koyel*, i. e. *The Temple of Ramma*; for near the ſea-ſide is to be ſeen the pagode of the *Teuver*, or lord of the iſle, which they ſay contains an incredible treaſure. The foundation is ſtrengthened and ſupported with ſtones of a vaſt bigneſs towards the ſea-ſide, to break the force of the raging waves, when the ſouth winds blow. The iſle is however but indifferently fertile, being in ſome parts very ſandy, which is very troubleſome to the eyes when the winds blow very hard. The lord of the iſle has built a ſtrong caſtle oppoſite to the coaſt of *Coromandel*, and the country under the juriſdiction of the *Naike*. In the year 1662. I and lieutenant *Herman Egbertſz* travelling that way, were ſeized upon by the inhabitants, and committed priſoners, being forced to live without victuals or drink for a conſiderable time, till a certain inhabitant of *Manaar* coming that way, and knowing me, releaſed us out of our captivity. The cannon of the caſtle commands a certain ſtrait paſſage, which leading to *Manaar*, *Jaſnapatnam*, and *Negapatnam*, the ſame may be ſtopped at pleaſure by the lord of the iſle, by ſinking only a few ſtones in the channel, whereby the navigation that way is at his abſolute diſpoſal.

Baldæus.

Strait paſſage under the caſtle of the iſle.

Not far from hence is that they call *Adam's-Bridge*, being a ridge of ſands and rocks extending as far as *Manaar*, being ſometimes paſſable in ſmall boats. In the deſcription of *Ceylon*, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak ſomething more of this *Adam's-Bridge*, and the *Adam's-Mount*. Certain it is, that the *Cingaleſes*, as well as the *Siameſes* have ſome knowledge of *Adam*; for the laſt ſhew you the print of a foot (ſaid to belong to the firſt man) in a rocky mountain of a yard and an half in length, three quarters broad, and a quarter deep, edged round about with ſilver, near which is built a moſt magnificent temple, much frequented by the *Siameſe* prieſts, and other inhabitants of the circumjacent country, it being their opinion, that the leaſt drop of the water gathered in this print of the foot, and dropped upon their heads, cleanſes them from their ſins: for which reaſon they never uſe it without a great deal of reverence, no body daring to enter the temple without ten, twelve, or more wax candles lighted, according to their reſpective abilities; and when they return, they take ſome of this holy water along with them in bamboe-canes, for the uſe of their friends, that have not the opportunity of coming thither in perſon. The king himſelf goes once every year on pilgrimage, with all his *Mandarines*, (or great courtiers,) to this temple, where they uſe this water at the time of the full moon, and conclude the night with dancing and drinking. Some of the *Siameſe* prieſts did, by ſpecial leave from his majeſty, ſhew to certain *Hollanders*, 1654. in *March*, a plate of gold, of the ſame length and breadth as the before-mentioned *Adam's-Foot*, with ſixty eight figures engraven upon it, which

Adam's Bridge.

Adam's foot ſhewn by the Siameſes.

The holy water.

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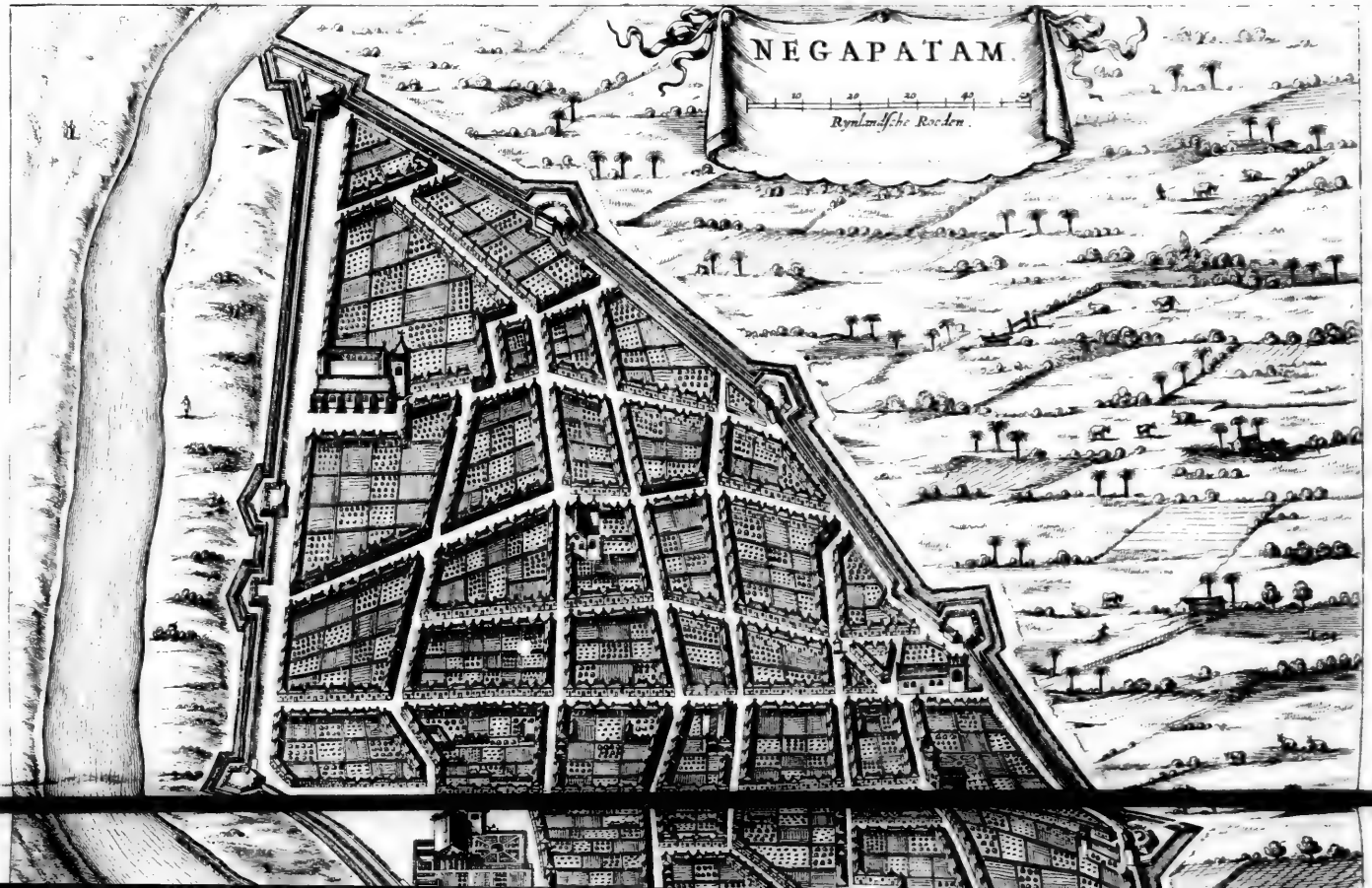
Adam's Bridge.

Adam's foot ſhewn by the Siameſes.

The holy water.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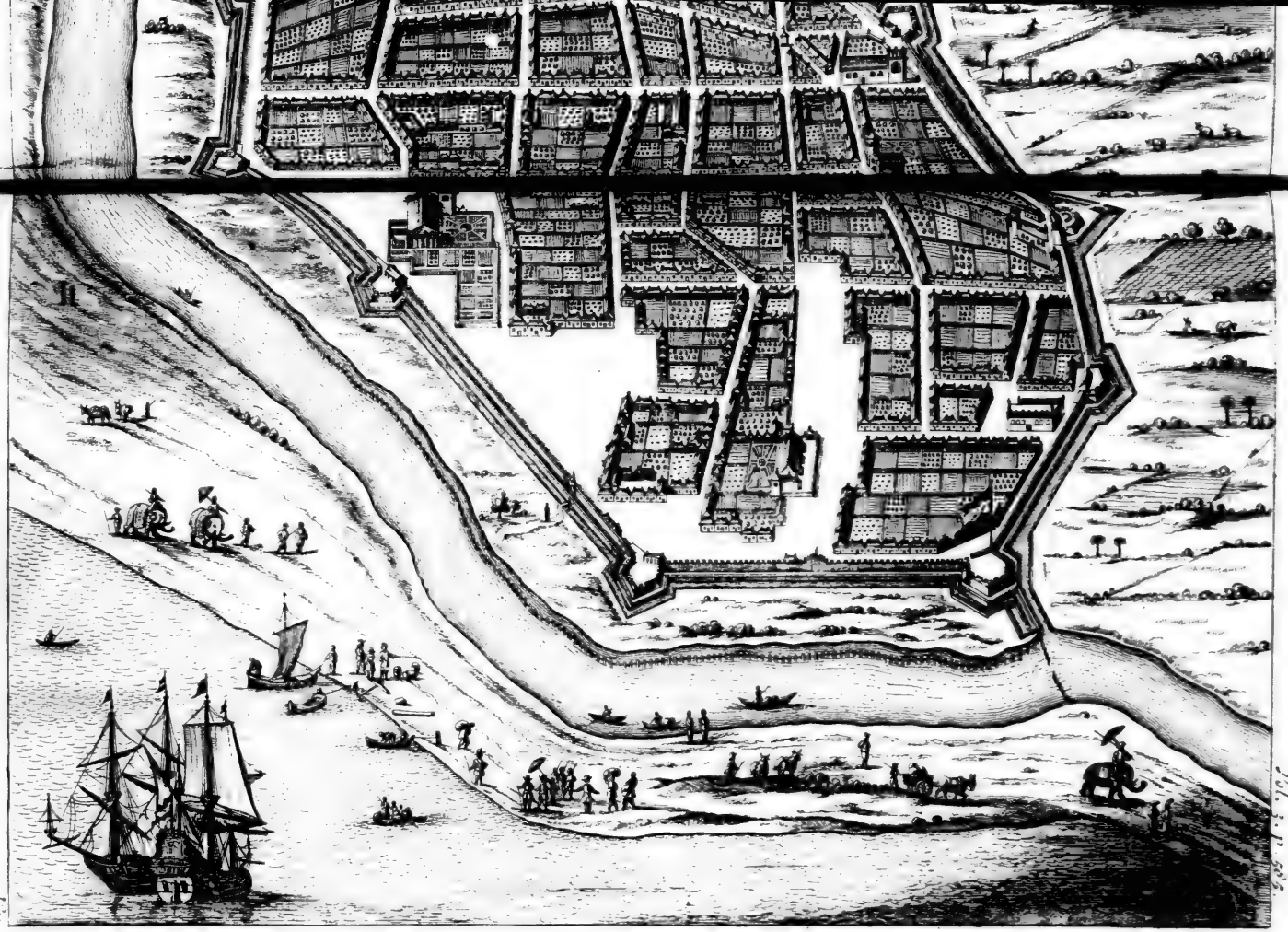

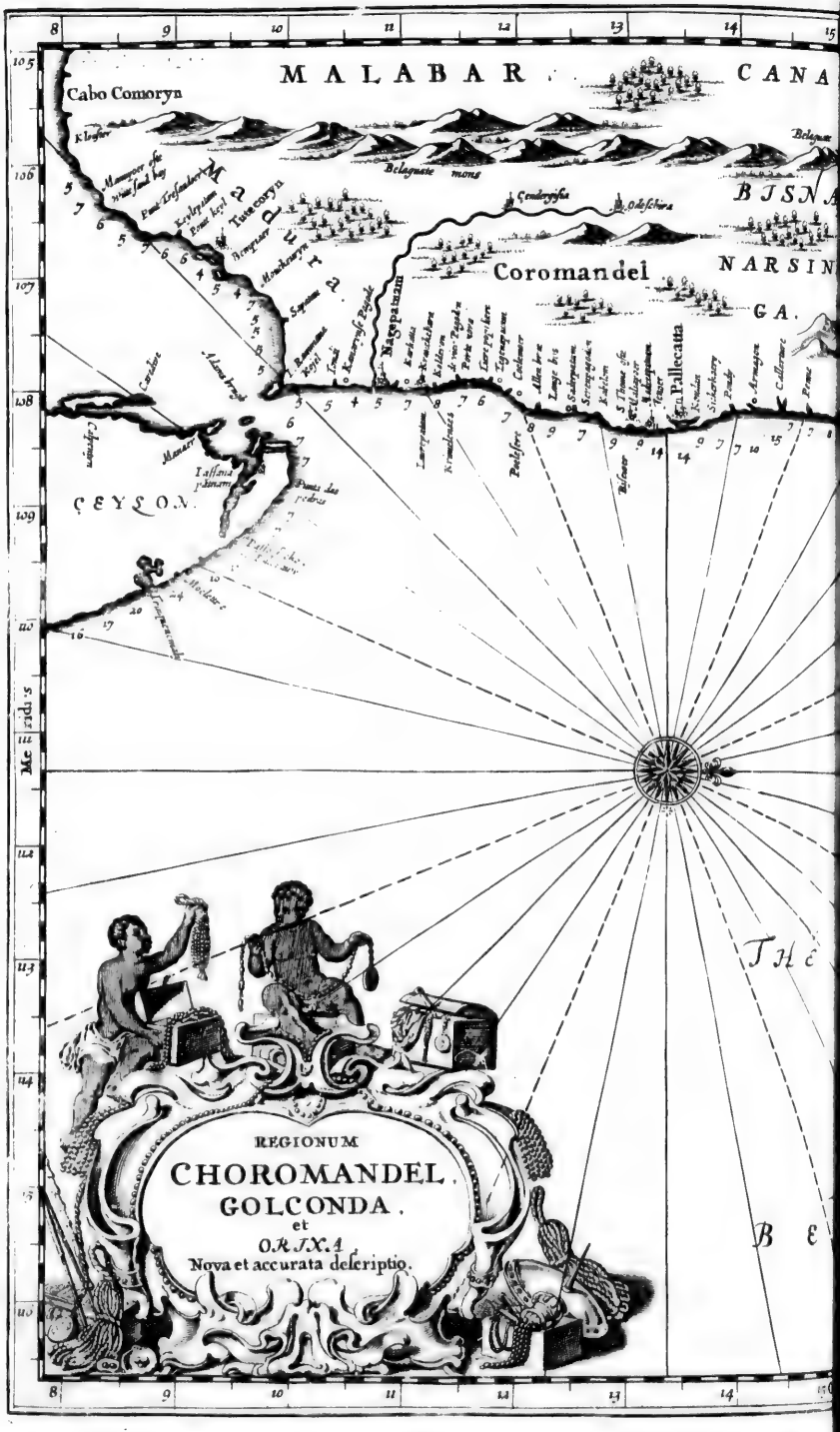
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GOLCONDA.
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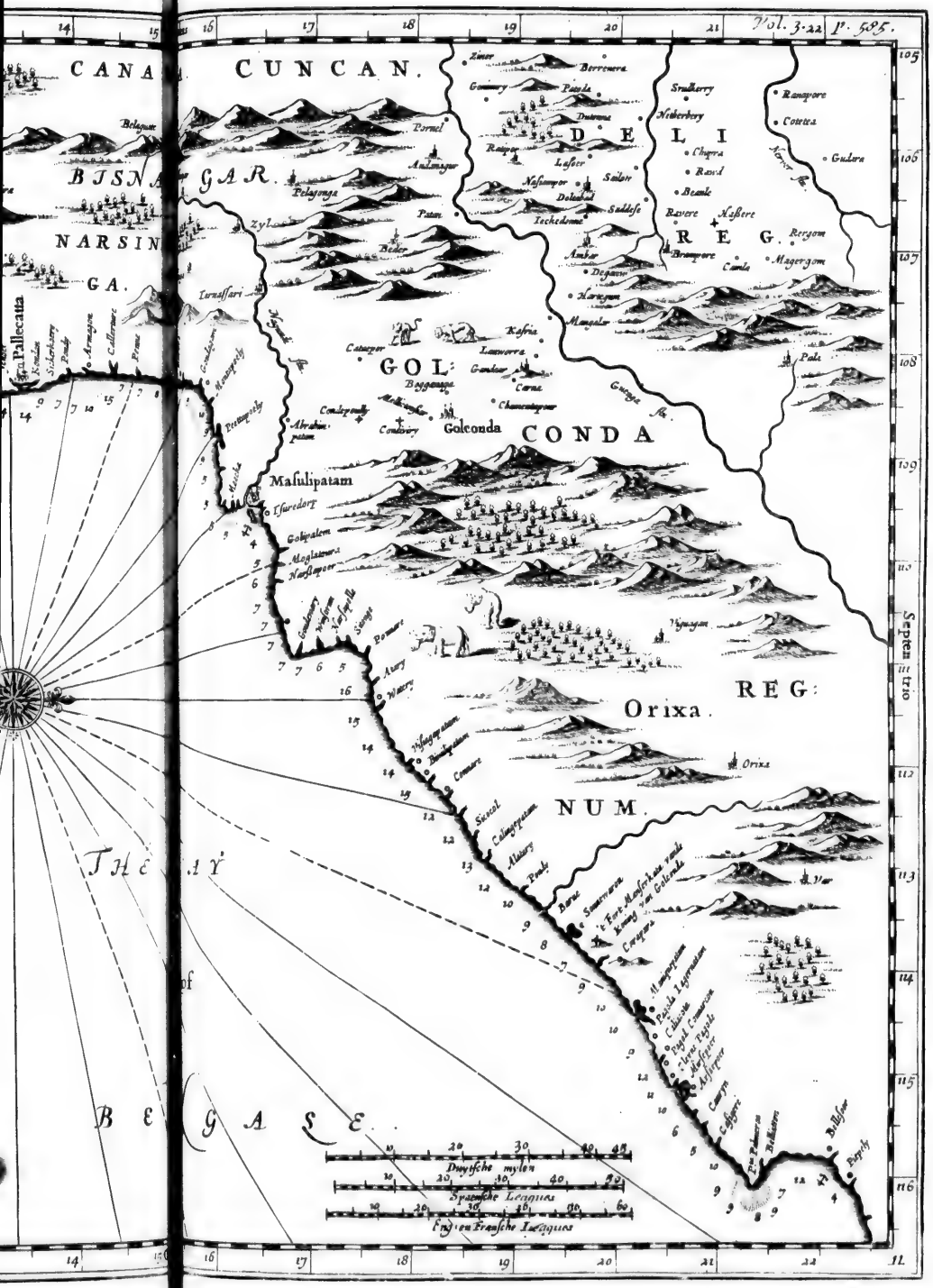
ORIXA.
Nova et accurata descriptio.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Zmer
Berrenera
Gommery
Pinola
Duronna
Raipor
Luſeer
Nelampor
Dolaldi
Techedroma
Saddiſe
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Degauw
Harigam
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Baldæus.

The figures in Adam's foot.

Tondy up on the coast of Coromandel.

Baldæus. they ſaid were formerly to be ſeen in the print of *Adam*'s foot in the rock; but vaniſhed as ſoon as they were engraven in this plate, and were the following: *A queen with a ring on her finger, divers roſes, a chain, an arm, a bed of gold, a chair of the ſame metal, an elephant's tooth, a royal palace, a golden ſword-belt, an umbrello, a royal hanger or ſcymitar, a fan made of the leaves of the terry-tree, a fan made of a peacock's tail, a royal crown, a prieſt with his mendicant pot of iron, a chain of precious ſtones, a red couſlip-flower, a double one of the ſame kind, a white one and a double white one of the ſame kind, a cup full of water, a pot full of water, the ſea, the world, a foreſt beyond the world, the purgatory of the* Siameſe, *the higheſt mountain of the world, the ſun, the moon, the evening-ſtar, the great God of the heavens, the god of the four winds, two thouſand ſervants of the four winds, a ſea-ſnail, two fiſhes of gold, the ſeven chief rivers, ſeven mountains with precious ſtones, ſeven royal ladies, the king of beaſts, the king of the* caimans *or crocodiles, an enſign, another of paper, a chair or litter, a fan with a long handle, a mountain in an iſland, the king of ſerpents, the king of tygers, a leaping horſe, a large elephant, a white one of the ſame kind, a water-ſerpent, a* caſuarius, (a bird like an oſtrich,) *the [illegible] of the white cows, an elephant with three heads and as many tails, a ſerpent, a ſhip of gold, an angel, a cow with a ſucking calf, a certain bird, half a man and half a bird, a female of the ſame ſort, a ſinging bird, the king of the peacocks, the king of the cranes, a bird called* Krapat, *a bird called* Kuyſhit, *ſix heavens, ſixteen ſorts of heavens.*

The figures in Adam's foot.

Concerning all which the prieſts give you their interpretations. The before-mentioned *Adam's-Bridge* extends to *Tellemanaar*, the furthermoſt point of the iſle of *Manaar*, of which more anon in the deſcription of *Ceylon*.

We will now take our turn in the ſouthern parts of *Coromandel*, ſubject for the moſt part to the *Naike* of *Madure* and *Tanjaour*. *Tondy* is the firſt place next to the territories of *Jafnapatnam*; and I remember myſelf, that ſetting ſail one morning, about eleven of the clock from *Jafnapatnam*, we were within ſight of the ſhore by four in the afternoon, and the ſame night, at nine of the clock, caſt anchor before *Negapatan*. From *Tondy* they tranſport yearly many hundred heads of cattle to *Jafnapatnam*; near the firſt ſtands a certain *Pagode*, called *Kailiemcer*, a very high ſtructure, in the road to *Negapatan*, or *Negapatnam*, i. e. the *City of Serpents*, *Nega* ſignifying in the *Malabar* language a ſerpent, and *Patnam* a city; becauſe the country hereabouts abounds with a certain ſort of venomous ſerpents, called by the *Cobres Capellos*, which are in ſuch reverence among the *Pagans*, that if they ſhould happen to kill one of them, they will look upon it as an expiable crime, and to forebode ſome great misfortune.

Tondy upon the coaſt of Coromandel.

This city was taken by compoſition, without ſtriking a ſtroke, by *John van der Laan*, and *Lucas van der Duſſen*, commanders of the *Dutch* forces, 1658. the laſt of the two being ſince made governor of *Cochin*, and the other forts on the *Malabar* coaſt, ſubject to the *Hollanders*. The *Portugueſe* were permitted to depart with their goods, families, church-ornaments, *&c.* in certain ſhips appointed for that purpoſe by the *Dutch* company. The city is ſeated near the ſhore, has no convenient harbour, as indeed the whole coaſt of *Coromandel* is deſtitute of them: its buildings are very ſtately, eſpecially the church, which affords a very goodly proſpect towards the ſea-ſide; the land winds are exceſſive hot and ſtifling here, as on the other hand, the ſea-winds are refreſhing both to men and beaſts. It is obſervable, that whilſt the land-wind blows, they gather water in ſtone veſſels, which keeps very cool; the worſt is, that theſe winds prevent people from ſweating, which makes the heat the more inſupportable. The ſame is to be obſerved at *Maſulipatan*, where they are ſo ſtifling, that many people are killed by them.

The city of Negapatnam.

Maſtered by the Dutch.

In the year 1660. *July* the 14th, I ſet ſail from *Jafnapatnam* to *Negapatnam*, to introduce the reformed religion there; and accordingly preached the firſt time the 18th, both in *Dutch* and *Portugueſe*, and adminiſtered the holy ſacrament to twenty perſons, and baptiſm to ſeveral children. After Mr. *Frederick Frontenius* and myſelf had ſpent ſome time there in ſettling the proteſtant religion, Mr. *John Kruyf*, formerly miniſter in the caſtle, called the *Seelandia* in the iſle of *Tajowan*, was conſtituted miniſter at *Negapatnam*, who after his death was ſucceeded by Mr. *Nathaniel de Pape*, a perſon of indefatigable care, who in a very ſmall time has made conſiderable advancements in the *Portugueſe* and *Malabar* languages, who by the encouragement, and under the protection of Mr. *Cornelius Speelman*, governor of the coaſt of *Coromandel*, and famous for his late victories obtain'd againſt the *Macaſſars*, and the king of the iſle of *Celebes*, has ſettled and ſpread the doctrine of the goſpel in the circumjacent villages.

The proteſtant religion introduced in Negapatnam.

At the time of our firſt arrival, we found the affairs of *Negapatnam* in no ſmall confuſion; the city having been juſt before beſieged by the *Naike*, who, after a vigorous ſally made by the beſieged, had been forced to retreat with the loſs of three or four hundred men. Beſides this, the king of *Viſiapour* had not long before the ſiege made

Miſery about Negapatnam.

Baldæus. an inroad into the country, and by deſtroying all the fruits of the earth, and whatever elſe he met with, occaſioned ſuch a famine, that the poor country wretches being forced to fly to the city for want of rice and other eatables, you ſaw the ſtreets covered with emaciated and half-ſtarved perſons, who offered themſelves to ſlavery for a ſmall quantity of bread; and you might have bought as many as you pleaſed at the rate of ten ſhillings a head; above five thouſand of them were there bought and carried to *Jaſnapatnam*, as many to *Colombo*, beſides ſeveral thouſands that were tranſported to *Batavia*. *Baldæus.*

In the year 1669. the *Naike* was again embroiled with the *Dutch* company; but being bravely repulſed, was glad to be at quiet. Without the gates, on the north-ſide of the city, ſtands a very lofty *Pagode*, called *China*, near which is a ſummer-ſeat, with very pleaſant gardens and orchards, formerly belonging to *Franciſco d'Almeyda*, an antient rich *Portugueſe*, now living at *Trangebar*.

CHAP. XXIII.

A Deſcription of Carcal, Trangebar, Trinilivaas, Colderon, Porto Novo, Tegnatapan, Tirepoplier, Chengier, Sadraſpatan, Madraſpatan, St. Thomas, Paliacatta, Carnatica, Penna, Caleture, Petapouli, *and* Maſulipatan.

Carcal. TWO leagues from *Negapatan* lies *Carcal*, where, as well as in moſt other ſouthern places, *Adrian van der Meyden*, head-factor of our company, did erect a factory ſome years ago; but ſince we have been maſters of *Negapatan*, the factory of *Carcal* is not regarded. The chief commodities here are certain ſtuffs, eſpecially thoſe called rambotyns, much in requeſt among the *Japoneſe*.

Trangebar. From *Carcal* to the *Daniſh* fort, called *Trangebar*, are about three leagues: it has four bulworks, and the garriſon conſiſts for the moſt part of *Topaſſes* and *Negros*, under the command of one *Eskel Andres*. The inhabitants conſiſt of *Portugueſe*, *Pagans* and *Mahometans*: their traffick is very inconſiderable, their chiefeſt advantage ariſing from the excurſions they make upon the neighbouring *Mahometans*, with whom they are in conſtant enmity, by reaſon of the ill uſage they have ever received from them. About two years before our departure thence, one *Simon van Medenblick* had got a commiſſion from the *Danes*, and took a rich *Mooriſh* veſſel, and killed the whole ſhip's crew. I have often wondered why the *Danes* ſhould not more encourage their trade in the *Indies* than they do, ſince they have the ſame, or rather a better opportunity for ſo doing than the *Engliſh*.

Colderon. From *Trangebar* you go by the way of *Trinilivaas* to *Colderon*, where there is a very dangerous ſand-bank. From thence you come to the place called the *Four Pagodes*, and ſo to *Porto Novo*, or *Newhaven*, about four or five leagues from *Trangebar*. At *Porto Novo* inhabit ſome *Portugueſe*: their trade conſiſts chiefly in a certain hard wood called *Hunter's-wood*, *Coco-nuts*, *Arek*, *Cair*, &c. Porto Novo.

About a league from *Porto Novo* ſtands *Tegnapatan*, where the *Hollanders* have likewiſe a factory. Next to this lies *Tirepoplier*, upon a river which is navigable, within half a league of the *Dutch* factory. The road lies at eleven degrees one fourth of northern latitude, having ſeventy ſeven fathom water, with a grey ſandy ground, very fit for anchorage, not above a mile from the ſhore. There is ſafe riding at anchor here (as all along the coaſt of *Coromandel*) during the ſouth *Mouſſon*, but very dangerous in the north *Mouſſon*. The caſtle of *Tirepoplier* is tolerably ſtrong, according to the faſhion of the *Gentives*. The factory formerly belonging to the *Dutch* was within the caſtle, where is alſo a ſtately large *Pagode*, with a high ſtone-tower flat at top, which ſerves the mariners for a guide. The mines of the old caſtle, belonging formerly to the *Portugueſe*, upon an aſcent near the ſea-ſhore on the north-ſide of the river, are alſo ſeen a good way at ſea. The country hereabouts is generally ſandy, and ſometimes rocky. *Tirepoplier* is under the juriſdiction of the *Criſtappaneyk*, whoſe reſidence is at *Chengier*, about two days journey to the ſouth of *Tirepoplier*. Tegnapatan. Tirepoplier.

The city of *Chengier* is very populous, and three times as big as *Rotterdam*, ſeated in a moſt pleaſant valley, near a delightful river, to the ſouth of it: it is fortified with double ſtone-walls, and has four high rocks without, upon three of which are as many ſtrong forts, and upon the fourth a *Pagode*. The firſt of theſe rocks is incloſed with a very ſtrong wall, the ſecond with four Chengier.

HAP. XXIII.

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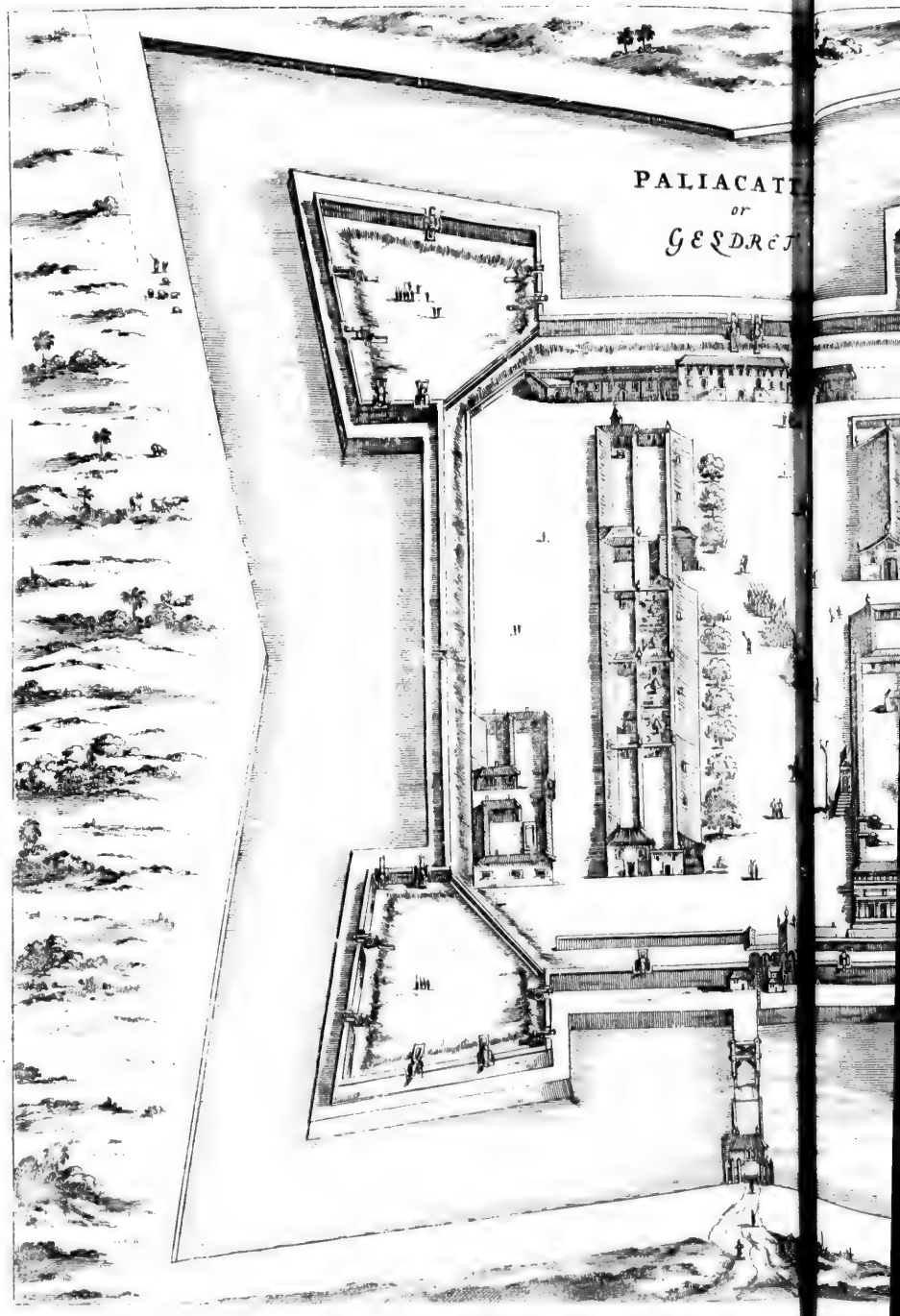
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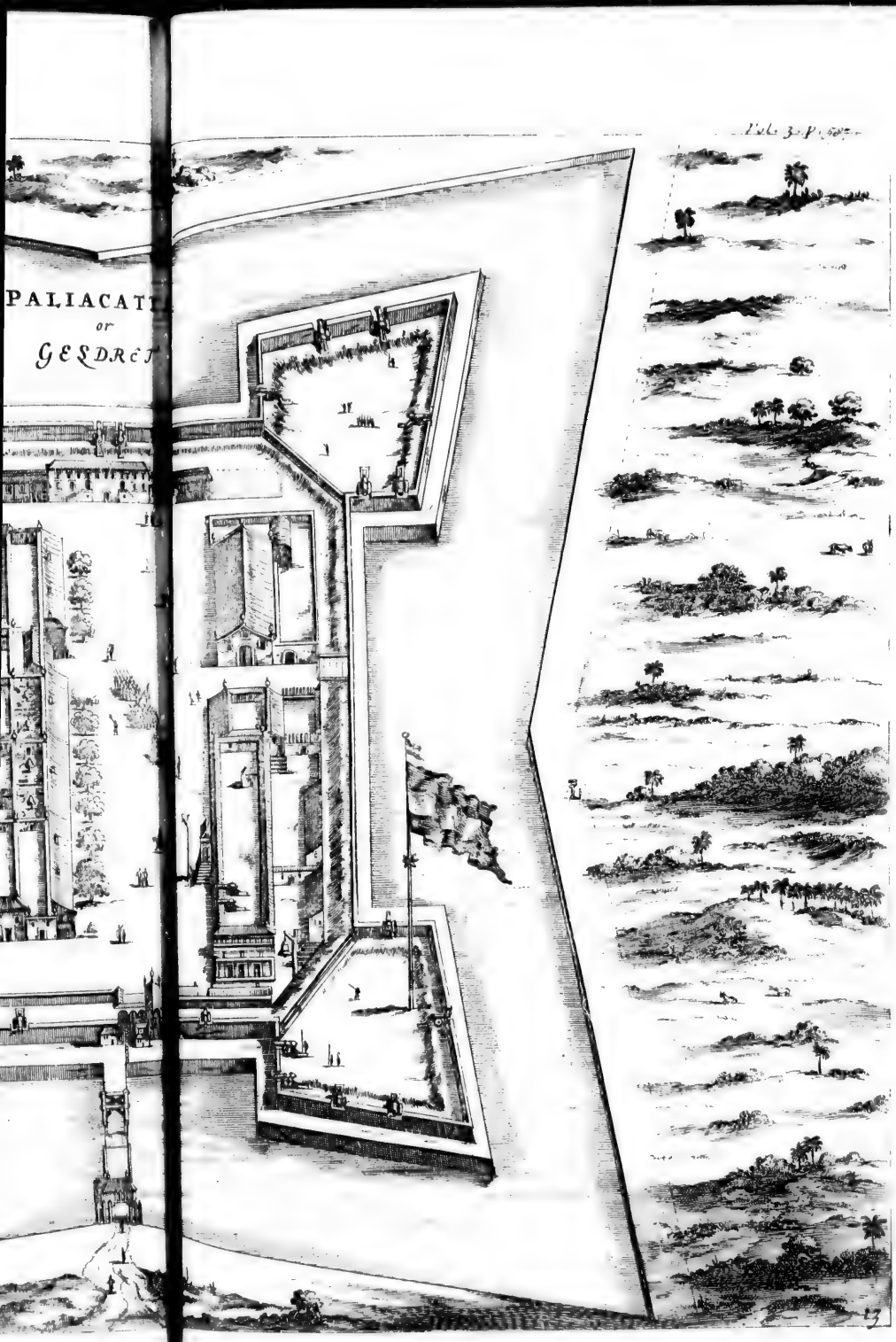
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Baldæus. four walls, and the third with no leſs than ſeven, with as many gates all of ſtone, and kept by a conſiderable garriſon; the aſcents to the forts being cut out of the rock, and ſcarce acceſſible by reaſon of their ſteepneſs and ſtraitneſs. On the top of theſe rocks are moſt delicious ſprings, freſh-water ponds, and gardens. Beſides which there is another fortreſs upon an unacceſſible rock without the city, commanding the avenues towards it on that ſide. The *Naike*'s palace ſtands betwixt two of the before-mentioned rocks, moſt pleaſantly ſituate, and well fortified. Great cannon are a kind of rarity here, and thoſe few they have, (like thoſe in the ſiege of *Negapatan*, 1658.) are made of long and broad bars of iron joined together with iron hoops; their bullets are of ſtone, and cut round.

The *Naike* was, at our firſt arrival in theſe parts, very obliging to our deputies, whom he treated very ſplendidly for fourteen days together: and after he had given them a full view of his prodigious wealth, conſiſting in moſt ſumptuous apparel, ſilver, gold, and jewels, as alſo of his wives, concubines, and forces, both horſe and foot, he diſmiſs'd them very honourably, upon the news of *Iteragio* being on his march againſt us.

The *Naike* being almoſt arrived to the age of dotage, one *Trirvingelaya* (who had emaſculated himſelf) was adminiſtrator of the kingdom, a cruel and bloody-minded perſon, very covetous and implacable in his hatred, who, by his ſeverity againſt criminals, had rendered the country free from robberies and pillages. This *Aya*, or adminiſtrator-general, was very urgent with our deputies to agree with him once for all for the yearly ſum of one thouſand eight hundred rixdollars in lieu of the cuſtoms, offering to us the government of *Tegnapatan*, the free exerciſe of the chriſtian religion, and full power to rebuild the ruined caſtle of the *Portugueſe*.

The country hereabouts abounds in rice, ſalt, fruits, and other eatables; notwithſtanding which, by reaſon of the vaſt number of the inhabitants, they muſt be ſupply'd with proviſions from abroad. Their chief commodities to be exported are linen and woollen ſtuffs, much in requeſt among thoſe of the *Moluques*, *Amboyna*, *Banda* and other *Malajan* places. But great care muſt be taken theſe ſtuffs agree with their patterns, eſpecially in the goodneſs of the colour, wherein they are very deceitful. The commodities imported and exchanged here, are nutmegs, mace, pepper, ſandal-wood, *Chineſe* ſilks, velvets, ſattins, embroidered and wrought carpets of all ſorts of colours, raw ſilks, *Patana* girdles, muſk, cinnabar, quickſilver, (but no porcellain or *Chineſe* camphire,) brazain, tin, lead, copper, &c. *Baldæus.*

From *Tirepoplier* you go over *Poelezere*, *Poelemoer*, and *Alembrue*, to *Sadraſpatan*, where the *Dutch* have a factory, and from thence to *Madraſpatan*, otherwiſe *Chinne-patan*, where the *Engliſh* have the fort of *St. George*, garriſoned with *Topatzes* and *Miſtices*; and from whence they ſend their ſhips every year, as well as from *Surat*. Sadraſpatan. Madraſpatan.

St. Thomas is a city belonging to the *Portugueſe*, ſituate in *Malapour*, at twenty three degrees one half northern latitude, about a days journey from *Paliacatta*; but taken from them about eight or nine years ago by the *Moors*. It is an ancient trading city, their chief traffick conſiſting in coloured ſtuffs, their weavers here being famous throughout the *Indies*, as well as their dyers: they are tranſported to *Malaga*, *Java*, the *Moluques*, *Siam*, *Pegu*, &c. The excellency and laſtingneſs of their dying are attributed to a peculiar quality in their water, the ſprings whereof ariſe out of very white ſandy ground, without the leaſt mixture of clay. S. Thomas.

Paliacatta, *i. e.* the *Old Fort* in the *Malabar* language, is ſeated at thirteen degrees twenty two minutes of northern latitude, five long leagues from *St. Thomas*. About ſix leagues into the country, in a direct line from the harbour of *Paliacatta*, you ſee a ridge of high mountains extending from ſouth to north; on the ſouthern part you ſee an interſtice or valley, where in antient time ſtood the caſtle of *Rama Geridorgon*; in lieu whereof was afterwards built the fort *Geldria*, where the *Dutch* governor keeps his reſidence. It is not very large, yet fortified with ſome bulworks, ſufficient to reſiſt the power of the neighbouring *Moors*. Mr. *Anthony Pavilion*, counſellor of the *Indies*, had at that time his reſidence there as governor, after Mr. *Cornelius Speelman*; and the garriſon conſiſted of about eighty or ninety men. The road is very good at half a league from the ſhore, where you may ride ſafely at anchor at ſeven or eight fathom depth during the ſouthern *Mouſſon*; but not in the northern *Mouſſon*, when the waves breaking forth with great violence out of the bay of *Bengale* and the *Ganges* againſt this ſhore, render anchorage very dangerous. Paliacatta. *The* Dutch *fort* Geldria. *The road of* Paliacatta.

About three leagues and a half from the road is a certain ſand-bank, extending from the river into the ſea for a league together, where there is no anchorage within four and a half, or five fathoms water. Two leagues to the north is the point of *Sicerecourdi*; from whence jets out into the ſea a ſand-ridge for above two leagues and a half, near which there is no ſafe anchorage within ſix and a half

Baldæus. half or ſeven fathoms water. Near the bar there is from ſix to ten fathoms water in the ſouth *Mouſſon* at high tide; but the boats or lighters that carry the merchandizes muſt keep under the ſouthern ſhore, there being abundance of ſhelves under the northern ſhore. About a good cannon-ſhot within the mouth of the river, within reach of the caſtle is a good winter-road for the *Indian* ſhips. This river lies at leaſt five leagues to the north-weſt into the country, by the city of *Armagon* and the foreſt of *Sicerecourdi*; from whence *Paliacatta* is furniſhed with wood for building and fuel, whereof there is great ſcarcity in the barren grounds round that city. A ſmall brook runs alſo by the fort, where we uſed often to divert ourſelves in boats.

The canal leading to *Paliacatta* is almoſt dry during the ſouth *Mouſſon*; but overflows the country for two leagues round in the northern *Mouſſon*. The grounds about *Paliacatta* are very nitrous, ſandy, and unfit to produce any thing in great quantity; which is the reaſon that they muſt be ſupply'd with moſt ſorts of proviſions (except fiſh, whereof they have plenty) from other places. The fortifications being built upon fenny grounds, which reach for four or five leagues round, have been often in danger of being ſwallowed up by the waters in the rainy ſeaſon, and were therefore not maintained without vaſt charges. Under the cannon of the fort of *Geldria* lie two villages, one to the ſouth, called *Diramamy*, built upon a ſmall iſle, the other on the north-ſide within reach of a musket, called *Coupon*, and inhabited by chriſtian fiſhermen, being converted to the chriſtian faith in the time of the *Portugueſe*.

The kingdom of Carnatica. We will now proceed to the kingdom of *Carnatica*, extending ſixty *Badagarian* leagues (one whereof is equivalent to three *Dutch* miles) from ſouth to north, and forty from *Paliacatta* to the coaſt of *Malabar*. In this country it was that the three *Naikes*, or chief lords of the crown of *Velour*, keep their reſidence, who pay a certain yearly tribute to that crown, viz. the vitipanaike of *Madure*, the king's baſon-bearer, two hundred pagodes (each of which is worth ſix *Holland* guilders) *per annum*; the chriſtapanaike of *Gbengier*, the king's betel box-bearer, as many; and the naike of *Tanjouwer*, his umbrello-bearer, (who is lord of *Negapatan*,) four hundred *per annum*. *The three Naikes.* Theſe dignities being hereditary time out of mind, the countries of *Madure*, *Gbengier*, and *Tanjouwer* have been annexed to them, under condition of a yearly tribute, and are beſides this obliged to give their perſonal attendance at the coronation of the lawful ſucceſſor of the before-mentioned kingdom.

Further to the north (about a day's voyage) from *Paliacatta*, lie *Penna* and *Caleture*, betwixt which places is found the beſt eſſaye-roots, which are alſo to be found in the iſles near *Jafnapatan*: it is a ſmall root no bigger than a little ſprig of about a ſpan in length, uſed by the dyers. The way to try its goodneſs, is to break it to pieces, and to ſee whether it be very red within, or elſe to chew a piece of it; and if you perceive a nitrous taſte in it, it is very good. To try the true dye thereof upon callicoe's, you may ſqueeze ſome lemmon juice upon it, and let it dry in the ſun; if it be not true it will change pale. There is alſo a five-cornered fruit, called carunbollas, the juice whereof being ſharper than that of lemmons, is likewiſe made uſe of in trying the true dye of the eſſaye-colour. For this nation being very cunning in their way of dealing, oftentimes make uſe of a dye called ſordaco inſtead of the eſſaye, and of the bark of a certain tree growing in *Orixa*; but may eaſily be diſtinguiſhed by the colour, being ſomewhat darker than the true eſſaye, and if rubbed with water, will tinge it. They have a nice way of refining and trying the gold here; and the *Dutch* company coin abundance of golden pagodes here, with the king's ſtamp upon them. Abundance of nely, rice, gingely-ſeeds, oil, butter, coarſe cloths, iron, honey, and yellow wax, is brought hither from *Orixa* and *Majulipatan*, the whole voyage thither and back again being commonly performed in four months. From hence to *Arracan*, *Pegu*, and *Tanaſſery*, you pay eight or ten *per cent.* for freight of pepper, ſandalwood, ſtuffs, ſteel, and iron, and make your returns in gold, rubies of *Ava*, gummi-lacca, long white-pepper, lead, &c. Betwixt *Tanaſſery* and *Occeda*, towards *Malacca*, are the harbours of *Tanangar*, *Sencaza*, and *Perach*, oppoſite to *Achem*, whither they trade with vaſt profit, and bring back abundance of tin, a commodity much in requeſt with the *Moors*, wherewith they tin their copper veſſels.

Petapouli is ſituate at ſixteen degrees of north latitude: as you ſail eaſt-and-eaſt to the north towards this road, you ſee an iſle at a league and a half diſtance, made by the north branch of the river covered with cocotrees, an infallible guide to the road, where at a league's diſtance from the ſhore, there is good anchorage at ſix fathom water in a ſandy bottom. This is the ſecureſt harbour on all this coaſt during the north *Mouſſon*, by reaſon of a point of land jetting out for three leagues in the ſea to the north of the iſle, and encloſing as it were the road by a demi-circle; whereas in the ſouth *Mouſſon*, the ſea is very boiſterous, and the waves very turbulent here.

Baldæus. *Penna. Caleture.* *Petapouli.*

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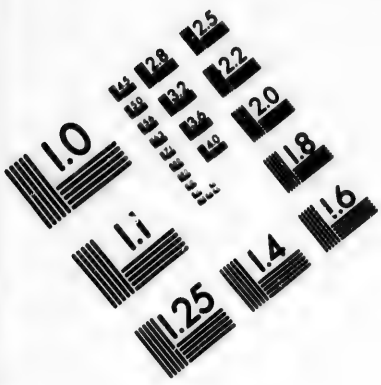

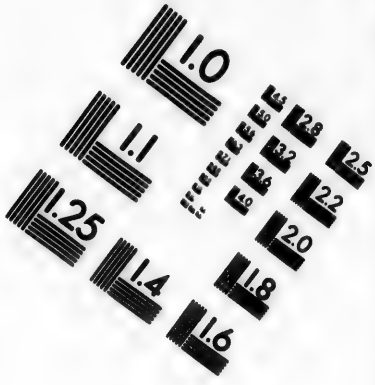

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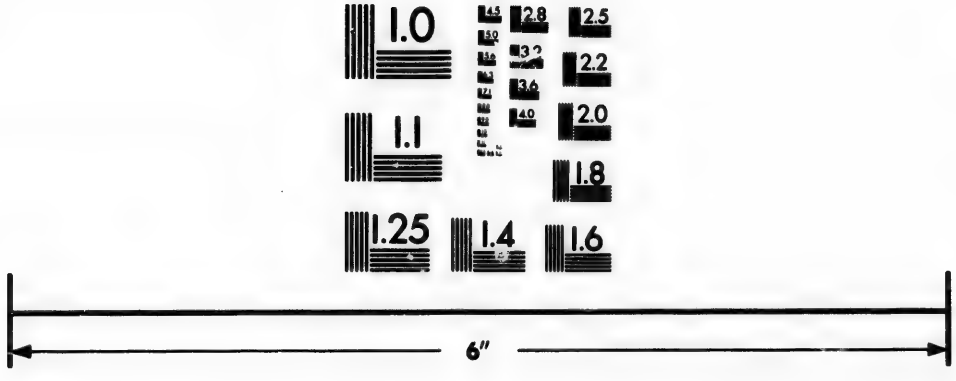

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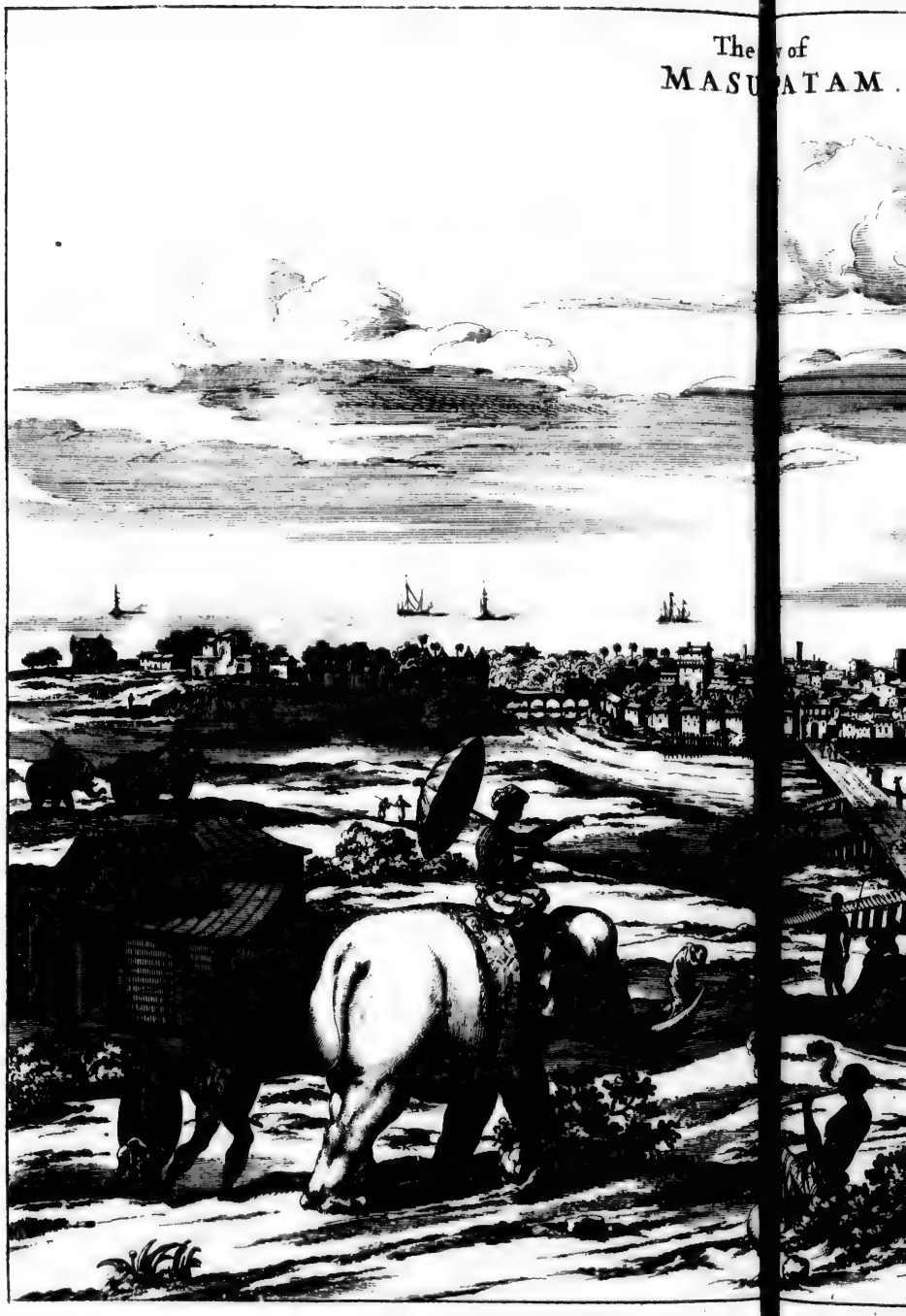

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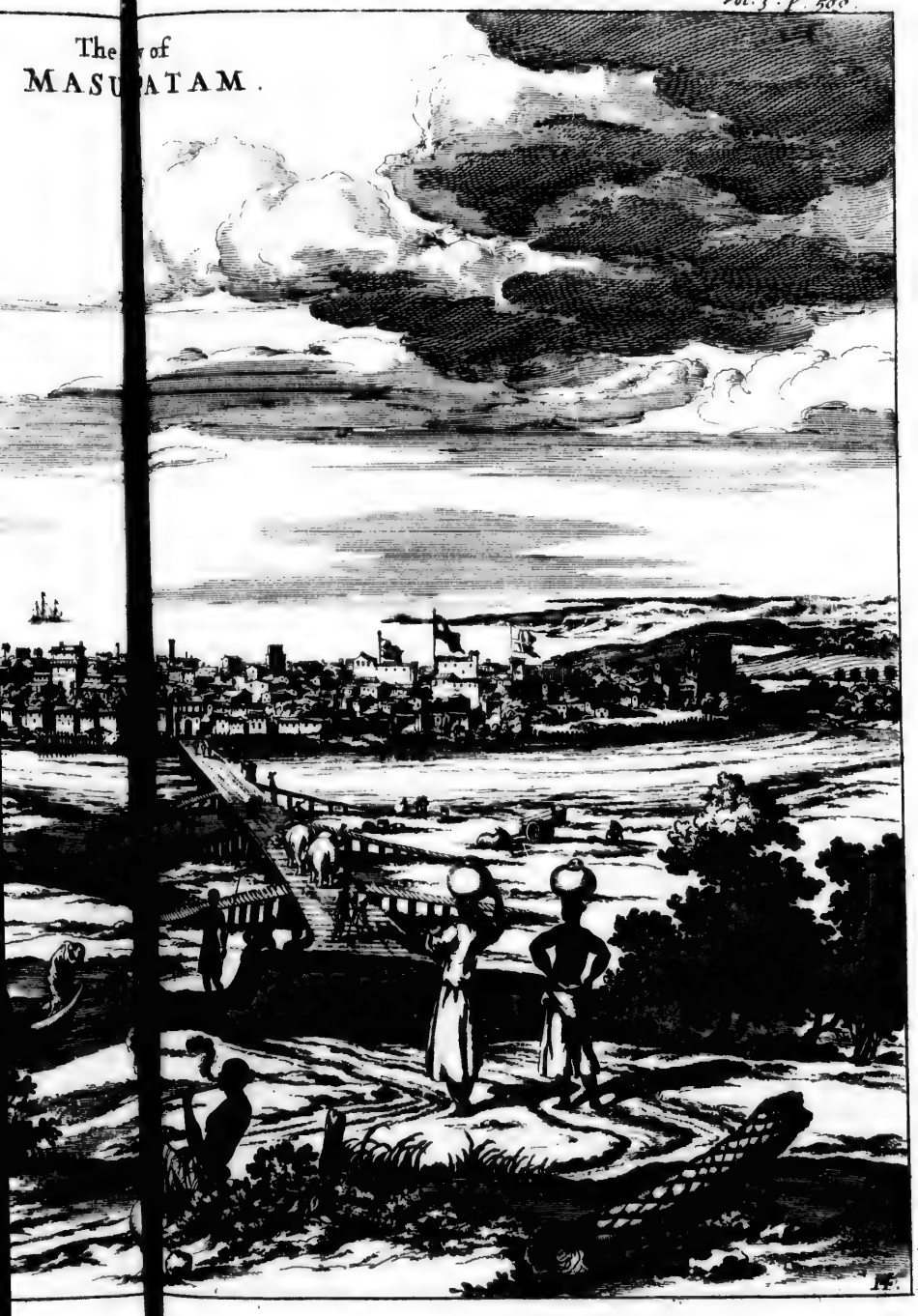

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Baldæus. The bar of *Petapouli* has ſome ſhallows ſcarce paſſable but by ſmall veſſels. The city lies a league within the river, which is pretty large, and runs up into the country till it joins its waters with the river *Meca*.

Petapouli is of no great extent, inhabited by ſome *Moors* and *Perſians* of note; but for the moſt part by *Gentives*, ſubjects of the king of *Golgonda*. As hereabouts grows a kind of eſſaye-colour, exceeding all the reſt, called *Tambrevelle*, ſo the painted and dyed ſtuffs of *Petapouli* exceed even thoſe of *Maſulipatan*. The root grows like a ſmall ſprig of a foot long, the colour whereof is ſo deep that they are obliged to mix it with the eſſaye of *Arrical* and *Ortacour*, to make it the more lively. This eſſaye-root grows in the iſle made by the river over-againſt the city, whereof the governor has the monopoly, and pays a certain yearly ſum for it to the king; which, as it is paid moſt commonly in dyed ſtuffs and cloths, ſo he employs the weavers himſelf; and for that reaſon will not eaſily permit them to be ſold to the merchants, (at leaſt not without his conſent,) who tranſport them from thence into *Perſia*. Here good indigo is to be bought, but much dearer than at *Maſulipatan*: from hence we alſo tranſport cotton-yarn, white ſtuffs, and ſeveral other commodities to *Holland*.

Maſulipatan. *Maſulipatan* is a city ſeated near a large river, where the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* have their factories. It is very populous, and the reſidence of a governor, who pays a certain yearly tribute to the king of *Golcondar*, which he ſqueezes out of the inhabitants, eſpecially the *Gentives*, who are ſorely oppreſſed by the *Perſians* and *Moors* here, who farm all the weaving trade from the great perſons; wherefore there is ſcarce any trafficking here with profit, unleſs you have a patent from the king, which is not eaſy to be obtained, becauſe the governors (who pay one hundred and forty thouſand pagodes of annual tribute to the king) conſtantly oppoſe it; and it is a difficult matter to approach the king (who keeps his court at a great diſtance thence,) without purchaſing their favour, or ſome other great mens at court. For the reſt, this city is a place of great traffick, where moſt of our commodities, as alſo thoſe tranſported hither from the *Molucca*'s, *China*, *&c.* are ſold at a very good rate. Here is alſo a great concourſe of merchants from *Cambaja*, *Suratte*, and other places under the juriſdiction of the *Great Mogul*, as alſo from *Goa*, *Orixa*, *Bengale*, and *Pegu*. Here is likewiſe a conſiderable traffick in diamonds and rubies: the firſt are digged in the kingdoms of *Golgonda* and *Decam*, near the city of *Byſilaga* beyond *Suratte*, each ſtone weighing above twenty five mangelies or carats, belonging to the king of *Byſilaga*, the reſt to thoſe that have farmed the mines. There is a certain mountain, called *Cotſa Vuytthia*, in the country of *Decam*, which affords the choiceſt diamonds. *Borneo*, but eſpecially the city of *Succadana*, are likewiſe very famous for diamonds.

CHAP. XXIV.

An Account of moſt Sorts of precious Stones, as Diamonds, Rubies, Smaragds, Saphirs, Amethiſts, Jaſpers, Sardonicks, Agates, Granates, &c.

The diamond. THE moſt noble of all precious ſtones is the diamond, called Ἀδάμας by the *Greeks*, from ἀδάμας Θ, *i. e. impregnable*. *Pliny*, and others of the antient naturaliſts, being of opinion, that it is neither to be broken by the force of the hammer, nor penetrable by the violence of the fire; which however has ſince been ſufficiently contradicted by experience, though the ſame is ſeveral times uſed in the ſame ſenſe in the ſcripture.* It is likewiſe called *Adamas* by the *Latins*, *Deamant* by the *Germans*, *Adamanto* by the *Spaniards*, *Almaes* by the *Arabians*, *Jutan* by the *Malajars*, and *Hiera* and *Jua* by the *Indoſthans*. The beauty of a diamond conſiſts in its hardneſs, tranſparency, and luſtre; though to ſpeak the truth, there are but few diamonds without ſome defects, which however paſs current among thoſe who are no nice judges of it. Lead is reckon'd to be exactly three times as heavy as a poliſhed diamond.

There is a certain kind of diamonds, called *Boſchiers*, which are not by a third part ſo valuable as the reſt, though ſometimes they exceed for brightneſs all the other ſorts; but if they incline to a reddiſh or yellow colour, they are not worth half ſo much, they being only valued according to the weight of the carats, without any multiplication. To try the goodneſs of a diamond you muſt cut one diamond with another; and if the powder thereof be of an aſh-colour, it is right; but if white, otherwiſe; for all other precious ſtones except the diamond afford a white powder; and the more the powder of the diamond approaches to a grey, the more precious

The goodneſs and value of the diamonds.

* Zech. vii. 12. Ezek. iii. 9. Jer. xvii. 1. 2 Pet. i. 4.

Baldæus. it is. They have another way of trying the diamonds, by making them red hot, and afterwards quenching them in cold freſh water; and if they do not crack, they are true and good. The true value of the beſt diamonds (provided they are clean, and of a juſt thickneſs) is computed thus: The juſt value of a good diamond, weighing a carat, (each whereof is equivalent to four grains,) is eighty gilders, or thirty two rix-dollars. Now to know the juſt value of one or two carats, you muſt multiply two with two, the product whereof being four, this muſt be multiplied with the value of a diamond of one carat, *viz.* eighty gilders, the product whereof amounts to three hundred and twenty gilders; ſo that according to this computation, a diamond of twenty carats is worth thirty two thouſand gilders; and, according to the ſame proportion, one of an hundred carats, no leſs than eight hundred thouſand gilders.

The ruby. The ruby, called *Rubinus*, or *Carbunculus* by the *Latins*, *Mamwikam* by the *Malayans*, *Battamora* by the *Siameſe*, and *Laal* by the *Indoſtans*: it will endure the fire for a conſiderable time. There are three ſeveral ſorts of rubies; ſome are of a high-red and brilliant colour: thoſe of a dark-red colour, though they carry a very fine luſture, yet are not ſo much valued as the former. The oriental rubies are called *Eſpinelles*; thoſe of *Germany* are very hard, but inclining to a dark-brown, and therefore of leſs value, notwithſtanding which they are true rubies. They ſeldom exceed the bigneſs of a good pea, and are very thin, and the ſtone-poliſhers make them thinner ſtill, to increaſe their luſtre. The *Eſpinelles* are of much brighter colour, but not ſo hard, and conſequently of leſs or more value, in proportion to their hardneſs, ſome being as hard as a ſaphir.

Their different kinds, goodneſs, and value. The carbuncles are adulterated with *Sandaracha*, but theſe falſe colours are ſoon diſcovered in the corners of the poliſhed ſtones, which do not receive theſe colours. The oriental carbuncles are likewiſe of two different kinds; ſome are of a dark-brown colour, the others are bright, and carry luſtre like fire; and theſe are the moſt precious. The rubies are appraiſed like the diamonds by carats, one, two, three, or more; with this difference, that the rubies, though of the ſame weight, are ſomewhat bigger in proportion than the diamonds, and without the leaſt clouds, or other defects.

The emerault. The ſmaragd, or emerault, called *Tamarul* by the *Arabians*, and *Jaſche* by the *Indians*, is one of the precious ſtones, called Σμαράγδος by the *Greeks*, and *Eſmaraude* by the *French*. They are of three different kinds. *Scythia* and *Egypt* produce theſe *Of three kinds.* ſtones, as well as the *Eaſt Indies*. They endeavour to imitate them at *Paliacatta* and *Biſnagar* in glaſs. Thoſe of *Scythia* are accounted the beſt; thoſe of *Peru* are the next in goodneſs, of a dark-green colour, very hard, and more tranſparent than thoſe of the *Eaſt Indies*. Theſe laſt are harder than thoſe of *Peru*, but much leſs regarded. Thoſe of *Peru* are of a pale colour, and brittle. The general opinion is, That in caſe an emerault ſhould be found excellent in all its parts, *viz.* in colour, ſhape, and tranſparency, it would be comparable to a diamond of the ſame bigneſs, nay, would even ſurpaſs it in value, by reaſon of its rarity. *Baldæus.* *Their value.*

The ſaphir is called *Mila* by the *Arabians*, and *Millam* by the *Malayans*. They are of two ſorts: thoſe of a dark-blue colour are the beſt; thoſe of a pale colour reſembling the diamonds, the worſt. They are found in *Malabar*, *Calecut*, *Cananor*, in the kingdom of *Biſnagar*, in the iſle of *Ceylon*; but *Siam* and *Pegu* produce the beſt. *The ſaphir.*

The hyacinth, called Ὑάκινθος by the *Greeks*, is a red ſtone, not unlike the carbuncle, but does not endure the fire. It is found in *Spain*. The jewellers ſell ſometimes the ſtone called *Ethiopis* for a hyacinth: they are of two kinds; one red, the other inclining to a yellow. *The hyacinth.*

The amethiſt, called Ἀμέθυστος by the *Greeks*, is of a purple colour; thoſe that are found in the *Eaſt Indies* are preferred before the reſt. *The amethiſt.*

The *Jaſpir*, ſo called by the *Latins*, and Ἴασπις by the *Greeks*, is of two different kinds; ſome being of a lovely green colour, like the emeraults, and of ſuch a bigneſs, as to ſerve for materials for drinking-cups; ſome have the green mixed with white; ſome are of purple, others of a roſe colour, with variety of flowers in them; others are dark-brown and blew, with white veins; ſome are marble on one, and jaſper on the other ſide. *The jaſper found in China.*

The ſardis has got its name from *Sardinia*, where it is frequently found, as well as in *Epirus*. There are three ſeveral kinds, and were by the antients diſtinguiſhed into the male and female. That the ſardis is different from the ſardonic, is evident out of the holy ſcripture.* *The ſardis.*

* Apoc. xxii. 20. Exod. xxviii. 17.

The *Sardonick*, called Σαρδόνυξ by the *Greeks*, has got its name from *Sarda* and *Onyx*, or its reſemblance to a human navel. *The ſardonick.*

The *Agate* is found about *Suratte*, but is of no great value, unleſs it be curiouſly chequered with figures. *The agate.*

Amber, called *Succinum* by the *Latins*, Ἤλεκτρον by the *Greeks*, and *Alambre* by the *Portugueſes*, is a kind of a gum or roſinous ſubſtance, found near *Koningsberg*, and ſome other places in *Pruſſia*; in great eſteem among *Amber.*

Baldæus. among the *Japoneſes* and the *Indians* in general. It is often chequered with various figures, and has the virtue of attracting ſtraw, paper, and ſuch like light matters.

Granate. The *Granate* reſembles in colour to the coral. There are two ſorts, the *Indian* and *Spaniſh*; the laſt are very red and bright; thoſe found in *Ethiopia*, are ſcarce to be diſtinguiſhed from the hyacinth, except that their luſtre is ſomewhat leſs than that of the hyacinth.

Cats-eyes. The ſtone called *Olhos de Gatos*, i. e. *Cats-eyes*, by the *Portugueſes*, is in much greater eſteem among the *Indians* than the *Portugueſes*; who are of opinion, that if you rub linen-cloth with them, it will be fire-proof: but this I have found contrary to truth by my own experience.

Blood-ſtone. The *Hematites*, or blood-ſtone, (Αἱματίτης by the *Greeks*) has got its name from its dark-red colour, and its virtue in quenching of blood. It is found in *New-Spain*, and reputed by them a kind of *Jaſpir*; the *Indians* make beads of them, and wear them about their necks: they alſo lay them in water, and afterwards hold them cloſe in their hands, and look upon this as an excellent remedy to ſtop the ſuperfluous monthly times of the women, or any other flux of blood. This ſtone is alſo found in *Ceylon* and *Cambaja* where it is called *Silakenea*.

Kidney-ſtone. The *Nephritis*, or *Kidney-ſtone*, has got its name from the word Νεφρὸς, *i. e.* a kidney, becauſe it is worn by the *Indians* againſt the pain of the kidneys, and therefore in great eſteem among them. It is found in *New-Spain*; and the greener it is, the better it is.

Hart-ſtone. The naturaliſts tell us, That the ſtag, when tormented in his bowels by certain poiſonous worms, runs up to the neck in water, at which time the ſlimy tears which adhere to the corners of his eyes are coagulated to the bigneſs of a wallnut, which thence have got the name of *Hartſt-ones*; which taken in wine, are looked upon as a ſovereign antidote againſt all manner of poiſons and infections.

The Serpent-ſtone. The *Serpent-ſtone* is found in the *Indies*, of a dark-brown colour, with a white ſpot like an eye in the middle. Some will have them to grow in the heads of the ſerpents; others are of opinion, that the water-ſerpent hung up by the tail, with her head hanging downwards, ſo near to a veſſel full of water, that ſhe may lick it, does ſpew out this ſtone; which tied to the belly, is accounted an excellent remedy againſt the dropſy. The *Spaniards* call this ſtone *Piedro della Cobra*, and the *Portugueſes Pedra de Cobra*, being commonly of the bigneſs of a ſhilling, leſs or more. The true *Serpent-ſtone* is found in that kind of ſerpents, called *Cobra de Capelo* by the *Portugueſes*, and *Serpens Piloſus* by the *Latiniſts*, being the moſt virulent of all ſerpents. They try the goodneſs of this ſtone, by putting it into fair water, which if it bubbles, it is accounted true; another trial is, when it ſticks cloſe to the lips, or to the wound, unto which it will adhere till it has drawn out all the poiſon, when it falls off like a leech, and is thrown into milk: of this I ſaw the effect my ſelf with good ſucceſs in a negro ſlave ſtung by a ſerpent, belonging to our head-factor at *Jafnapatnam*, Sir *Jorephas Voſcb*. The *Brahmans* make a certain compoſition (which they keep very ſecret) in imitation of the natural *Serpent-ſtone*, the chief ingredients whereof are ſuppoſed to be the head, heart, liver, and teeth mixed with the *Terra ſigillata*. Concerning the true virtues of the ſerpent-ſtones, you may conſult *Michael Baimus*,* and *Athanaſius Kircher*.† *A compoſition of the Serpent-ſtone.*

* In Flora Chinenſi. † Lib. 9. Mundi ſubterran.

The ſtone called *Pedra de Porco*, i. e. *Hogs-ſtone*, by the *Portugueſes*, grows in the *Veſica Bilearea* of the hogs about *Malacca*. It is of a ruddy colour, and ſometimes grey, greezy or oily at the touch like venice-ſoap, and of a bitteriſh taſte. When they will uſe this ſtone, they put it in water, till it acquires a bitteriſh taſte, and ſo give the water to the patient, for the cure of peſtilential and other fevers. They are highly eſteemed in the *Indies*. Hogs-ſtone.

The *Toad-ſtone* is found in the head of a certain kind of *Toads*, of the bigneſs of a good bean, of various colours, but moſt enclining to a green, ſmooth and ſhining on the out-ſide, which is bony, but the inſide of a ſtony ſubſtance: they are reputed an excellent remedy againſt the ſtone in the kidneys, poiſon and infirmity of the ſtomach. To get this ſtone, they take a very old toad, put it in a veſſel full of holes, and ſo bury it in a dunghil near a piſmires neſt, till the piſmires have conſumed the whole ſubſtance of the toad, except the ſtone. They try the goodneſs of this ſtone, by laying it before a tortoiſe, which if it is ready to ſwallow it, it is accounted a true ſtone. Toad-ſtone.

Of the *Bezoar-ſtone* ſomething has been ſaid before in the deſcription of *Cananor*, being accounted a great antidote, but eſteemed much more in former times than of late years. The bezoar-ſtone is found in the ſtomach of certain goats in *Perſia*, and the iſle of *Borneo*, called *Pazan*. It is of a very ſolid ruddy ſubſtance, growing in different partitions, like our onions, which are eaſily diſcernable when the ſtone is broken: they are of divers colours; ſome inclining to an olive colour, others to a dark-green; ſome round, ſome of an oval figure; the ſmootheſt and largeſt are accounted the beſt. They are alſo found in the iſle, called *Ilha de Vacas*, i. e. *Cow-Iſland*, about ſix leagues from *Jafnapatnam*, but in no great quantities; for I remember that Bezoar-ſtone.

Baldæus. Mr. *Anthony Pavilion* told me, That out of ſeventy or eighty goats, which he ordered to be killed, he had but a few ſtones, and theſe but indifferent ones, and very brittle. The *Malayans* try this ſtone thus: They rub it five or ſix times with mortar, and if it changes the mortar into a yellow colour, it is accounted true. Thoſe of *Banda* tell us, that they find the bezoar-ſtone in the heads of certain apes. The *Indians* and *Chineſe* mix it with roſe-water, and uſe it againſt poiſon, melancholy humours, and quartan agues. They alſo make uſe of it as a preſervative; for they purge twice a year, *viz.* in *March* and *September*; and for five days after take from ten to thirty grains of bezoar in roſe-water. They ſell this ſtone by weight; one of three hundred, two hundred and fifty, one hundred and fifty, or one hundred and forty carats, is accounted equivalent to three times the weight in gold, each carat reckoned at eight *Dutch* ſtivers. One of an hundred, ninety, or eighty carats, to one and one half the quantity of gold, or at ſix ſtivers the carat. One of ſeventy, ſixty, fifty, or forty carats, to one and one fourth of gold, or at four ſtivers the carat. The leſſer ones in proportion of one fourth of gold, or two ſtivers and half the carat.

Oriental and occidental bezoar. There are oriental and occidental bezoar-ſtones; thoſe of the eaſt, eſpecially of *Perſia*, much exceed thoſe of the *Weſt Indies*. *Arabia*, *Malabar*, *Japan*, and *China* produce theſe ſtones, and the mountains of *Peru* in the *Weſt Indies*. The *Perſians* call this ſtone *Belzoar*, i. e. *The Lord of Poiſon*; and the *Arabians*, *Hagiar Corrabone*. Formerly it uſed to be ſold in *Holland* at the rate of eight gilders *per* ounce. If the outward rind or skin be taken off, the next appears ſmoother and brighter than the firſt. The bezoar-ſtone has no pit, but a concavity containing a certain mealy ſubſtance, the virtue whereof is ſaid to excel the ſtone itſelf. Thoſe taken out of the goats living in the mountains, are accounted better than of thoſe feeding in the valleys. Theſe ſtones are found in certain bags of a hairy ſubſtance, growing within the concavity of the ſtomach, of a ſpan in length, wherein the ſtones lie in a row like buttons on a waſte-coaſt, as a certain *Portugueſe* tells us. They have alſo another way of trying the goodneſs of this ſtone: they take a needle with a thread, and having dipped the ſame in the juice of a venomous herb called *Balleſtra*, they draw the needle and thread through the leg of a dog or ſome other living creature, leaving the thread in the wound till the dog faints away. This done they give him a certain quantity of bezoar-powder, which if it recovers him, the bezoar is good; if not, it is looked upon as adulterated. Of ſeveral other trials we have ſpoken in the deſcription of *Cananor*. *Baldæus.*

Among thoſe commodities, which are tranſported from *Maſulipatan*, the indigo being none of the leaſt, it will be requiſite we ſhould ſay ſomething alſo of this precious merchandize. The indigo is of different kinds, and grows in divers places: the broad indigo grows about two leagues from *Amadabath*, the capital city of *Guſuratte*, eſpecially in the village of *Chirchees*, from whence that kind of indigo has got its name. The indigo is a ſhrub growing up to man's height, with ſmall hard twigs, like the blackberry trees: its bloſſom reſembles that of the briars, and the ſeed that of the *Fenum Græcum*, called *Duſnegre* by the *French*. They ſow it in *June* and *July*, and cut it in *November* and *December*. *The indigo.*

The indigo of *Chirchees* grows three years ſucceſſively after its firſt ſowing. The firſt year they cut the leaves about a foot above the ground; which being dried in the ſun for twenty four hours, they are put into barrels full of ſalt-water, of a man's height, and kept down to the bottom by laying great ſtones upon them, the better to ſqueeze out the tincture. The water being ſtirred often for four or five days, it is let out into great casks, where it is ſtirred and trod continually by certain perſons, till the water thickens and the indigo ſettles to the bottom, in the ſame manner as they manage the butter in *Holland*. The ſediment being ſeparated from the water, and ſtrained through thin cloaths, is ſpread upon the ground (firſt covered with white aſhes) to dry. The country people adulterate the indigo with a certain earth of the ſame colour, or with oil, to make it ſeem the better upon the water. The ſecond year the indigo grows again on the ſtalks that were left in the fields, which is accounted better than the *Gingy*, or wild indigo. If you intend to preſerve the ſeed, you muſt let the ſtalks dry the ſecond time, and afterwards gather the ſeed. The indigo of the third year's growth is of little value, and conſumed for the moſt part by the inhabitants of *Guſuratte* in dying their linnen and woollen clothes. *Indigo of Chirchees.*

The chief ſigns of the goodneſs of the indigo, are its lightneſs, and feeling dry betwixt the fingers, its ſwimming upon the water, and, if thrown upon burning coals, its emitting a violet-coloured ſmoke, and leaving but little aſhes behind. The ground which has born the indigo muſt lie fallow the fourth year, unleſs you would ſow it with ſome kitchen-herbs. *Its goodneſs.*

Hereabouts alſo grows the indigo, called *Aniel de Biant*, by thoſe of *Guſuratte*. They ſow it in *June* in light and ſandy grounds, and it grows chiefly in *June*, *July*, *Auguſt*,

Baldæus. and *September*, the ordinary rainy months here, which, together with the heat of the sun-beams, brings it to maturity, it being certain, that too much rain is pernicious to this shrub. Great care is to be taken that the grounds be well cleared from thorns and thistles. The buyers of indigo ought to be cautious how they buy it; for if it happen to be not very dry, they may lose three pound weight in ten in eight days time.

The Indigo plant. The *Indigo Laura*, or *Indigo de Bayana*, is of three different sorts; the first crop is called *Vouthy* by those of *Gusuratte*, the second *Gerry*, and the third *Catteel*. The first is cut in *October*, the second about the middle of *November*, and the third in *January*. The first is of a light blue colour, and held against the sun, and squeezed with the nail of the thumb, shews a violet colour. The second, called *Gerry*, the nearer it approaches to a violet colour, the more valuable it is. The third, called *Catteel*, is the worst of all, of a ruddy colour, and so hard as scarce to be broken to pieces.

Trial of the sort. The goodness of the indigo is tried in the following manner; about nine or ten a-clock, in a clear sun-shiny morning, they take a piece or two, and after they have broken it in pieces, hold it against the sun, to see whether they can discover any sand in it: they also squeeze with their nails some of the colour out, which the nearer it comes to a violet, the better it is. They also try it with water and fire: They throw a piece of indigo forty or fifty times successively into a cask filled with water; and the longer it swims upon the surface, the better it is deemed. They also cast a piece of indigo upon burning coals; and if the smoke or flame appear of a high violet colour, the indigo is good. *Baldæus.*

Good indigo is also made in Coromandel. It is sowed in several places: the *Indigo Laura* about *Agra*; in *Fettapour*, twelve *Cos* from *Agra*; near the city of *Byana*, thirty *Cos* from *Agra*, (where is the best;) near the city of *Bassaune*, thirty eight *Cos* from *Agra*; near the city of *Kindowen*, forty *Cos* from *Agra*. The country people are obliged to carry their indigo into the next adjacent city.

Next to *Masulipatan* we must also say something of *Bimilipatan*, where the *Dutch* have had a factory a considerable time ago; and from thence, as well as most other parts of *Orixa*, transport abundance of rice, pease, and other provisions, into other parts. The whole country hereabouts enjoys a wholesome air, though in one place more than in the other: for though the heats are excessive, nay, almost intolerable, yet are the same in a great measure qualified by the cool sea-winds; so that the reason of the many distempers and pale countenances, which often attend the *Europeans* in those parts, is not so much to be attributed to the unhappiness of the climate, as to their own intemperance and debaucheries.

CHAP. XXV.

The Manner of Living of the Hollanders *in the* East Indies: *Their Use of Tea and Chocolate: Their ordinary Drink; Manner of Sleeping. A Description of the two Rivers, the* Ganges *and the* Nile.

Manner of living of the Dutch. AS the manner of living of the vulgar sort among the *Dutch* in the *East Indies* is none of the best, so we will be satisfied with giving an account of those of the better sort. They commonly rise with the sun, sleep after sun-rising being accounted very unwholesome here in the morning. Some have a custom of washing their heads, nay, the whole body with cold water, immediately after their coming out of bed; others do it with luke-warm water, three or four times a-week; the last of which I have found the best by experience. They commonly shift their linnen every day. Brandy, or any other strong liquors are not much used by the wiser sort in the morning, unless it be a spoonful just before dinner, and a little at night before they go to bed.

Ill qualities of tea. The tea (always used fasting by the *Chinese*) has got a mighty ascendant over the *Hollanders* of late years. The best grows in *China*, being a shrub, rising not very high above-ground, especially in the province of *Kiangnan*, near the city of *Hocicbieu*: the leaves are dried, rolled up, and preserved for use. Father *Martinus Martini*, in his *Chinese Atlas*, gives us the following account of the tea. The leaves are very like those of the *Rhus Coriaria*, called *Sumach* by the *Arabians*, and ῥοῦς by the *Greeks*, of which it seems to be a species, though it does not grow wild, but is planted, being a shrub with small twigs. In the beginning of the summer it buds out a light-coloured blossom of an agreeable scent; after which come green buds that turn black at last. They take a leaf, and after they have warmed it in an iron pot with a gentle heat, they lay it upon a clean mat; and having well rolled it, put it again over the fire, till it be thoroughly dried, and twisted together; when they put it up in tin or leaden vessels, to preserve it from the moist air, which would soon corrupt it. The tea being of different sorts, *How prepared.*

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Baldæus. consequently bears a lower or higher price, according to its goodness. Its chief virtues are to disperse the gross vapours of the head and stomach, and consequently to exhilerate our spirits. The *Chinèses*, as they are never troubled with the gout; so they attribute the same to the tea; and *Kircher* ascribes to it a diuretick quality. Its taste is somewhat bitterish, and not very agreeable at first, but well enough afterwards. The *Turks* tell us wonders of their *Cauwa*, or coffee, and the *Spaniards* of their chocolate; but it has been found by experience, that the first increases the gall, and the last inflames the blood, and nourishes too fast; whereas the tea is much more moderate in its nature; notwithstanding which its immoderate use hinders the concoction of the stomach, (especially if taken after dinner,) and too much dries up the moistures of the body; which is the reason the *Chinèses* never take it after meals. The *Chinèse* tea is, both in goodness and price, much superior to the *Japonèse*. I have found by experience that four or five cups of the extraction of the fresh leaves of the tea makes one light-headed; and I remember, when the best tea was sold at the rate of twenty four gilders *per* pound in *Holland*.

The ordinary drink of the *Hollanders* is a mixture of water and sugar boiled together. Some fill certain earthen vessels over night with water, and add to it three or four glasses of *Spanish* wine, which, expos'd together all night in the dew, turns white, and affords a pleasant liquor: but is a little too cool; for which reason some put a certain quantity of mum in the vessel. The *Brunswick* mum is both more pleasant and wholesome here than in *Europe*; the worst is, that it is excessive dear, a cask being sometimes sold from forty to one hundred rix-dollars. Among the wines, those of *Spain* are most in request: its true, they sometimes inflame the gall; but against that they make use of *Rubarb* and *Cremor* of *Tartar*. The *French* and *Rhenish* wines are not strong enough in these hot countries, where the stomach requires more lively cordials, as a little brandy, or a moderate share of canary. Their ordinary food is goats, sheep, fowl, hares, peacocks, and such like.

What sort of drink is most proper for the Indies.

The *Hollanders* most generally take their afternoons sleep here, as the *Italians* and some other *Europeans* do in hot countries; a thing sufficiently commendable in the *Indies*, where the heat of the sun beams invites the inhabitants to pass away the middle of the day (when they are unfit for business) at their ease. They have also a constant custom of washing their mouths after dinner. About three or four a clock in the afternoon they take their tea, and after that a walk; the evenings and nights being pretty cool and very pleasant here, especially when the moon shines. They sup commonly about seven or eight a clock, *Baldæus.* but very moderately, and go to sleep about ten or eleven upon quilts, feather-beds being not used in the *Indies*: but care must be taken to cover well your belly, hips and legs, for fear of the cramp, especially if you lie exposed to the open air in moon-shiny nights, the neglect of which often proves fatal to the soldiers and seamen, after they have heated themselves with arrak, or other strong liquors.

Feather-beds not us'd in the Indies.

Thus much of the manner of living of the *Hollanders* in the *East-Indies*: concerning the different clans or families of the *Indians*, the manner of living, austerity and prerogatives of the *Brahmans*, their *Vedam* fasts, marriages, feasts, burials, Mr. *Abraham Rogerius* has given so exact an account, that it would be needless to repeat them here. The foundation, strength, and magnificence of their *Pagodes*, especially of those dedicated to *Wisnou* and *Eswara*, with their revenues and idols, are likewise most exactly described by the same author: and among other things, that their *Pagodes* have no other light but what they receive through a hole on the top; that they are divided into three several vaults, supported by stone pillars; the first whereof stands open to all goers and comers; the second has two strong doors, which are kept open in the day-time, and guarded by a certain number of *Brahmans*; the third part is always kept close, being the residence of the idol, before which hang lamps, which never cease to burn. But of the religious worship of the inhabitants of *Coromandel*, *Malabar*, and *Ceylon*, we shall treat more at large in the third part of this treatise.

And since we have had occasion to speak so much of the places between the rivers *Indus* and *Ganges*, commonly known by the name of *India* on this side the *Ganges*, we must also say something concerning these two rivers. The *Ganges* exonerates it self into the sea of *Bengale*, called otherwise *Sinus Gangeticus* and *Sinus Argaricus* by *Ptolomey*, dividing the most easterly part of the *Indies* from the western parts; the first whereof comprehend *Bengale*, *Arocan*, *Pegu*, *Malacca*, *Sumatra*, &c. According to the opinion of St. *Austin*, St *Jerom*, *Ambrose*, and many others of the antient fathers, the *Ganges* is the same which is in the holy scripture called *Pison*; but *Cornelius a Lapide* has sufficiently demonstrated that *Pison* cannot be the river *Ganges*, no more than *Gihon* the *Nilus*. The general opinion is, That the source of the *Ganges* is in the mount *Caucasus*, as those of the *Euphrates* and *Tigris* are in the *Armenian* mountains; and that of the *Nile* among the *Mountains of the Moon*, near the cape *of Good Hope*, on the *African* coast; though father *Kircher* puts the original rise of the *Nile* in the country of *Agaos* near

The river Ganges.

Sagela, bordering upon the kingdom of *Gojam*.

Source of the Nile.

The source arises in a plain on the very top of the mountain, surrounded with delightful trees; but does not gather into a rivulet till at the foot of the said mountain; and being augmented by the accession of divers other brooks, gathers into a lake of thirty leagues in length, and fourteen in breadth. From hence it pursues its course, and by various turnings and windings returns near the place of its source, whence passing through the rocks and precipices, it continues its course into the middle of *Ethiopia*. * *Isaac Vossius* derives the rise of the *Nile* out of *Goyome*, a province of the *Abyssines*, and says, that among other titles that king makes use of this, *King of* Goyome, *where the* Nile *has its rise*. The antient *Egyptians* had so great a veneration for the *Nile*, that they bestowed the title of the arm of *Osiris* upon it: for as the pagans numbered the rest of the elements among the gods, so they had no less opinion of the waters, especially in the great rivers. Hence it is that the inhabitants near the *Ganges* call it the heavenly river; and are of opinion, that the waters of that river cleanse them from their sins; nay, those of *Bengale* are so superstitious in this point, as to carry their sick and dying friends to this river, where they lay them up to the middle in water: and for such as have no opportunity or strength to be carry'd thither, they are perswaded, that if they wash themselves with any other water, and at the same time think upon the said river, saying, *Ganges, purify me*, they shall be cleansed from their sins. † *Servius* observes, that it was the general opinion of the heathens, that the water would cleanse them from their sins: which seems to agree with what is related of *Pilate* *, and of the *Pharisees* and *Jews* in general. The *Mahometans* are, to this day, not free from that superstition; the water of the *Ganges* being sold among them in bottles at a very good price, as we do our spaw-waters; and they pay a considerable custom for it.

Hence it is, that the *Persians* look upon it as a crime to do one's need into the river, or to throw carrion into it, nay, even to spit into it; and that they have attributed such surprising qualities to the waters of many rivers. When the water of the *Nile* is carried, in order to be sacrificed upon the altar, the people pay their reverence to the vessel that contains it, by prostrating themselves upon the ground in the same manner as the *Malabars* do to the water of *Rameswara*, near the *Pagode*, called *Ramanakoyel*, to which they attribute likewise a peculiar virtue of purging them from their sins.

Baldæus.

Kircher puts the source of the river *Ganges* in the mount *Thibeth*, where, he says, is a large sea, whence arise the four capital rivers of *India*, viz. the *Indus*, *Ganges*, *Ravi*, and *Athec*. The *Indian* pagans deduce its origin from *Dewendre*, or the heavens; from whence it descends into the *Dewendre Locon*, or sublunary world, and thence into the earth, as may be seen in the before-said *Abraham Rogerius*. They farther believe, that if they cast the bones of their deceased friends into the *Ganges*, their souls will enjoy the bliss of *Dewendre* for as many thousand years as the bones remain single years in that river; it being their opinion, That though this water has not the power to introduce them to future bliss, yet it is a guide to heaven through the seven sublunary worlds, which they believe every one must pass through before he can enter the heavens. They have each its proper name, but are comprehended under one general name, viz. *Dewendre Locon*; and among them, that of *Bramma Locon*, or the place where *Bramma* governs, is next to heaven; and none are suffered to enter there, except such as are passed from heaven to the earth, and thence again through the before-mentioned sublunary worlds. It is beyond all doubt, that many, both among the *Jews* and *Gentiles*, have assigned certain places for the souls to dwell in, besides heaven and hell; in which they are imitated by the purgatory-mongers, and such as believe a separate place for the antient fathers and innocent children.

Before the river *Ganges* puts a stop to our voyage, and the description of the places mentioned in this treatise, we must add something concerning the *Malabar* language.

† Annot. in lib. vi. Æneid.

* Mat. xxvii. 24. Luc. xvi. 26. Mark. vii. 3.

A SHORT INTRODUCTION TO THE *MALABAR* Language.

Baldæus. THE *Malabars* write upon the leaves of the wild palm-trees with iron pencils; their letters are very antient, and diſtinguiſhed into, (1.) *Short or running letters*; (2.) *Long ones*; (3.) *Vowels*; (4.) *Conſonants*; (5.) *Diphthongs*; (6.) *Letters uſed only in the beginning of a word*; (7.) *Such as are uſed only in the middle*; and (8.) *Such as are uſed only in the end*; as will more clearly appear out of the annexed cuts. And ſeeing that the *Malabar* letters have hitherto not appeared in publick print, either in *Holland* or *Germany*, it will not be amiſs to alledge the reaſons thereof, and to ſhew that this language is no leſs worth our care now-a-days, than the *Hebrew*, *Chaldean*, *Arabian*, *Perſian*, *Samaritan*, and other languages.

The main reaſon why the *Malabar* language has remained ſo long unknown to us, is, becauſe that country was not conquered by the *Dutch* company till in the years 1661, 1662, 1663. from the *Portugueſe*; and it is not their cuſtom to ſend any miniſters into thoſe places, where they are not ſovereign maſters. 'Tis true, I aſſiſted at the ſieges of *Coulang*, *Cranganor*, *Cochin*, *&c.* and, 1658. at the ſieges of *Tutecoryn*, *Manaar*, *Jaſnapatnam*, and *Negapatan*; but was immediately after ordered to *Piſſpbina* in the kingdom of *Jaſnapatnam*, where I had the overſight over twenty four churches. During the ſpace of near four years, that I ſtaid here alone, I was ſenſible what obſtacle the ignorance of the native language was to my good intentions; for though many of the chriſtians here were well enough verſed in the *Dutch* and *Portugueſe* languages, yet ſome belonging to the more remote churches, who had been but ſlenderly inſtructed in the principles of the chriſtian religion by the *Roman* miſſionaries were ſtrangely at a loſs till I got a good interpreter, who being well skilled, both in his mother-tongue, the *Malabar*, and the *Portugueſe* languages, did me great ſervices for eight years together. His name was *Francis*; and I was chiefly with his aſſiſtance; that the fundamental points of our religion, being comprehended in a ſmall treatiſe, were tranſlated out of the *Portugueſe* into the *Malabar* language, which has been ſince printed, 1671. at *Roterdam*, by *John Boreſius*. The multiplicity of buſineſs in ſo weighty a concern as the ſalvation of ſouls, having been no ſmall hindrance in encompaſſing ſo difficult a language as the *Malabar*, I was forced to be contented with what part thereof I could attain, and thoſe few intervals of time I had left, whereof I have given ſome ſpecimen in the following pages and cuts. I cannot upon this occaſion paſs by in ſilence the conſiderations which might induce us to propagate the *Malabar* language with more care, than has been done hitherto; it being certain, that if our religious worſhip could be firmly eſtabliſhed in thoſe parts, (whereof the knowledge of the language is one of the chief means,) it would be very inſtrumental to reconcile not only many of the inhabitants, but alſo even of the *Indian* princes themſelves to our intereſt; a piece of policy well underſtood by *Emanuel* king of *Portugal*, when he introduced the *Roman* catholick religion by the help of the jeſuits in the *Indies*.

I reſt your Servant and Friend in Jeſus Chriſt,

Baldæus.

Geervliet, July 21. 1671.

PHILIP BALDÆUS.

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ꤢ	nana	na short	na
ꤢꤰ	nárana	ná long	ná
ꤢꤵ	nina	ni short	ni
ꤢꤵꤰ	níyana	ní long	ní
ꤢꤶ	nuna	nu short	nu
ꤢꤶꤰ	núvana	nú long	nú
ꤢꤷ	nena	ne short	ne
ꤢꤷꤰ	néana	né long	né
ꤢꤷ꤭	nœyana	nœy dipht:	nœy
ꤢꤸ	nona	no short	no
ꤢꤸꤰ	nórana	nó long	nó
ꤢꤸ꤭	naurana	nau dipht:	nau
ꤢ꤬	inana	n.	

ꤐ	pana	pa short	pa
ꤐꤰ	párana	pá long	pá
ꤐꤵ	pina	pi short	pi
ꤐꤵꤰ	píyana	pí long	pí
ꤐꤶ	puna	pu short	pu
ꤐꤶꤰ	púvana	pú long	pú
ꤐꤷ	pena	pe short	pe
ꤐꤷꤰ	péana	pé long	pé
ꤐꤷ꤭	pœyana	pœy dipht:	pœy
ꤐꤸ	pona	po short	po
ꤐꤸꤰ	pórana	pó long	pó
ꤐꤸ꤭	paurana	pau dipht:	pau
ꤐ꤬	ipana	p.	

ꤪ	yana	ya short	ya
ꤪꤰ	yárana	yá long	yá
ꤪꤵ	yina	yi short	yi
ꤪꤵꤰ	yíana	yí long	yí
ꤪꤶ	yuna	yu short	yu
ꤪꤶꤰ	yúvana	yú long	yú
ꤪꤷ	yena	ye short	ye
ꤪꤷꤰ	yéana	yé long	yé
ꤪꤷ꤭	yœyana	yœy dipht:	yœy
ꤪꤸ	yona	yo short	yo
ꤪꤸꤰ	yórana	yó long	yó
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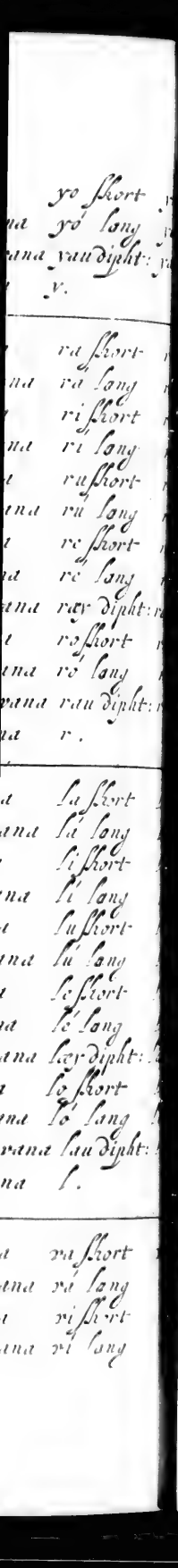
꤁	rana	ra short	ra
꤁ꤰ	rárana	rá long	rá
꤁ꤵ	rina	ri short	ri
꤁ꤵꤰ	ríyana	rí long	rí
꤁ꤶ	runa	ru short	ru
꤁ꤶꤰ	rúvana	rú long	rú
꤁ꤷ	rena	re short	re
꤁ꤷꤰ	réana	ré long	ré
꤁ꤷ꤭	rœyana	rœy dipht:	rœy
꤁ꤸ	rona	ro short	ro
꤁ꤸꤰ	rórana	ró long	ró
꤁ꤸ꤭	raurana	rau dipht:	rau
꤁꤬	irana	r.	

ꤊ	lana	la short	la
ꤊꤰ	lárana	lá long	lá
ꤊꤵ	lina	li short	li
ꤊꤵꤰ	líyana	lí long	lí
ꤊꤶ	luna	lu short	lu
ꤊꤶꤰ	lúvana	lú long	lú
ꤊꤷ	lena	le short	le
ꤊꤷꤰ	léana	lé long	lé
ꤊꤷ꤭	lœyana	lœy dipht:	lœy
ꤊꤸ	lona	lo short	lo
ꤊꤸꤰ	lórana	ló long	ló
ꤊꤸ꤭	laurana	lau dipht:	lau
ꤊ꤬	ilana	l.	

ꤴ	vana	va short	va
ꤴꤰ	várana	vá long	vá
ꤴꤵ	vina	vi short	vi
ꤴꤵꤰ	víyana	ví long	ví

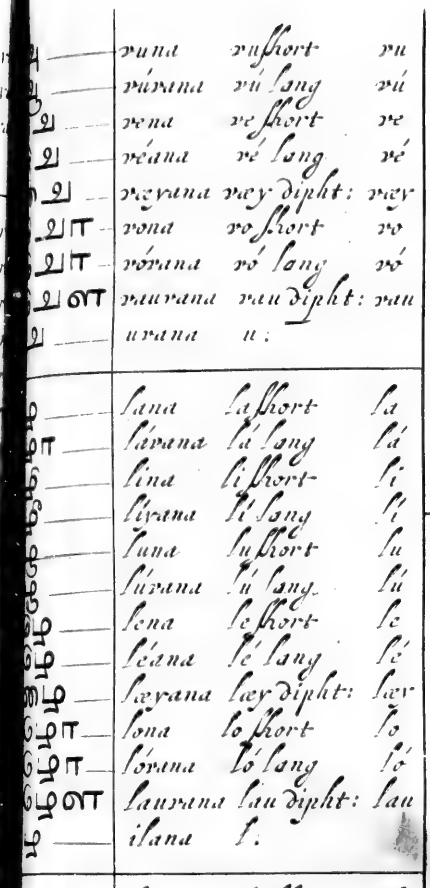


yo short- yó long yauna yau dipht: y.

ra short- ra long ri short- ri long ru short- ru long re short- re long ræy dipht: ro short- ro long rau dipht: r.

la short- lá long li short- li long lu short- lú long le short- lé long lær dipht: lo short- ló long lau dipht: l.

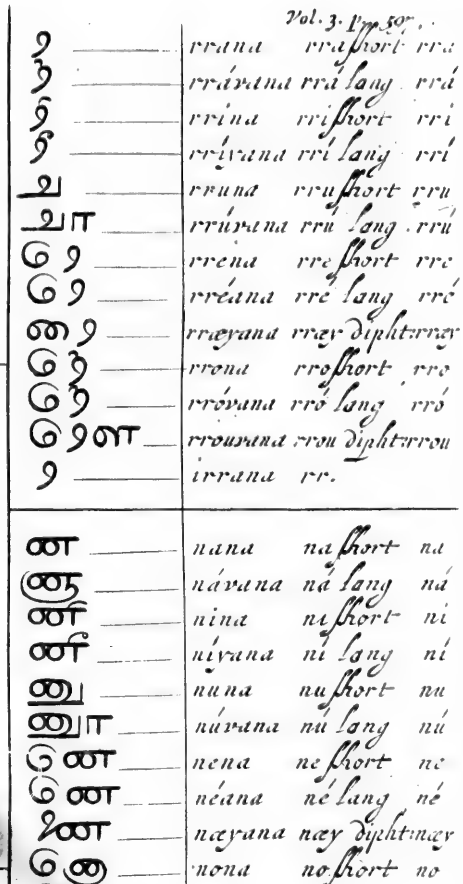
ma short- má long mi short- mí long mu short- mú long me short- mé long mæy dipht: mo short- mó long mau dipht: m.



yuna yu short- yúna yu long yena ye short- yéna ye long yæyana yæy dipht: yona yo short- yóna yo long yauana yau dipht: yau uana u:

lana la short- lána la long lina li short- lína li long luna lu short- lúna lu long lena le short- léna le long læyana læy dipht: lona lo short- lóna lo long lauana lau dipht: lau ilana l.

lana la short- lána la long lina li short- lína li long luna lu short- lúna lu long lena le short- léna le long læyana læy dipht: lona lo short- lóna lo long lauana lau dipht: lau ilana l.

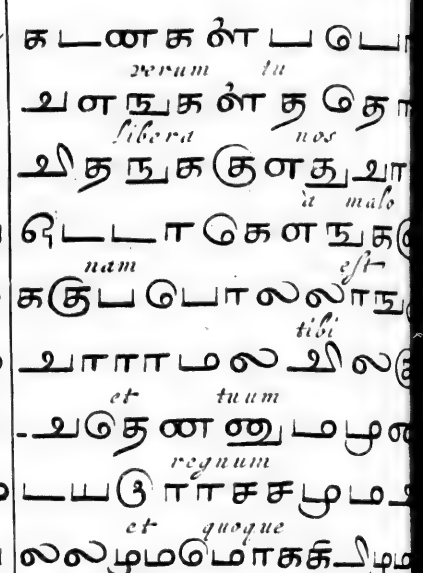


rrana rra short- rrána rra long rrina rri short- rríana rri long rruna rru short- rrúana rru long rrena rre short- rréana rre long rræyana rræy dipht: rrona rro short- rróana rro long rrauana rrau dipht: rr.

nana na short- nána na long nina ni short- níana ni long nuna nu short- núana nu long nena ne short- néana né long næyana næy dipht: nona no short- nóana nó long nauana nau dipht: n.

mana ma short- mána ma long mina mi short- míana mi long muna mu short- múana mu long mena me short- méana mé long mæyana mæy dipht: mona mo short- móana mó long mauana mau dipht: m.

Our Father in y^e Malabar language & Characters



the Creed in the Malabar

ாயண ெசசுகிரீ
Dominum nostrum

தை யெயிசுவி
qui est

கிஎண ெயண க
conceptus ex

தமாண ெசிபரீ
Spiritu Sancto

துயிலை லசணத
natus ex

ுகண ணிமரிபாள
Maria virgine

யிலைநின உயிஎந
Passus est

னெபாஞசியாப
Sub Pontio

லாததின கீளட
Pilato crucifixus

ாடுபடுகுருசி
est et mortuus

லெயுணயணடெ
et Sepultus est

ுஉபுகபபட
ad infernа

ாணபாதாளநுக
descendit die

ிலெஎநுகிழணரு
tertia resurrexit

ாளசெஎஎாகள
mortuis ad cælos

டையிலநிணஉ
ascendit ad dextram

ாததாணஎாணநு
sedet Dei

ளிலனிசசஉஉதது
Patris omnipotentis

குமஉலலபிகாஉா
unde ille

யதமிாணஉலப
judicatum veniet

பாகததலெருககிரு
et vivos et

ணஉயிடததலநினஉ
mortuos in

ெருககிஎாக ளுக
Spiritum Sanctum

குளுசெததஎாகளு
Credo ego

ககுடமநுதத்ஏகஉரு
Sanctam et

உாணசுததமாணெ
Catholicam

சிபபிரீதுணஉெ
ego et Credo

யயிசசுஉதிகெஎணக
Ecclesiam et

தெதாலிககஉாக்ய
Sanctorum quique

சுததமாணெகொண
ego Credo

சுயுளுசுததமாணஉ
communionem

ாகளகூடழமஉ
peccatorum

ணெடெனஉயிசசுஉதி
et remissionem

ககிெஎணமிணழகளெ
carnis hujus

பாஉதத லுளுெசத
et quoque

தஉாகளஉயிாதத
resurrectionem

லுமனணெஎணணைக
et vitam

குமஉளளஆயிஎஉ
in Secula

மஉணடெனஉயிக
Seculorum

சுஉதிககிெஎண ஆமென
æternam Amen.

16.

A Short Orthography of the M

The Malabars Commonly write upon the Leaves of Palm (1) some are accounted short (2) others long (3) some are life to the Consonants. (4) some Consonants which they call others they call Mixed letters, the same with our Diphthongs, in the beginning of a word (7) some only in the middle, (8)

The following are the Vowels			
அ	àna	a short	a
ஆ	àvanà	a long	á
இ	ina	i short	i
ஈ	íyana	i long	í
உ	una	u short	u
ஊ	úvana	u long	ú
எ	ena	e short	e
ஏ	eana	e long	é
ஐ	àyana	ay diphthong	ày
ஒ	ona	o short	o
ஓ	óvana	o long	ó
ஔ	auvana	au diphthong	au
ஃ	aguana	ae	ae
ன	ei	ei, ai diphthong	ei

These are Initial Letters called by them Taleyelutu.

These are Consonants.

க	cana	c, k	ம	mana	m
ங	ngana	ng	ய	yana	y
ச	chàna	ch	ர	rana	r r
ஞ	nhana	nh	ல	lana	l
ட	ïana	ï	வ	vána	u
ண	hnana	hn	ழ	ſana	ſ
த	tàna	t	ள	ſana	ſ
ந	nána	n	ற	rana	r
ப	pana	p l b	ன	nana	n

Consonants united with the Vowels, make a Syllable short			
க	cana	ca / ka short	ca
கா	cavana	cá / ka, long	cá
கி	quina	qui short	qui
கீ	quiyana	qui long	quí
கு	cuna	cu short	cu
கூ	cuvana	cu long	cú
கெ	quena	ke short	que
கே	quéana	ké, long	qué
கை	cayvana	cay diphthong	cay
கொ	cona	co short	co
கோ	covana	có, long	có
கௌ	cauvana, cau	diphthong	cau
ஃக	iguana	g	
ஙு	ngnàna	ngna short	ngna
ஙூ	ngnávana	ngná long	ngná
ஙி	ngina	ngni short	ngni
ஙீ	ngniána	ngni long	ngní
ஙு	ngnuna	ngnu short	ngnu
ஙூ	ngnúvana	ngnu long	ngnú
ஙெ	ngnena	ngne short	ngne
ஙே	ngnéana	ngné long	ngné
ஙை	ngnàyana	ngnay diphthong	ngnay
ஙொ	ngnona	ngno short	ngno
ஙோ	ngnóvana	ngnó long	ngnó
ஙௌ	ngnauvana	ngnau diphthong	ngnau
ஙு	ingnana	ngn	

of the MALABAR LANGUAGE.

aves of Palm with Iron Pencels. Their Letters are distinguished thus (3) some are wells much they call Letters of life, because they give ich they call letters, because the vowels are their sound and life. (5) r Diphthongs, ed of two Vowells, (6) some are called Initiall letters, used he middle, (8) some in the end of a word.

ited with the Syllable short	chana	cha short-	cha
	chárana	chá long	chá
	china	chi short-	chi
	chírana	chí long	chí
	chuna	chu short-	chu
	churana	chú long	chú
	chena	che short	che
	cheana	ché long	ché
	chevrana	chev-diphtong	chev
	chona	cho short-	cho
	chórana	chó long	chó
	chaurana	chau diphtong	chau
	ichana	ch.	
	nhana	nha short-	nha
	nhárana	nhá long	nhá
	nhina	nhi short-	nhi
	nhírana	nhí long	nhí
	nhuna	nhu short-	nhu
	nhúrana	nhú long	nhú
	nhena	nhe short-	nhe
	nhéana	nhé long	nhé
	nhevrana	nhev diphtong	nhev
	nhona	nho short-	nho
	nhórana	nhó long	nhó
	nhaurana	nhau diphtong	nhau
	inhana	nh.	
	ïana	ïa short-	ïa
	ïárana	ïá long	ïá
	ïina	ïi short-	ïi
	ïírana	ïí long	ïí
	ïuna	ïu short-	ïu
	ïúrana	ïú long	ïú
	ïena	ïe short-	ïe
	ïéana	ïé long	ïé
	ïavrana	ïav diphtong	ïav
	ïona	ïo short-	ïo
	ïórana	ïó long	ïó
	ïaurana	ïau diphtong	ïau
	iïana	ï	
	hnana	hna short-	hna
	hnárana	hná long	hná
	hnina	hni short-	hni
	hnírana	hní long	hní
	hnuna	hnu short-	hnu
	hnúrana	hnú long	hnú
	hnena	hne short-	hne
	hnéana	hné long	hné
	hnevrana	hnev diphtong	hnev
	hnona	hno short-	hno
	hnórana	hnó long	hnó
	hnaurana	hnau diphtong	hnau
	hnana	hn	
	tana	ta short	ta
	tárana	tá long	tá
	tina	ti short-	ti
	tírana	tí long	tí
	tuna	tu short-	tu
	túrana	tú long	tú
	tena	te short-	te
	téana	té long	té
	tevrana	tev diphtong	tev
	tona	to short-	to
	tórana	tó long	tó
	taurana	tau diphtong	tau
	itana	t.	

Some Rules for the attaining the Knowledge of the Malabar *Language.*

Baldæus.

THE firſt declenſion among the *Malabars* comprehends the nouns only of the *Maſculine Gender* which terminate in the ſingular number in *n*, and in the plural in *r*. They have their ſingular and plural numbers like us, and name their caſes as follows.

The Nominative	*Pradamei*,
Genitive	*Dutiei*,
Dative	*Tritei*,
Accuſative	*Chadurti*,
Vocative	*Panchami*,
Ablative	*Xaſti*.

An Example of the firſt Declenſion.

Sing. Nom. *Vanan*, fullo, the fuller of cloth,
Gen. *Vananureja*, the fuller,
Dat. *Vananucu*, to the fuller,
Accuſ. *Vananer*, the fuller,
Vocat. *Vanano*, O you fuller,
Ablat. *Vananiratil*, of the fuller.

It is obſerved that they have four ſorts of ablative caſes.

1. The *Localis*, as the laſt mentioned,
2. *Cauſalis*, *vananale*, becauſe of the fuller,
3. *Socialis*, *vananore*, with the fuller,
4. *Comparationis*, *vananil*, in compariſon with the fuller.

Plur. Nom. *Vanar*, fullones, the fullers,
Gen. *Vananareja*, the fullers,
Dat. *Vanarcul*, *vanaruccu*, to the fullers,
Accu. *Vanarei*, the fullers,
Voc. *Vanare*, O ye fullers,
Abl. 1. *Vanar iratil*, *vanar iratile*, of the fullers,
2. *Vannaral*, *vanarale*, becauſe of the fullers,
3. *Vanarore*, *vanarorum*, with the fullers,
4. *Vanaril*, *vanarilum*, in compariſon of the fullers.

An Example of Conjugation in the Affirmative. Baldæus.

The Preſent Singular Tenſe.

I *nan*, *Vichuvadigirren*, I believe,
you *ni*, *Vichuvadiguirray*, you believe,
he / ſhe / it *avan*, *Vichuvadiguirran*, he believes, *Vichuvadiguirral*, ſhe believes, *Vichuvadiguirradu*, it believes, or *Vichuvadiguidu*.

The Plural.

We *nangal* *Vichuvadiguirron*, we believe,
you *ningal* *Vichuvadivirgal*, you believe,
they *adugal*, M. F. *Vichuvadicrargal*, you [men or women] believe, N. *Vichuvadicradu*, or *Vichuvadiguidu*, the things believe.

In the Negative.

The Preſent Singular Tenſe.

I *nan*, &c. as before. *Vichuvadichren illei*, I do not believe it,
Vichuvadicrei illei, you do not believe it,
Vichuvadiezan illei, he does not believe it,
Vichuvadiezal illei, they do not believe it,
Vichuvadicrad' illei, it does not believe it.

The Plural.

We *nangal*, &c. *Vichuvadicrem illei*, we do not believe it,
Vichuvadicrirgal illei, you do not believe it,
Vichuvadicrargal illei, they do not believe it, [*Maſc. & Fem.*]
Vichuvadicrad' illei, they [*Neut.*]
Vichuvadiguid illei, do not believe it.

Baldæus. The preſent Tenſe of Honour, *i. e.* when you ſpeak to perſons of quality in the affirmative.

Vichuvadicrora, we (our majeſty, highneſs, *&c.*) do not believe it.
Vichuvadicrir, you (your majeſty, *&c.*) do not believe it.
Vichuvadicrare, they (their majeſties) do not believe it.

In the Negative.

Vichuvidcron illei, we (our majeſty) do not believe it.
Vichuvadicrir illei, we —— do not believe it.
Vichuvadicrar illei, they —— do not believe it.

Whence it is evident that the *Malabar* language is very difficult to be learned; eſpecially by reaſon of the vaſt number of words whereof it conſiſts, one and the ſame thing being frequently expreſſed by divers words or names. Thus not only every day in the week, but alſo throughout the year, has its peculiar name. It is further manifeſt from hence, that the *Indians* are not ſo unpoliſhed as ſome *Europeans* repreſent them; and that they treat one another (eſpecially perſons of quality) with ſinguiar civility and reſpect.

The Imperfect Tenſe.

Vichuvadicrane apo Vichuvadieren, I believed.
Vichuvadicreye apo Vichuvadierom, we did believe it.

The Perfect Tenſe.

Vichuvaditen, I have believed,
Vichuvaditom, we have believed.

The Preterperfect Tenſe.

A ducu mune vichuvaditay, I had believed,
A ducu mune vichuvaditon, we had believed.

The Future Tenſe.

Vichuvadipen, I will believe,
Vichuvadipon, we will believe.

Our Father in the *Malabar* Language.

VAnan galil yrucrà engal pidàye, unureya namam ellaicum chutanga; unu-reya irakjam vara; un manadin paryel à navargal vanatil; cheyuma pelepunge-lum elarum cheya; andandulla engàl pileyto us daily; pardon us our caran, carracucu nângal pava caran-galey perru; engaley tolxatriù è duvagù ottàde engalucù polángn varámal. Vilagù. but of the evil deliver thou us. So it be.

In heaven who art our father, thy name be ſanctified; thy kingdom come; thy will be done in earth as in heaven; give our bread treſpaſſes, as our treſpaſſers forgive we; lead not into temptation us,

The Creed.

VAnanum pumium pareyta charvatucum vala pidavagmia, tambytor, omnipotent father, raneye vichuvadicren. Avanureyà maguan God, I believe. And in ſon *oruven namureyà nayen Xeju Chriſteye* his only Jeſus Chriſt *vichuvadicren. Iven chetamana eſpiritу* I believe. Who was conceived from *màl, chanitù kanni* the Holy Ghoſt, born from the Virgin *Marial: vaitil nindù pirranda Ponxio* Mary, &c.

Pilalin kil parulattu cruxile arraiandù chetù aracapata padalangalil erri charruvatucum valla pidaguia tambiram balagapatil irucran avaratil nindu irucra vagalacum chetavargalucum narutytha varuvan. Chutamana eſpiritù veye vichuvadicren. Chutamana vargal cuſtanum undanu vichuvadicren. Pileygal porrutalu chetavargàl huirtalum endendeycum ulla aytum vindanum vichuvadicren.

A DE-

Malabar

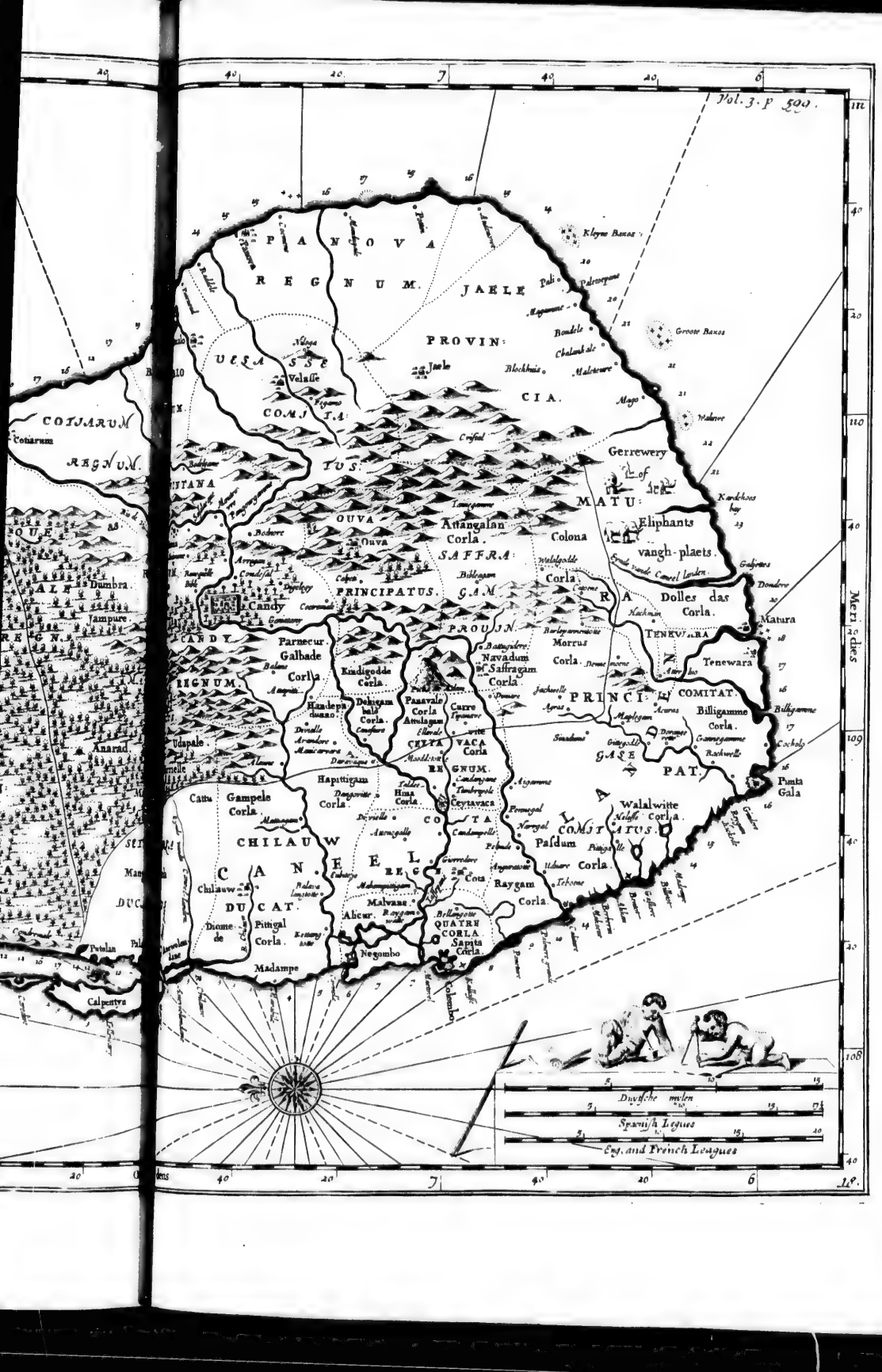
engal palâce,
our father,
fied, thy
nadin paryel
will be done
ma pelepun-
e our bread
la engàl pley-
us our
l pava caran-
ſpaſſers for-
ràù è duvagù
emptation us,
dmal. Vilagù.
us. So it be.

um pareyta
he earth crea-
vagnia, tamby-
ner,
nureyà maguan
nd in ſon
Xeju Chriſteyc
Jeſus Chriſt
tamana eſpiriſy
conceived from
ù kauni
rom the Virgin
irranda Ponxio

arraiandù chetù
charruvatucum
agapatil irucran
eum chetavarga-
Chutamana eſpi-
Chutamana var-
uvadieren. Pi-
l huirtalum en-
num vichuvadi-

A DE-

INSULA
CEYLAN,
olim
TAPROBANA;
nunc incolis
LANKAWN.
COTIARUM
REGNUM.
Cotiarum
TRINCOUE
Wed
NEMALE
Dumbra
WANNI
REGNUM
Jampure
NIAS
PROVINCIA
Anarad
Udapale
Catru
Sette coulang
Jafnapatnam
Putalan
Calpentyn
1 Manaar
Septentrio


PANOVA
REGNUM.
JAELE
PROVIN:
CIA.
Jaele
Velalle
COMITATUS
OUVA
Ouva
Attangalan Corla.
SAFFRAGAM
Colona
Gerrewery
of
MATU:
Eliphants vangh-plaets.
Dolles das Corla.
Matura
TENEWARA
Tenewara
PRINCIPATUS.
Candy
CANDY
REGNUM.
Parneeur Galbade Corla
Kindigodde Corla.
Handepa tuano
Dehigam bala Corla.
Navadum of Saffragam Corla
Morrus Corla.
Passavale Corla Attalagam
Carre
CHILAW
Gampele Corla.
Hapittigam Corla.
Hina Corla.
Ceytavaca
Walalwitte Corla.
Pasdum Corla.
Raygam Corla.
Malvane
Alicur.
QUATRE CORLA
Sapata Corla
Negombo
Madampe
Colombo
Punta Gala
Billigamme Corla.
Dutsche mylen
Spanish Leagues
Eng. and French Leagues

Boldæus.
Ceylon.

Its Extent.

Title of the king of Ceylon.

A

DESCRIPTION

Of the Great and moſt Famous

ISLE of *CEYLON.*

CHAP. I.

The Situation, Extent, and Diſcovery of Ceylon.

Baldæus. Ceylon.

THE iſle of *Ceylon* (the *Taprobana* of the antients, according to *John de Barros*) has got its name among the *Portugueſe*, as well as the other *Europeans*, from its capital city, called *Ceylon*, known among the natives by the name of *Laukauwn*.

This iſle extends from the ſixth to the tenth degree of northern latitude. Formerly its circumference was reckoned to be about four hundred leagues, though ſince that time the ſea has waſhed away about forty leagues on the north-ſide of it. In antient times it was queſtionleſs (as we ſhall ſee anon in the deſcription of *Manaar*) annexed to the continent. The figure of this iſle repreſents (according to *Maffæus*) an egg; but in my opinion reſembles rather a *Weſtphalia* ham; whence, without doubt, the *Dutch* fort near *Jafnapatnam*, has got the name of *Hams-Heel*.

Its Extent. The before-mentioned *Maffæus* affirms that its circumference is at this time not above two hundred and forty leagues, its length ſeventy eight, and the breadth forty four. But the *Dutch*, ſince they have been maſters of it, after the taking of *Columbo* 1656. and of *Manaar*, and *Jafnapatnam* 1658. have more exactly computed its compaſs to be three hundred and ſixty leagues. It has many excellent harbours, cities and fortreſſes; and is divided into ſeveral provinces, as may be ſeen by the title of the king of that iſland, who ſtiles himſelf *Raja Singa*, emperor of *Ceylon*, king of *Candea*, *Cota*, *Ceytavaca*, *Dambadan*, *Amorayapore*, *Jafnapatnam*; prince of *Ouva*, *Mature*, *Dinavaca*, and the four *Corles*; great duke of the ſeven *Corles*, *Matale*; earl of *Cotiar*, *Trinquenemale*, *Batecalo*, *Velaſe*, *Vintana*, *Dambra*, *Panciapato*, *Veta*, *Putelaon*, *Valare*, *Gale*, *Belligaon*; marquis of *Duranura*, *Ratienura*, *Tripane*, *Acciapato*; lord of the ſea-ports of *Alican*, *Columbo*, *Negombo*, *Chilau*, *Madampe*, *Calpentyn*, *Aripiture*, *Manaar*, and of the fiſhery of precious ſtones and pearls; lord of the *Golden Sun*. All which places, cities, and fortreſſes we ſhall have occaſion to treat of hereafter.

Title of the king of Ceylon.

Baldæus. *The titles of duke and earl have been introduced by the Portugueſe.*

The iſle *Ceylon* abounds alſo in excellent rivers, ſuch as *Chilau*, *Matual*, *Alican*, *Mature*, *Batecalo*, *Trinquenemale*, and others. It produces various ſorts of precious ſtones, and is extremely fertile, eſpecially in cinnamon. Here are alſo found the beſt elephants of the whole *Indies*.

Its diſcovery by the Chineſe.

This iſle was firſt diſcovered by the *Chineſe* in the following manner: Certain *Chineſe* having ſuffered ſhipwreck, were forced aſhore on that iſland, where they profeſſed their king to be the *Son of the Sun*. The inhabitants of *Ceylon* adoring at that time the *Sun*, as the *Malabars* do to this day their *Eſwara*, i. e. *the Sun*, they were ſo well pleaſed with their new gueſts, that they elected the captain of the *Chineſe Jonke*, or veſſel, their king; whence the preſent kings of *Ceylon* trace their origin, and have taken upon them the title of *Lord of the Golden Sun*, this firſt *Chineſe* king having ſtiled himſelf, *The much-beloved ſon of the always-moving Sun*. From this king *Lankauw Pati Mabadaſcyn* deduced his origin, who took upon him the name of *Well-beloved lord of the whole iſle*. His ſon was *Lankauw Singe Madabaſcyn*, i. e. *the well-beloved Lion of the iſle*; and after him, his ſon *Marafinge Mabadaſcyn*, i. e. *The*

Pedigree of the kings of Ceylon.

Baldæus. i. e. *The well-beloved conqueror of the lion.* This king left behind him two ſons; the firſt named *Lankauw Patti Mahaſtane*, or *the eye-apple of the country*; the ſecond *Radgora Adaſcyn*, or, *The well-beloved king.* Theſe two quarrelling about the ſucceſſion, at laſt divided kingdoms, that of *Candy* falling to the ſhare of *Radgora Adaſcyn*, and all the reſt to the eldeſt. The poſterity of theſe two kings ruled for a conſiderable time after, the eldeſt ſon always ſucceeding before the others. Among theſe *Lankauw Patti Mahaſtane* dying in the ſeventieth year of his age, left a ſon named *Marandonna Madgora*, i. e. *The conqueror of the eye-apple*; who came no ſooner to the crown, but he engaged in a heavy war againſt his uncle by the father's ſide, which was ended at laſt by a marriage betwixt *Marandonna Mahaſtane*, the ſon of *Madgora*, and *Malabande Wandige*. They left a numerous iſſue of ſons and daughters, and among the reſt one named *Fimala Darma Soria Adaſcyn*, i. e. *The conqueror of the whole kingdom*, (born after his father's death,) who no ſooner came to age of maturity, but he attacked all the neighbouring princes that refuſed to ſubmit to his juriſdiction; and having by degrees ſubdued them all, and eſtabliſhed himſelf in the throne, by the death of all ſuch as had oppoſed him, he married at laſt *Rokech Wandige*, i. e. *The beautiful queen*, his ſiſter's daughter, by whom he had a numerous iſſue of ſons and daughters, from whom the preſent kings are deſcended. *Baldæus.*

CHAP. II.

The firſt Arrival of the Portugueſe *in the Iſle of* Ceylon, *under the Command of* Laurence d'Almeyda.

Arrival of the Portugueſe in Ceylon.

WHILST theſe inteſtine wars were carrying on in *Ceylon*, *Laurence d'Almeyda*, by the command of his father, was imploy'd in cruiſing upon the *Mahometans*, who were then tranſporting their effects from *Malacca* and *Sumatra* over the *Maldive* iſlands into *Arabia*. The *Portugueſe* being informed of the condition of the iſland, and knowing that it was beſt fiſhing in troubled waters, did turn their arms againſt it, and after many bloody engagements, made themſelves maſters of all the places which produce the beſt cinnamon, which they uſed to tranſport in vaſt quantities into *Europe*.

Raja Singa Adaſcyn, an enemy of the Portugueſe.

At that time *Raja Singa Adaſcyn* reigned in *Ceylon*. The general opinion is, that he was a king's ſon, and nephew to the king of *Cora*, though I have often heard the *Portugueſe*, and ſome of the *Hollanders*, ſay, that he was no more than a barber, who being well skilled in divers languages, and of a warlike inclination, aimed at the crown; and, at laſt, was ſo fortunate as to reduce the whole iſland (after he had killed all the great men) to his obedience. This king being a declared enemy of the *Portugueſe*, he beſieged *Columbo* with a powerful army, and reduced them in a ſhort time to ſuch extremity for want of proviſions, that the garriſon knowing the governor to be averſe to come to a capitulation, they at firſt broke out into injurious words, and at laſt reſolved (unleſs they received relief from *Goa* in a week's time) to kill their officers, and to ſurrender at diſcretion. But the governor being advertiſed of their deſign by one of his pages, did all that lay in his power to keep the ſoldiers in obedience with fair promiſe, till the arrival of the ſo long wiſhed-for ſuccours from *Goa*; which having defeated the *Indian* fleet, they forced them to raiſe the ſiege. *Columbo relieved.*

This *Raja Singa Adaſcyn* having made himſelf maſter of the whole kingdom, except *Gale* and *Columbo*, forced the emperor *Mahadaſcyn* to fly the country; who in his purſuit ſcattered his treaſure of gold and jewels upon the road, thereby to ſtop the purſuit of his enemies. *Raja Singa* being thus become maſter of the empire, conſtituted *Vinne Lamantia*, one of the late emperor's favourites, governor over the high-land countries, whoſe ſon, named *Don John*, afterwards obtained the ſovereignty. This *Vinne Lamantia* finding himſelf in a condition to cope with his new pretended maſter, took up arms againſt him; and having brought over the greateſt part of the country (grown weary of the tyrant) to his ſide, was proclaimed emperor, under the title of *Vinne Ladarma Soria*, i. e. *The deliverer of the Empire.* *Vinne Lamantia rebels againſt Raja Singa.*

This war being carried on with various ſucceſs for a conſiderable time, the *Portugueſe* got time to breath, and induced *Raja Singa* to come to a compoſition with *Vinne Ladarma Soria*, offering him the whole treaſure he had taken of *Mahadaſcyn*, the late emperor, provided he would reſign the whole ſovereignty into his hands. *Comes to a compoſition with Raja Singa.*

Whilſt they were treating of the peace, *Vinne Ladarma* had a ſon born him, (who, bearing his father's name, ſucceeded him in the empire,) but he was ſcarce a year old, when *Raja Singa*, not thinking himſelf ſecure

Baldæus. cure in the late treaty concluded with *Vinne Ladarma*, he at last found means to cajole him to his court, (notwithstanding those of *Candy* strongly opposed it,) where he was no sooner arrived, but being seized upon, with all his attendance, *Raja Singa* ordered him to be buried in the ground up to his breast, and so to be killed by the means of certain wooden balls, which were thrown at his head, till his brains were dashed out; the chiefest of his attendants being likewise put to death by the tyrant's orders.

Vinne Ladarma's treason.

And murdered.

This done, he bent all his force against *Candy*; and having made himself master of the whole country, sold many of the inhabitants for slaves, and disarmed the rest, making the empress his prisoner. The *Cingaleses* being much oppressed by the tyrant, who forced them to carry earth and other materials upon their heads, for the building of fortifications all the way betwixt *Candy* and *Settavaca*, who fought for relief by the *Portuguese*; who, glad of so favourable an opportunity of strengthening their interest in that island, sent *Andrew Furtado*, a great warrior, with a considerable force to *Jafnapatnam*, which he surprized, and having got the king of that place in his power, required his consent and assistance to pass through his country for the relief of *Candy*. The inhabitants of that kingdom being not as yet entered into any settled treaty with the *Portuguese*, were not a little surprized at the sudden arrival of the *Parangys*, (so they call foreigners,) fearing, (which proved true afterwards,) that instead of their pretended delivery, they should only change their slavery; which the cunning *Portuguese* generals having well foreseen, had brought *Don John* and *Don Philip*, the last uncle of *Donna Catharina*, and both educated in the *Romish* religion, to *Candy*; the last of which he constituted king, and *Don John* generalissimo; leaving *Donna Catharina* the daughter of the late emperor *Mabadasyn*, and the sole heiress of the empire, at *Manaar*. He also took care to give notice of his coming to those *Candy*, with full assurances, that he was come for no other end than to deliver them from the usurper's yoke; which had so good an effect upon them, that they entered with him into an offensive and defensive alliance against *Raja Singa Adasyn*.

Baldæus.

Candy conquered by Raja.

The Portuguese sides with the Cingaleses.

Enter into an alliance with them.

The usurper got soon scent of this treaty, which made him advance with a potent army towards *Jafnapatnam*, to prevent the *Portuguese* from marching to *Candy*; but these were too nimble for him, and coming to *Candy* before he was arrived in that kingdom, immediately crowned *Don Philip* king, and declared *Don John* generalissimo, under

Make Don Philip king.

Baldæus. condition, that both ſhould marry *Portugueſe* ladies, and the inhabitants take an oath of allegiance to the king of *Portugal*.

Don John exaſperated at the Portugueſe.

Don John in the mean time ſeeing *Don Philip* preferred before him by the *Portugueſe*, conceived a mortal hatred againſt them, but thought fit to diſſemble it, till he ſhould meet with a favourable opportunity of ſhewing his reſentment. With this intention he took care to have *Candy* fortified ſo, as not to fear any thing from *Raja Singa*, and the royal palace (lately demoliſhed by that uſurper) to be rebuilt with more ſplendor than before, for the reception of the new king; though at the ſame time he conſulted with a certain famous ſorcerer, how to remove the ſaid king by poiſon, which he effected afterwards. *Baldæus.*

CHAP. III.

Don Philip *poiſoned.* Don John *ſucceeds him. He routs* Raja Singa; *who dies ſoon after. His Secretary* Janiere *takes up Arms againſt* Don John.

THE *Portugueſe* fearing, not without reaſon, the approach of *Raja Singa*, had fortified *Gannoor*, and ſent *John de Melo* in company of certain religious men to *Manaar*, to bring them freſh ſupplies of men, arms, and ammunition to *Candy*, the inhabitants whereof were all diſarmed by the uſurper, having firſt introduced *Don Philip* in great pomp, and placed him in the royal palace with the general applauſe of the inhabitants.

Don Philip ſeated at Candy.

But he ſcarce taſted the firſt fruits of his greatneſs, when *Don John* (taking the opportunity of the abſence of the chief of the *Portugueſe*) got ſome poiſon adminiſtred to him, which not having the deſired effect, he gave him another doſe, which put an end to his life; and by promiſes of great rewards, and other inticements, brought moſt of the inhabitants of *Candy* over to his ſide, who declared him their emperor, and gave him the title of *Vinne Ladarma Soria*, after his father, mentioned before to have been murdered by the command of *Raja Singa*.

Is poiſoned by Don John.

Who is made emperor.

The *Portugueſe* foreboding themſelves no good from *Don John*, whom they knew to be their enemy, ſent meſſengers after meſſengers to *John de Mela* at *Manaar*, to repreſent to him their dangerous ſtate, wherein they found themſelves not miſtaken: for no ſooner was *Don John* ſeated in the throne, but he ſent a herald to the *Portugueſe* in garriſon at *Gannoor*, who upbraiding them with perjury and perfidious deſigns, ordered them in the emperor's name, to quit their poſts within five or ſix days, which, if they refuſed, they muſt expect no quarter. The *Portugueſe* finding themſelves unable to reſiſt his power, and deſpairing of the deſired relief, thought it their ſafeſt way to come to a capitulation with *Don John*, who granted them a free paſſage with their ſwords only, being forc'd not only to leave all their booty, but alſo their bag and baggage behind them.

And forced the Portugueſe out of Gannoor.

The very next day *John de Melo* arrived with ſuccours from *Manaar*, but too late, whilſt *Raja Singa* was advancing towards *Candy*, threatening a moſt ſevere revenge to the inhabitants of that country. *Don John* finding himſelf now deſtitute of the aſſiſtance of the *Portugueſe*, and underſtanding that his enemy had pitched his tents near *Walane*, was ſorely put to it how to cope with ſo great a force; but being obliged either to fight or quit his advantage, he reſolved to engage the enemy, coſt what it would: for which reaſon, having afreſh taken the oath of allegiance from the inhabitants, and furniſhed them with arms, (ſuch as they could get in haſte,) he advanced towards them in order of battle. *Raja Singa* being not a little ſurprized at his boldneſs, ſent him word, That *he had beſt take warning by his father* Vinne Ladarma Soria's *death; and that in caſe he refuſed to ſubmit to his mercy before it was too late, he muſt expect no other treatment than to be cut in pieces.* Unto whom *Don John* ſmiling, ſent for anſwer, *That he would take care to put it out of his power; and if his father had been as cautious of him as he was reſolved to be, he need not have come to ſo lamentable an end; to revenge which he was come to this place*; exhorting him at the ſame time to implore his mercy before it was too late. *Raja Singa* was ſo exaſperated at his meſſage, and the averſion he found in the inhabitants of the country, that he declared, *He would puniſh with death all that ſhould oppoſe him*; and ſo ordered his whole army to march to to *Donlan*, with an intention to ſurprize that place before *Don John* could come its relief. *Don John*, though he knew himſelf much inferior in number, yet reſolved to follow him cloſe at the heels; and to put the better countenance on the matter, marched

Meſſage of Raja to Don John.

Hireſume Anſwer.

Baldæus. marched in great pomp, with moſt ſplendid umbrellos born before him, and ſuch other royal enſigns, as the kings in thoſe countries uſe in their wars. *Raja Singa* ſeeing *Don John* thus bravely advancing towards him, reſolved either to vanquiſh or to die glorioufly in the enterprize, could not forbear to break out into theſe words, *Verily* Don John *is a courageous warrior, and I preſage that one day or other he will aſcend the throne. O* Raja Singa! *where is thy noble boldneſs? where are all thy great and ambitious deſigns? where thy fortune which no body could reſiſt! I am afraid of a ſudden change: O changeable fortune, why haſt thou turned thy back towards* Raja Singa, *who was once thy favourite!*

Raja's ſurprize.

Thus the ſignal being given, the battel begun, wherein *Don John* and his forces gave way at firſt, the better to bear the firſt aſſault of the enemy; but afterwards *Don John* at the head of his guards charged them ſo furiouſly, that (notwithſtanding *Raja Singa* did all that could be expected from a great captain) they were forced to give way, and at laſt to ſeek for their ſafety in their heels: and ſo he returned victorious to *Candy*, having loſt no more than ſeven hundred men in the whole engagement; whereas theloſs of *Raja Singa* amounted to above three thouſand, who was ſo dejected at this defeat, that he ſtruck voluntarily a thorn into his foot, and refuſing to have his wound dreſſed, it gangrened, and put an end to his days at *Stetevaca*.

It defeated.

Dies.

He ſhewed not the leaſt remorſe upon his death-bed for his cruelties, except thoſe committed againſt the prieſts of *Daldowanſe*, whom he cauſed to be burnt alive; for being asked by the tyrant, whether the murder he had committed upon his uncle, mother-in-law, and brothers, could not be forgiven, they anſwered No; *Well then* (ſaid the uſurper) *I am now at liberty to do what I pleaſe*, and ſo committed them all to the fury of the flames, except the high prieſt, called *Tireanco*, i. e. *God's vicegerent*, by the *Cingaleſes*. The prieſts of *Paraneydeyo*, being asked the ſame queſtion, forewarned by the diſaſter of the others, gave for anſwer, *That a perſon guilty of ſuch a ſin could not enter into heaven; but if truly repenting, he might by their interceſſion be brought to remain betwixt heaven and earth, without being ſenſible of they torments of hell.* This anſwer was ſo pleaſing to *Raja*, that he diſmiſſed them unmoleſted, telling them, *That he had ordered the prieſts of* Daldowanſe *to be burnt, becauſe they would make God delight in evil; but you, who make him a merciful God, I will always look upon as my friends.* Juſt before his death, he ſent for the before-mentioned *Tireanco*, or high-prieſt, deſiring him to forgive the death of his brethren, offering him conſiderable preſents at the ſame time; he refuſed the laſt, but pardoned the crime, and ſo returned to *Candy*, where he died in the hundred and twentieth year of his age.

The prieſts of Daldowanſe burnt.

Meſſage of Raja to Don John.

Raja's remorſe for this action.

Baldæus.

Don John had no ſooner received intelligence of *Raja*'s death, but he put himſelf at the head of his army, to take poſſeſſion of the whole kingdom. But the chief ſecretary of *Raja Singa* having got all his maſter's treaſure into his hands, and thinking himſelf in a capacity to cope with *Don John*, got himſelf proclaimed king, under the name of *Janiere Wandaar*, and at the ſame time ſollicited for ſuccours by the *Portugueſe*. Neither was it long before *Pedro Lopes de Souſa* arrived from *Goa* at the head of twelve thouſand five hundred *Portugueſe*, beſides a good number of *Miſtices* and *Indians*, which occaſioned no ſmall conſternation in *Don John*'s army, who had been lately ſpectators of the ravages committed by thoſe of *Gale* and *Columbo* (with the aſſiſtance of the new king) in the *Low Lands*, and therefore had all the reaſon to fear ſo ſtrong a force of the *Portugueſe* ready to join with his enemies. However *Pedro Lopes* finding the *Low Lands* laid deſolate, (the beſt of the country,) and conſequently promiſing himſelf but ſmall advantages by his ſtay, was for returning to *Goa*, had he not been oppoſed by the reſt of the officers, who alledged, That the beſt part of the late king's treaſure remained as yet entire at *Candy*; and that in order to make themſelves maſters of the whole iſle, they muſt take this opportunity of conquering the petty princes one after another, which they put in execution accordingly. For having partly by force, partly by promiſes, brought the kings of the *Low Lands*, over to their party, it was agreed to aſſemble a ſtrong army againſt *Don John*. The *Quota's* of the ſeveral princes to be furniſhed for this expedition was regulated in the following manner.

Janiere uſurps the crown.

Seeks for aſſiſtance by the Portuguese.

The king of *Cota*, ſix thouſand eight hundred men, four war-elephants, fifty other elephants, one thouſand eight hundred oxen for carriage, and one thouſand *Colys*, or pioneers. King *Janiere Wandaar Ragora* twenty eight thouſand nine hundred and eighty men, twenty four war-elephants, two hundred others, five thouſand oxen for carriage, three thouſand pioneers. The kingdom of *Jafnapatnam* nineteen thouſand nine hundred men, ten war-elephants, forty of the common ſort, three thouſand oxen, and two thouſand pioneers. The king of *Cotiar* ſeven thouſand nine hundred and eighty men, ſix hundred pioneers, one thouſand oxen, thirty war-elephants, twenty five others. The king of *Palugan*, five thouſand eight hundred and ninety men, one thouſand pioneers, three war-elephants, and

A great army raiſed againſt Don John.

Baldæus. and twenty five others. The king of *Batecalo* nine thouſand eight hundred men, two thouſand pioneers, two thouſand five hundred oxen, four war-elephants and thirty others. The king of *Panua*, in conjunction with ſome other princes, fifty nine thouſand eight hundred and ninety ſix men, two thouſand one hundred and forty pioneers, ſix hundred and thirty elephants, and ſixteen thouſand oxen. So that the whole number of theſe forces amounted to one hundred fifty one thouſand and eighty ſix heads, among whom were one hundred thirty nine thouſand two hundred and forty ſix fighting men, and eleven thouſand ſeven hundred and forty pioneers, ſeventy five war-elephants, one thouſand other elephants, and twenty nine thouſand five hundred oxen for carriage. The quota of the *Portugueſe* under *Pedro Lopes* amounted to one thouſand four hundred and ſeventy four *Portugueſe*, one thouſand two hundred *Myſtices*, and one thouſand two hundred and twenty four *Indians*, forty ſeven war-elephants, nine hnudred and forty five others, and nineteen thouſand nine hundred oxen. *Baldæus.*

The firſt thing they took care of was to ſecure their retreat, by erecting three forts, called *Manikeroweri*, *Mapati*, and *Gannatari*; which done, they directed their march with their joint-forces towards *Candy*.

CHAP. IV.

Don John *draws out his Forces againſt* Janiere *and the* Portugueſe: *Attacks them with Succeſs; but is routed at laſt.* Donna Catharina *declared Empreſs.* Janiere *murdered.*

DON John having received intelligence of their march, was put to a great nonplus what courſe to take in this exigency of his affairs, his whole army conſiſting of no more than betwixt thirty and forty thouſand men; but knowing them to be reſolute and intirely devoted to his intereſt, he kept as cloſe to the enemy as poſſibly he could, and in ſeveral engagements got the better of them; till at laſt being attacked with incredible fury by the *Portugueſe*, they put him to the rout, and took the city of *Walane*, with the loſs of forty nine men only on their ſide, killing above fifteen hundred of the inhabitants; which ſtruck ſuch a terror into the reſt, that the whole country ſubmitted without the leaſt oppoſition, except *Dolleſwagge*, which they were not able to take.

Don John routed.

Don John not being able to rally his ſcattered forces, retired with his empreſs into the woods and deſerts, where they were forced to feed upon herbage for ſome time; and the *Portugueſe* being now maſters of the country, required the *Cingaleſes* to own the king of *Portugal* for their ſovereign lord. Theſe on the other hand deſired that *Donna Catharina*, the daughter of *Mahadaſcyn* their legal emperor, might be brought from *Manaar*, and declared their empreſs. *Don Pedro Lopes* being well enough pleaſed with this propoſition, yet willing to conſult with *Janiere* about the matter, he found him not averſe to it, his intention being to marry her with the conſent of the *Portugueſe*, who had underhand promiſed the ſame as a reward of his ſervices done to them.

Retreats into the deſerts.

Accordingly a numerous train and ſplendid equipage was ſent to bring the new empreſs to *Candy*; but one of the ſhips foundring at ſea in a ſtorm, one hundred and fifty ſoldiers, a great number of ſlaves, and two cheſts with money were loſt with her: one *Portugueſe* and two negroes only had the good fortune to eſcape of the whole ſhip's crew, who heard the captain of the ſhip, whoſe name was *Perere*, take his laſt farewell in theſe words, *O brave* Percre, *is it thus thy fate to be ſwallowed up by the ſea! but ſince it is God's will, patience: Chriſt receive my ſoul.* Donna Catharina *brought from Manaar.* A Portugueſe *ſhip loſt.*

In the mean while all imaginable preparations being made for the reception of *Donna Catharina*, ſhe was preparing for her departure from *Manaar*: as ſhe was carried along in her litter, or chair, one of the poles of cane happened to break, which the new empreſs looking upon as an ill omen, ſhe cried out aloud, *Stop, ſtop, do not carry me any further, for this portends ſome great misfortune.* Unto which the governor of *Manaar*, who attended her perſon, replied, *May it pleaſe your majeſty, we ought to conſider that we are no heathens but chriſtians, and muſt therefore deſpiſe ſuch ſuperſtitions; God will be the ſupporter of you and your cauſe.* Then the empreſs bid them take another pole, and ſoon after embarked with a fair wind, which carried her in eight days to *Candy*. *Superſtition of* Donna Catharina. *Leaves* Manaar.

Here ſhe was met by *Pedro Lopes*, the *Portugueſe* general, and ſeveral of the *Cingaleſe* kings and princes, attended by a great number of nobles, who paid their reverence (according to the cuſtom of the country) by laying their faces flat upon the ground: this they call *Sambaja*. The empreſs

Baldæus. ariſing out of her litter, returned them hearty thanks; and returning to her litter was accompanied into the city by *Lopes* and the before-mentioned princes with incredible pomp, and under the general acclamations of the people, who were infinitely pleaſed with the gold and ſilver that was thrown among them as the cavalcade marched along; which was ſo ſplendid, that the whole charge thereof amounted to one million nine hundred thouſand livres, the remnants of the treaſure of the late deceaſed uſurper, *Raja Singa Adaſcyn*. *Donna Catharina*, after having reſted herſelf from the fatigues of the voyage for three days, was crowned with the uſual ſolemnities, and put into poſſeſſion of the empire.

Her reception as Queen.

Crowned Queen.

About that time *Don John* came in the diſguiſe of a beggar into *Candy*, where he ſet ſeveral houſes on fire, in hopes of firing the whole city, but was fruſtrated in his deſign, the fire being always quenched in good time, though it often broke out in divers places at once.

Don John diſguiſed as a beggar.

The *Portugueſe* ſuſpecting the matter, offered a reward of ten thouſand *Pagodes* (twenty thouſand crowns) to any that could take him dead or alive; which made *Don John* deſiſt from his enterprize, and to return to his deſert.

The Portugueſe offer a good reward for his head.

The *Portugueſe* finding themſelves now in the quiet poſſeſſion of the country, were no longer able to diſguiſe their natural vices, their pride, avarice, and inſolence; which occaſioned frequent complaints to the empreſs, but without redreſs; which obliged the inhabitants to enter into an aſſociation to deprive them of all ſubſiſtence, by cutting off their ſupplies of proviſions. This obliged the *Portugueſe* general to ſend, in conjunction with king *Janiere Wandaar*, two thouſand *Cingaleſes* and one thouſand *Portugueſe*, to the dukedom of *Ouve*, and two thouſand *Indians*, and two hundred *Portugueſe* to *Halalmia* beyond *Candy*, to fetch in rice and other proviſions. *Baldæus.*

The *Portugueſe* ſoldiers, though they were very well received by the inhabitants, yet did they commit all manner of inſolences in their quarters, even to the raviſhing of their wives, killing their children, and ſetting their houſes on fire; ſo that the *Cingaleſes* finding themſelves in a worſe condition now than they were under their tyrannical emperors, entred into a conjuration to kill the *Portugueſe* at a certain appointed time. *They commit great inſolences.*

In the mean while *Janiere* ſollicited the *Portugueſe* general *Lopes*, for leave to marry the empreſs *Catharina*; which he handſomely denied, alledging, that he could not conſent to it, without ſpecial orders from the king of *Portugal*; but that he would write

Baldæus. to the king about it. *Janiere* looking upon this only as an excuſe, deſired to let him marry his ſiſter's daughter; which being likewiſe refuſed by the general, *Janiere* conceived from that moment a mortal hatred againſt the *Portugueſe*, and could not forbear to tell the general, That *he did not expect to have met with ſuch a reward for the ſervices he had done them, ſwearing that they ſhould have occaſion to repent it.* The *Portugueſe* being ſomewhat exaſperated at this unexpected reply, told him, That he ought not to take it amiſs, if he denied him what was not in his power to give, *viz. Donna Catharina*, the legal heireſs of the empire, to him who had uſurped the title of a king, merely by being got into the poſſeſſion of the treaſure of *Raja Singa Adaſcyn*, but that he ſhould be very ready to ſerve him upon any other occaſion. *Janiere* being put out of all patience by theſe inſulting Words, replied ſmartly, *I am ſenſible of your deſign; you that came here as ſtrangers, now you have got your ends through my means, are the firſt who would tyrannize over me.* Then recollecting himſelf, he began to turn the diſcourſe, diſſembling his reſentment; but the ſame night diſpatched a letter to *Don John* in the deſert, wherein he advertis'd him of what had paſſed betwixt him and the *Portugueſe* general, offering him the empire, provided he would receive him as king of the *Low Lands*; which *Don John* approving of, they entred into a confederacy to rid their hands of the *Portugueſe*.

Difference betwixt the Portugueſe *and* Janiere.

Janiere enters into a league with Don John

Baldæus.

Things being thus ſettled, *Don John* began to appear among the *Cingaleſes* (already much exaſperated againſt the *Portugueſe*) repreſenting to them the danger they were in, and how he was reſolved, in conjunction with *Janiere*, to drive them out of the iſland; which they readily accepted of, promiſing all the aſſiſtance they were able to give. But as *Janiere* ſent frequent letters to *Don John*, it happened that ſome of them fell into the hands of the *Portugueſe*, who being thereby fully convinc'd of the deſign carried on againſt them, begun, not without great reaſon, to fear, that unleſs they conſented to the marriage of *Janiere* with *Donna Catharina*, they would ſcarce be able to maintain themſelves in the iſle.

A council being called for this purpoſe, they were much divided in their opinions, ſome being for conſenting to the marriage, to prevent farther miſchief, and to have *Don John* murdered; whilſt others were for hazarding all, rather than to conſent to the match, and to have *Janiere* murdered, under pretence that he had laid a deſign to murder the empreſs and the general; for which purpoſe ſome forged letters were to be produced, to juſtify their conduct.

The Portugueſe conſult about Janiere.

Baldæus. To encompass this design, they took the opportunity, when *Janiere* was one day in conference with the *Portuguese* general and some other officers: the general seeing him have a scymetar on his side beset with precious stones, he desired to let him see it, feigning that he liked it so well, that he would take it for a pattern to have such another made after it. *Janiere* not suspecting their design, unadvisedly parted with his scymetar, which was no sooner done, but a certain *Portuguese* captain (upon the signal given by the general) did run him through the body with his sword, his attendants undergoing soon after the same fate, his guards being advertised thereof, cryed out, *Haddy, Haddy, Treason, Treason, Radgore Janiere Marupue, King Janiere is murdered*; which being a signal to the rest, all the *Indians* left the *Portuguese* camp, except the king of *Ceta* with his forces, who had not immediate notice of this most detestable murder.

Before his death.

Is murdered.

The *Portuguese* did all they could to justify their proceedings upon this account to the empress, who (though but young) being highly displeased thereat, told them, *That supposing he was a traytor, he ought not to have been thus barbarously murdered, but either kept a prisoner, or at least had the benefit of a legal tryal. Rest assured*, added she, *that this treacherous fact will turn to your ruin; for who is it that hears of it, but will curse you, and never trust you in whatever you pretend to? And, alas!* said she, *how ill have you served your king and me, who am likely to be involved in your ruin? Be therefore upon your guard, for you will pay dearly for having rewarded thus a man who had done you such signal services.* These words, though coming from a young woman, and scarce well initiated in the fundamentals of christianity, were actually fulfilled afterwards, when the *Portuguese* were driven by our forces out of *Batecalo, Gale, Columbo, Negumbo*, and last of all out of *Jafnapatnam*.

Baldæus. Donna Catharina's reflections upon it.

CHAP. V.

The Portuguese *leave* Candy; *are routed by the* Cingalese. *The Empress taken Prisoner.* Don John *becomes Master of the Empire; Marries* Donna Catharina. Jeronimo Oriedo *defeated.*

Don John improves the fact to his advantage.

DON *John* was not wanting to turn the hatred of the people (which must needs ensue upon so barbarous a fact) to his advantage, and to represent the perfidious designs of the *Portuguese* in the worst colours, offering them his assistance against these foreigners, as he had done before against *Raja Singa*; which succeeded so well, that they resolv'd unanimously to side with him, in order to drive them out of the country.

The Portuguese leave Candy.

The *Portuguese* having receiv'd intelligence of the great preparations made against them, and that *Don John* was advancing with his army towards *Candy*, began now, but too late, to repent of the murder of *Janiere*; and seeing their ruin at hand, unless they took timely care of their safety, they retreated from *Candy* to the fort of *Gannoor*, whence they sent to *Columbo* for relief. The *Cingalese* having got notice of their flight, pursu'd them so closely, that many of them fell into their hands, especially of those detachments sent to *Goa* and *Halalmia* for provisions, fifty whereof they sent back with their ears, noses, and privy parts cut off, in revenge of the ravishments committed upon their wives and daughters.

Are miserably treated by the Cingalese.

The *Portuguese* were so terrify'd thereat, that finding themselves destitute of all hopes of relief, they resolved likewise to leave *Gannoor*, and to retire to *Walane*, which they put in execution in 1590. on a sunday; and the better to cover their flight, or at least to divert the *Cingalese* from pursuing them, set the circumjacent country on fire. But these preferring their revenge before all other considerations, followed them at the heels, and attacked them most furiously in four several parts at once. The *Portuguese* defended themselves most courageously; but being overpower'd in number, were forc'd to give way with the loss of many of their best soldiers, either kill'd or taken prisoners, among whom was the *Portuguese* general *Lopes* and *Donna Catharina*. The general died within three days of his wounds, after he had recommended his son to *Don John*'s care, who was afterwards by him (pursuant to his promise) sent to *Columbo*.

1590.

And routed.

Pedro Lopes and D. Catharina taken Prisoners.

The *Indians* got a considerable booty, besides a vast quantity of arms, cannon and ammunition, in this engagement; and *Don John* pursuing his victory with the utmost vigour, made himself master of all the forts belonging to the *Portuguese*; some by assault, the garrisons whereof he put to the sword; some by composition, which was punctually observ'd. All which struck such an amazement into the circumjacent kings and

Baldæus. and princes, that they appear'd in perſon before him, and asking pardon for their having been engaged with the *Portugueſe*, brought him conſiderable preſents, and did him homage with the uſual ſolemnity of proſtrating themſelves with their faces to the ground.

Don John reſtored to the Kingdom.

Being thus ſettled a ſecond time in the throne, he thought it the faſteſt way to ſecure himſelf of the fidelity of his ſubjects by marrying *Donna Catharina*, (ſhe being then but twelve years old,) which was celebrated with great ſolemnity for one hundred and ten days ſucceſſively; notwithſtanding which the charges thereof did not amount to above five thouſand *Pagodes*: but the preſents beſtow'd upon many of the nobility (to reconcile them to his intereſt) to no leſs than nine hundred ſixty eight thouſand ſeven hundred fifty four *Pagodes*, four million eight hundred fifty nine thouſand five hundred thirty eight *Dutch* guilders, making the ſum of one million nine hundred forty three thouſand eight hundred and fifteen rix-dollars. His next care was to ſtrengthen his frontiers by three ſtrong forts; and he built himſelf a palace, ſurrounded with ſeveral bulworks, wherein he imploy'd the captive *Portugueſe*; who, to their great grief, were forc'd to ſee their enſigns diſplay'd upon the towers of their enemies.

Marries D. Catharina.

Oriedo a Portugueſe General in Ceylon.

Don John having for ſome time enjoy'd the quiet poſſeſſion of the throne, *Don Jeronimo d'Oriedo* was ſent in the quality of *Portugueſe* general to *Ceylon*, with a conſiderable number of land forces, compos'd of *Spaniards* and *Portugueſes*, brought thither from *Goa* and other places on the *Indian* coaſt. Having by great preſents brought over to his ſide moſt of the princes of the *Low Lands*, he order'd ſeveral forts to be erected to ſerve him for a retreat upon occaſion. *Don John* was ſo far from annoying his men in perfecting theſe fortifications, that he ſeemed to deſpiſe it, ſaying, *Let them go on, I will find a way to pull down as faſt as they can build:* but underſtanding that the *Portugueſe* were advancing towards *Walane*, in order to ſurprize *Candy* (where they intended to erect a ſtrong fort betwixt *Triquenam* and *Palugan*, to bridle the country) he attacked them in their march; ſo that a moſt furious battle enſu'd, which remain'd dubious for ſome time, the *Portugueſes* fighting like lions; but at laſt were forc'd to yield to the number of their enemies, who purſu'd them for five days as far as *Columbo*; they keeping their ranks cloſe, and making good their retreat with unſpeakable bravery, though not without conſiderable loſs on their ſide. Among their wounded was *Oriedo* the general, who was oblig'd to king *Cota* for his liberty, he having concealed him in ſome retired place, without which he had infallibly fallen into the hands of the *Indians*. Theſe, though not a little tired, with ſo long and troubleſome a purſuit, yet in their return made themſelves maſters of the new *Portugueſe* forts, and cutting the gariſons in pieces, laid them level with the ground. This victory prov'd ſo conſiderable to *Don John*, that during his life *Oriedo* either durſt or could not attempt any thing further againſt him.

Baldæus.

Is routed by D. John.

CHAP. VI.

Dominico Corré *goes over to* Don John: *Beſieges* Gale, *but is repuls'd.* Simon Corré *returns to* Columbo. *The* Portugueſe *miſerably maſſacred.* Joris van Spilbergen *comes to* Ceylon.

Dominico Corré deſerts.

ABout that time *Dominico Corré*, a renown'd ſoldier (known by the name of *Goliah*) being diſoblig'd by the *Portugueſe*, came over to *Don John*, having firſt cut off the noſes and ears of ſeveral monks who had offended him. He alſo enticed *Corke Bandaar*, a revolted prince, into *Don John*'s camp, who caus'd him to be tormented to death, and beſtow'd his principality upon *Dominico Corré*, to whom they gave the name of *Idel Soria Bandaar*. Whilſt he was doing homage to the emperor, a very large tree that ſtood hard by, ſplit in two pieces, without being touch'd; which the inhabitants (a ſuperſtitious generation) interpreted as an ill omen.

Is made General.

Not long after the emperor ſent a conſiderable army under the command of *Dominico Corré*, and his brother *Simon Corré*, to beſiege *Gale*: but the *Portugueſe* defended themſelves ſo well, that the greateſt part of this army was ruined, and *Dominico* himſelf taken priſoner, whom the *Portugueſe* (contrary to their promiſe) carry'd to *Columbo*, where he was privately murdered. This barbarous action ſo highly exaſperated *Don John*, that he ordered ſome *Portugueſe* to be killed by the elephants, others he cut off their noſes and ears, and ſent them to *Columbo* to tell the general, That in caſe they did not ſet all the priſoners at liberty, the *Portugueſe* in his hands ſhould receive the ſame treatment

Is murdered.

His Death revenged by Don John.

The ſoldiers in gariſon at *Columbo* ſeeing this miſerable ſpectacle in their companions, broke into a mutiny againſt the general,

Baldæus. ral, who by murdering *Corré* againſt his parole, had given occaſion to this diſaſter. There was nothing to be heard among them but, *Kill the dog, kill him*; whilſt *Jeronimo d'Oriedo* cry'd for mercy. Notwithſtanding which, a whole troop of them were advancing with their drawn ſwords againſt him, and had certainly killed him upon the ſpot, had not ſome monks thrown themſelves (to their no ſmall danger) betwixt him and them; and ſpeaking to the ſoldiers, calling them gentlemen, and begging them for the love of chriſt, not to act againſt the crown of *Portugal* in the perſon of their general, appeaſed their wrath; though even then the general was forced to hide himſelf in a convent, till the tumult could be entirely appeaſed, which was not till ſixteen days after.

Simon Corré goes over to the Portugueſe.

Notwithſtanding the barbarous uſage *Dominico Corré* had met with from the *Portugueſe*, his brother *Simon Corré* went over to them, pretending to the emperor that he intended to advance towards *Columbo* to revenge his brother's death. He was very honourably received by the *Portugueſe*, who not only beſtowed the government of a province upon him, but alſo marry'd him to a *Portugueſe* lady, whom together with his ſon (begotten in this marriage) they kept as pledges of his fidelity, whilſt he was imploy'd in carrying on the war againſt *Don John*. However, having got intelligence that the *Portugueſe* had formed a deſign againſt the life of the ſaid *Don John*, he gave notice thereof to him, deſiring him to be upon his guard. *Baldæus.*

The emperor being willing to be fully ſatisfy'd in a matter of ſuch moment, applied himſelf to one *Emanuel Dias*, who being formerly a foot-boy to the *Portugueſe* general *Lopes*, was advanced by the ſaid *Don John* to the dignity of one of his gentlemen of the firſt rank, and had received many other favours at his hands. *Emanuel Dias*, willing to contribute what lay in his power to his maſter's ſatisfaction, propoſed to go to *Columbo*, under pretence of having deſerted his ſervice, but in truth to dive into the real deſign of the *Portugueſe*. Accordingly he arrived at *Columbo* on eaſter-day in the year 1602. where he propoſed to *Don Jeronimo Oriedo* ſeveral ways of murdering *Don John*; and that with ſo much aſſurance and ſeeming probability, that he was highly careſſed by that general, who agreed with him concerning the method how the deſign ſhould be put in execution. For this purpoſe five *Portugueſe* were pitched upon to ſhare the danger and glory of ſo brave an action, (as they ſtiled it,) among whom were three captains, viz. *Chriſtian Jacobo*, *Alberto Primero*, and *Caſpar Pereſe*. *Emanuel Dias* being promiſed no leſs a reward than the crown of *Candy*, play'd the hypocrite ſo artificially, that he took a ſolemn oath up-

Emanuel Dias pretends to come over to the Portugueſe.

1602.

He deceives the Portugueſe.

Baldæus. on the crucifix to be true to his truſt; and ſo he was diſmiſſed to *Walane* with a good ſum of money, from whence he returned to *Candy*.

There he gave an account to the emperor how meaſures had been concerted betwixt *Don Jeronimo* and him; That a certain body of troops ſhould be poſted near the fort of *Walane*, to be ready at hand to ſurprize that place as ſoon as they ſhould receive the ſignal of the murder of the emperor being put in execution; for which purpoſe thoſe who had undertaken that task were within a limited time to appear near *Candy*. Hereupon the emperor advanced ſecretly in the night time at the head of a good body of troops to *Walane*, where the before-mentioned accomplices appearing according to agreement, well armed with *Japoneſe* ſcymetars, called *Traſſados*, they were kindly received by *Emanuel Dias*, and introduced into the emperor's preſence; but ſoon after were ſeized by his guard, and the ſignal given at the ſame time from the fort of *Walane*. So that the *Portugueſe* believing every thing to have ſucceeded according to expectation, advanced with all poſſible ſpeed towards the fort, where they queſtionleſs would have met with ſo warm a reception, that few of them would have returned home, had not a certain Servant, who had deſerted from the enemy, diſcovered the whole matter to them; which made them retreat with all ſpeed towards *Columbo*, leaving all their baggage and ſome arms a prey to the enemy. *Emanuel Dias* got a vaſt reputation by this bold enterprize, and was rewarded with vaſt preſents by the emperor; but the five *Portugueſes* were after a long captivity put to a moſt painful death.

Betrays them.

Baldæus.

Joris Spilbergen comes to Ceylon.

About this time the *Dutch* general, *Joris Spilbergen*, coming with two ſhips on the coaſt of *Ceylon*, went to *Candy* on purpoſe to ſalute the emperor in the name of the ſtates of the *United Provinces*, and his excellency prince *Maurice* of *Naſſau*; and was favourably received by *Don John*, and diſmiſſed with conſiderable preſents. Having left *Eraſmus Martens* and Mr. *Hans Pempel*, two very good muſicians, there, he returned highly ſatisfied, *September* 3. 1603. by the way of *Metecola* to *Achen*. But the *Portugueſe* were not a little diſſatisfied at his arrival there, as fearing that in caſe the *Dutch* ſhould enter into a confederacy with the emperor, their ſtay would not be long in that iſland; which proved true afterwards, they being quite chaſed thence in the year 1658.

1603.

CHAP. VII.

Sebald de Weert *comes to* Ceylon. *Great Diſſatisfaction betwixt the Emperor and him. Is murdered.* Don John *falls ſick, and dies: His Qualifications.*

Sebald de Weert *comes to* Ceylon.

Sebald de Weert and *Vibraads van Warwick* came ſoon after into *Ceylon*, where they entered into agreement with the emperor. Afterwards they ſailed to *Achen* to aſſemble more forces, and landing at *Matecola* with ſeven ſhips the 26th of *April*, 1603. *De Weert* gave notice thereof to the emperor, who deſired him to come and put an end to the conferences begun before for the conſummation of the treaty. *De Weert* coming into the emperor's preſence, was asked by him why he had ſet the *Portugueſe* priſoners at liberty; which, as it had been done unadviſedly, ſo he made the beſt excuſe he could upon that ſcore; which being not ſatisfactory to the emperor, cauſed in him no ſmall ſuſpicion; the ſame was much augmented by what his ambaſſador (who had been with the vice-admiral *De Weert* at *Achen*) related to him, that during his ſtay with the *Dutch* he could not obſerve but that they were friends of the *Portugueſe*, whereof they had given ſufficient proofs, when they ſet the *Portugueſe* officers, that were their priſoners, above him at the table. He further added, that he had received information from credible hands, That the vice-admiral intended to invite the emperor and the chiefeſt men of his court, aboard his veſſel to a banquet, but in effect, to detain them priſoners, and make themſelves maſters of the country: That he had thought it his duty to give this caution to his majeſty, that he might not truſt the *Dutch*, and thereby with the reſt of his princes be drawn into the ſnare, to the irreparable ruin of the whole country.

Difference betwixt the emperor and him.

Is augmented by the emperor's ambaſſador.

Don John finding the ambaſſador's reaſons not to be ill grounded, and having conceived no ſmall jealouſy at the vice-admiral's diſcharging the *Portugueſe* priſoners, contrary to his promiſe, it was debated in council, whether they ought to treat with him any further, or break off the treaty already begun. After various deliberations, it was agreed to endeavour to perſwade the vice-admiral to ſail with his fleet to *Gale*, in order (according to mutual agreement) to beſiege that place, whereby they would not want opportunity to judge of his conduct in reference to the *Portugueſe*.

Baldæus. *Sebald de Weert* ſoon after invited the emperor aboard his veſſel; which he refuſed, alledging, That the chief men of the empire did not approve of a thing never known before. *De Weert* ſeeing the emperor reſolute in his refuſal, deſired him to do him the honour of coming only to the ſea-ſhore to view his ſhips; and that he had ordered a tent to be pitched there for his reception. The emperor not only refuſed alſo this offer, but his ſuſpicion was increaſed, the before-mentioned ambaſſador whiſpering him in the ear, *Are you now ſenſible, my moſt gracious Lord, that I was in the right, and that they intend to catch you in the ſnare?* And the *Dutch* vice-admiral *De Weert* being not a little diſturbed at ſo flat a denial, told him frankly, *That ſince his Majeſty did not think fit to come either aboard him, or at leaſt to the Shore, he was reſolved not to fight for him againſt the* Portugueſe. *Don John*, though not a little exaſperated at ſo bold a reply, yet diſſembled his Anger, telling him only, That he ſhould, purſuant to his promiſe, ſail to *Gale* with his fleet, whilſt he would take a turn to *Candy* to viſit the empreſs who was alone there, his brother-in-law having taken a journey to the frontiers; and that from thence they would haſten with all their forces to the ſiege. *Sebald de Weert* being ſomewhat heated with ſtrong liquor, replied undiſcreetly, *That certainly the empreſs could not be in diſtreſs for a man; and that he was reſolved not to ſail to* Gale, *or to fight againſt the* Portugueſe, *before the emperor had done him the honour of viewing his ſhips.* *Don John*, who was naturally a cholerick perſon, was ſo incenſed at this anſwer, that he left the room, and in going out ſaid, *Bind the dog:* whereupon four of his gentlemen advanced to lay hold of him; but he endeavouring to draw his ſword, and making a noiſe to call his attendants to his aſſiſtance, (who were left near the ſea-ſide by the emperor's order,) they laid hold of him from behind, and one of them ſplitting his head with a ſcymetar laid him dead upon the ground.

Baldæus.

De Weert ſpeaks with too much boldneſs.

Which proves the occaſion of his death.

The prince of *Ouve* being the only perſon who durſt give an account to the emperor of what had happened, he appeared ſomewhat diſturbed thereat, aſking him, *Why they did not make him a Priſoner, according to his order.* Whereupon the prince telling him, that it was impoſſible to be done, becauſe he ſtood upon his defence, Don *John* replied, *Nay, ſince he ſought for his death, let him have it, and let his Attendants follow their Maſter*; which was put in execution immediately, ſcarce any one of thoſe that came aſhore with him eſcaping the fury of theſe barbarians, except a boy, named

And of his Attendants.

Baldæus. named *Isaac Plevier*, a native of *Flissingen*, who was still alive, and in the then emperor's service, *Nov.* 22. 1614. Some few also had the good fortune of escaping by swimming to the ships.

The emperor soon after went to *Candy*, from whence he writ these few lines in *Portuguese* to the commanders of the *Dutch* vessels; *Que bebem vinho, noa be bon. Deos fes justitia; se quefieres paz, paz; sequires guerra, guerra:* i. e. *Who drinks wine is not good: God shews his justice: If you desire peace, you shall have peace; if war, war.*

Don John *falls sick of a burning fever.*

However Don *John*, did not survive long this barbarous action, being seized with so violent a burning fever, that to cool himself he was kept in cold water, without any relief: He also drunk frequently of the water of the brook called *Hal Gradoje*, betwixt *Ouve* and *Matarette*; which being so cold, as not to be held in the mouth without shivering, yet could not in the least quench his thirst. He often bewailed the barbarous murder of the *Dutch*, but said that *De Weert* had no more than what he deserved. Thus languishing for some time in continual agonies, he was in no condition to dispose of his affairs, but ended his life in misery, 1604. He left behind him one son, named *Mahastinne Adascyn*, and two daughters, one named *Soria Mahadascyn*, i. e. *Beloved Sunlight*, the other *Cathen Adascyn*, i. e. *Beloved Peace*; all three born from *Donna Catharina*, called by the *Cingalese Mahandige Adascyn*, i. e. *Beloved Empress*.

Ibid. His Issue.

Don *John* was a valliant and great captain, as his whole life sufficiently testifies: He was tall of stature, and well-limbed, black, and rustical in his speech. He had gathered a vast treasure of gold and jewels, and had founded many forts, palaces, and publick-inns, called by the *Cingalese Ambolan*, i. e. *Resting places*. He kept a strict hand in the government; and as he never pardoned crimes, so he was very liberal to all such as behaved themselves well in their civil or military stations, on whom he conferred honours and riches. He was a compleat statesman, and stood firm to his engagements with all foreign princes, except the *Portuguese*; upon whom looking with a jealous eye, he had conceived a mortal hatred. As he despised all religions, so he allowed the free exercise thereof to all without distinction.

Baldæus. His Character.

The corps of the deceased emperor was no sooner interred with extraordinary magnificence, but the great men of the kingdom began to divide into several factions, every one aiming at the crown: The most potent among them was the prince of *Ouve*, who publickly set up for the empire, but was opposed by *Cenuwieraat*, brother-in-law to the late emperor, who pretended to be regent for his nephew, (his brother's son,) till he should come to age of maturity. *Donna Catharina* well foreseeing the ill consequences that might ensue upon those pretensions, declared herself regent of her young son, and by taking off the heads of some of the most suspected lords, removed the present danger, and appeased the troubles that threatened her ruin for some time.

Division among the Great Men.

Appeased by Donna Catharina.

CHAP. VIII.

Divisions among the Great Men in Ceylon. *The Prince of* Ouve *murdered by* Cenuwieraat, *who marries* Donna Catharina *the Empress.*

The Portuguese offer a Confederacy, which is denied.

THE *Portuguese* rejoiced at the death of *Don John*, sent messengers after messengers to *Goa*, to advertise the vicesoy of this welcome news, and to desire his advice in this juncture. The said vicesoy being of opinion, that they ought to engage in an alliance with *Donna Catharina*, (as a means to make themselves masters by degrees of the whole isle,) the same was proposed accordingly; but rejected by *Donna Catharina*, who told them, That she would remain sovereign mistress in her territories. However the princes of the *Low Lands* being sorely oppressed by the incursions and ravages committed in their territories both by the prince of *Ouve* and the emperor's brother-in-law, hearkened to the enticements of the *Portuguese*, and entered into a confederacy with them.

The empress being not a little disturbed at these intestine commotions, fearing she should be sacrificed to the prevailing party, called a general assembly of all the lords of the empire; who all appeared accordingly in person, except the prince of *Ouve* and *Cenuwieraat Adascyn*, who thereupon were by proclamation declared rebels by the empress, and their estates confiscated. However *Cenuwieraat* having given sufficient reasons for his absence, and the prince of *Ouve* having, at the intercession of his friends, obtain'd his pardon, they afterwards appeared at court, but well guarded, neither party trusting one another.

Ouve and Cenuwieraat do not appear at court.

Things thus passing on for some time, the prince of *Ouve* resolved, after the conclusion of the assembly of the states, to rid his hands of *Cenuwieraat*, and afterwards to secure to himself the crown by marrying *Donna Catharina*

Prince Ouve resolves to kill Cenuwieraat.

Baldæus. *Catharina:* but *Cenuwieraat* having got scent of this design, resolved to be beforehand with him; to accomplish which, he disturbed his thoughts, shewing to the prince of *Ouve* upon all occasions most singular marks of his respect and friendship. But having in the mean while strengthened his interest, by ingaging most of the great men to his side, he took his opportunity, when they were both going to take their leave of the empress: for coming at the outward gate, the prince of *Ouve* would have given the precedency to prince *Cenuwieraat*, as descended from the imperial blood; which he refusing to accept of, told him, That it was his due, by reason of his age: so that, after some time spent in compliments, prince *Ouve* went in first, and was instantly run through the back, and laid dead upon the ground by *Cenuwieraat*, who said no more than, *Traitor, thou hast thy reward*; and so retiring to his people, left the city immediately.

Ouve murdered by Cenuwieraat.

A commotion in Candy.

Those belonging to the prince of *Ouve* hearing of the murder of their master, run through the streets, crying out, *Treason, Treason*; which put the city into such an alarm, that the people (believing the empress was killed) cut all to pieces they met with, so that the streets were every where filled with horror and slaughter; which would have continued longer, had not *Donna Catharina*, by shewing herself to the people, somewhat appeased their fury. However, they not ceasing to exclaim, and uttering most horrid threats against the prince of *Cenuwieraat* for the murder of prince *Ouve*, the empress, to prevent further mischief, thought it her safest way to prohibit, under pain of death, that any injury should be done to prince *Cenuwieraat*, declaring that what had been done was by her own orders; which somewhat settled the minds of the people.

Appeased by the empress.

Appeased by Donna Catharina.

But her thoughts were very different from what she shewed to the people, having conceived such a horror at the fact, that she resolved not to let it go unrevenged upon the prince *Cenuwieraat*. He being advertised hereof by his friends, kept constantly upon his guard, not neglecting in the mean while to have it represented to the empress, (not without good reasons,) that he had been forced to undertake this fact for his self-preservation, and the welfare of the kingdom, her majesty, and his brother's children; which had so good an effect upon the empress, that by the mediation of certain great men, a match was concluded betwixt the empress and him, as the most proper means to restore tranquillity to the empire. At his coronation he took upon him the name *Camapati Mahadasyn*.

Baldæus.

Cenuwieraat clears himself.

Marries the empress.

He no sooner saw himself established in the throne, but he applied himself to the *Hollanders*, in order to enter into an alliance with them against the *Portuguese*, as will appear out of the sequel of this history.

For their high and mightinesses the states-general of the *United Provinces* having, 1609. made a truce for twelve years with archduke *Albert* and *Isabella Clara Eugenia* infanta of *Spain*, by virtue whereof it was among other matters agreed, That the same should take place also in the *East Indies*; the then directors of that company being willing to improve this interval for the better settling their commerce in these parts, did petition their high and mightinesses, and his highness the prince, to send their letters to all the *Indian* kings and princes, to enter into a confederacy with them; which being granted accordingly, the said letters, with certain articles and instructions, were by the directors of the said *Dutch East-India* company dispatched immediately to the *Indies* aboard the *Greyhound* yacht, captain *Wemmer van Berchem* commander: which done, they equipped a squadron of ships, which set sail out of *Holland* the 30th of *January* under the command of *Peter Both*, governor-general of the *Indies*, and arrived safely the 18th of *November* following at *Bantam*, with full power from their high and mightinesses, and his highness the prince, to enter into such alliances with all the *Indian* kings and princes, as they thought most expedient for the settling of their commerce, and ruining that of the *Portuguese* in those parts.

Truce betwixt the Spaniards and Dutch.

CHAP. IX.

Letters from the States-General of the United Provinces *and Prince* Maurice, *ſent by* Marcellus de Boſchhouwer *to the Emperor of* Ceylon.

Baldæus. THE letters from their high and mighteneſſes and his highneſs the prince of *Orange* to the emperor of *Ceylon*, were as followeth.

Moſt Potent King!

The Letter of the ſtates-general to the emperor of Ceylon.

"IT has pleaſed the almighty God, through his mercy, ſo to bleſs our arms, taken up for the maintaining of the rights and privileges of our native country againſt the king of *Spain* and *Portugal*, that after a bloody war carried on forty two years ſucceſſively both by ſea and land, the ſaid king being convinced of our unanimity, power and conſtancy, ſupported by the ſtrength of our friends and neighbouring allies, has thought fit to make us the ſame offers, for which we had been obliged to commence a war, *viz.* to declare us a free people, independant from his power; and that he was inclined to enter upon a treaty of peace or truce with us for a conſiderable number of years. Which offers (after mature deliberation) having been accepted by us, a treaty was ſet on foot accordingly with the ſaid king of *Spain* and *Portugal*; which being brought to a concluſion the 9th of *April* laſt paſt, a truce was agreed upon for twelve years next enſuing; by virtue whereof all the ſubjects of this ſtate are not only at liberty to carry on their traffick, commerce, or navigation, in all the kingdoms and countries where they uſed to enjoy the ſame before the war, but alſo in all other countries, kingdoms, or princes, and with all other nations or provinces, without exception; and with this proviſo, That neither the king of *Spain* and *Portugal*, nor his officers and ſubjects, ſhall, in reſpect of this traffick hitherto carried on, or to be carried on for the future, moleſt or be troubleſome (either directly or indirectly) to our ſubjects, or thoſe belonging to any king, prince, or other ſuperior power, with whom we have any commerce; and that your majeſty, as well as all other kings, princes, ſtates, and nations, as well in the *Indies* as in other parts, ſhall be comprehended in the ſaid twelve years truce, and not be moleſted or attacked on account of their friendſhip and commerce with us.

Baldæus. "But if (contrary to our expectation, and the ſolemn promiſe made by the king of *Spain* and *Portugal*, confirmed by his hand and ſeal) it ſhould happpen that your majeſty's ſubjects and countries ſhould be involved in any troubles with the ſaid king, either by ſea or land, by reaſon of their friendſhip, alliance, or commerce with us, your majeſty may reſt aſſured, that we ſhall want neither will nor power, neither ſhips, ammunition, nor forces, as well of our own, as of ſuch other kings and princes our allies, as are guarantees of the ſaid treaty, and have engaged to ſee the ſame executed in all its particulars, and conſequencly in reſpect of your majeſty's dominions, as well as of all other countries and dominions, both in the *Indies*, and elſewhere, to protect and defend your majeſty's dominions and ſubjects againſt all aggreſſors, who upon that account ſhall moleſt them. We do not doubt, but that ſome of the king of *Spain* and *Portugal* his creatures and officers, will be apt to inſinuate into your majeſty, his ſubjects, and other kings, princes nations, and republicks, a quite different ſentiment of the ſaid treaty. But we aſſure your majeſty by theſe preſents upon our faith, without any tergiverſation, unto which your majeſty and ſubjects, and all other kings, princes, nations, and ſtates, may give entire credit, and deſire that your majeſty will be pleaſed to rely upon it accordingly, to the firm ſettlement of a mutual and good correſpondency, navigation, and traffick, betwixt our ſubjects; we on our ſide will not be wanting to entertain the ſame with the utmoſt ſincerity, confiding in the omnipotent God, the king of kings, who knows the depth of the hearts of men, that he will be pleaſed to take both your and our ſubjects into his protection, and increaſe their well-being through his power and mercy. Dated in the *Hague*, *Sept.* 15. 1609."

Subſcribed, *A. Coenders.*

And ſomewhat lower,

Your highneſſes moſt hearty friends the ſtates-general of the *United Provinces*, by their order and command,

C. AERTZEN.

Maurice

Baldæus. *Maurice*, Prince of *Orange*, Earl of *Nassau*, *Catzenellebogen*, *Dietz*, *Vianden*, *Meurs*, Marquis of *Vere* and *Vlissingen*, Governor, Captain, and Admiral General of *Guelders*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *West-Friesland*, *Zutphen*, *Utrecht*, *Over-Yssell*, &c.

Most Potent King!

Prince Maurice's letter to the emperor. "GOD protect your majesty, and give you all the blessings upon earth. We have for a considerable time been engaged in a war against the king of *Portugal*, in order to oppose his ambitious designs, the same motive having induced your majesty to defend your dominions against his attempts: the Almighty God has been pleased to bless our arms with such success, as to oblige our enemy to a twelve years truce; which, by the mediation of several neighbouring kings, has been brought at last to a happy conclusion: but finding that the said king did continue his warlike preparations, and imagining that the same was intended chiefly, in order to tack your majesty and some other princes in the *Indies*, our allies, (after being bereaved of our assistance,) we thought it absolutely requisite, not to agree to the said truce, unless your majesty were included therein, together with the rest of our friends and allies. Whereupon the same was concluded at last, under condition, That we, and all our friends and allies, should enjoy full liberty to send our ships into what countries we pleased, without any molestation from the *Portuguese*; and that in case your majesty, or any other of our confederates, should be attacked by him, we should deem the same as done to our selves: to accomplish which we shall be ready upon all such occasions to be assistant in revenging any damages done upon that score to your majesty, or any other of our allies. We have some reason to suppose, that the intention of the said king is, to separate by this artifice your majesty from our interest, which ought to be a mutual caution to us, to be upon our guard for the future; for since the occasion of dividing us by force of arms is removed, they will not be sparing to attain to their end by fraud and other sinister means. It is therefore, that we have ordered our governor-general to treat with your majesty, and to find out such means as may be most proper to prevent their intrigues, and to unite us against those whose word and faith we dare not altogether rely upon. We did not think fit to stipulate in the said treaty, that his subjects should be excluded from the traffick of *Ceylon*, but left the same to your majesty's discretion, not questioning, but that according to your wisdom and understanding, you will act in that respect, so as that nothing may be transacted that may tend towards the dissolution of our alliance; which we hope the almighty will maintain by his blessing, to the honour of his holy name, and the welfare of your majesty, and our beloved subjects." Baldæus.

Dated in the Hague Octob. 5. 1609. *Maurice de Nassau.*

The superscription was as follows:

"To the most illustrious and most noble emperor of *Ceylon*, king of *Candy*, *Trinquenemale*, *Jafnapatnam*, *Settecorles*, *Manaar*, *Chilaw*, *Cota*, *Batecalo*, *Punte-Gale*, our beloved brother in the wars.

These letters were no sooner brought in the *Greyhound* yacht to *Coromandel*, but the director of our *East-India* company there, named *John van Wesick*, ordered immediately *Marcellus de Boschhouwer*, our under-factor, aboard the ship called the *Black Lyon*, to *Ceylon* along with *Peter Both*, a native of *Amenfort*, commodore, bound likewise for that island. Marcellus Boschhouwer sent to Ceylon.

CHAP. X.

Marcellus de Boschhouwer *comes to* Candy. *His Treaty and Agreement with the Emperor of that Isle.*

Marcellus de Boschhouwer coming accordingly, *March* 8. 1612. to *Candy*, had audience of his imperial majesty *Conuwieraat Adascyn*, unto whom having delivered the before-mentioned letters, the emperor received him with all imaginable demonstrations of joy, placing him on his side on a chair of gold, clad in a white garment: whereupon the treaty being begun, immediately the same was concluded *May* 11. following, upon the following conditions.

I. This confederacy shall be kept inviolably, and stand firm for the future.

II. All hostilities shall cease, and a general amnesty be granted.

III. In

Baldæus. III. In caſe the *Portugueſe* ſhould attack his majeſty, the ſtates-general ſhall be obliged to aſſiſt his majeſty with all their forces.

IV. His majeſty grants leave to the *Dutch* to erect a fortreſs at *Cotiarum*, provided the king of *Cotiarum* may enjoy his cuſtoms and other revenues.

V. The emperor obliges himſelf to furniſh bricks, lime, and other materials, for the building the ſaid fortreſs, as alſo labourers, to be paid by the company.

VI. His imperial majeſty ſhall take care to have ware-houſes of ſtone or brick erected at *Candy*, for the ſecurity of our company againſt fire.

VII. His majeſty ſhall take our ſhips and ſeamen under his protection, and defend them to the utmoſt of his power againſt the *Portugueſe*, as the *Hollanders* ſhall be obliged to do the ſame, in reſpect of his majeſty's ſubjects.

VIII. His majeſty obliges himſelf to tranſact nothing in all military affairs that have any relation to our company, without the knowledge of their officers; for which purpoſe two *Hollanders* ſhall ſit conſtantly in his council of war, to be preſent at all debates, and other matters to be tranſacted there.

IX. He engages himſelf to have all the merchandizes of the *Dutch* carried upon beaſts fit for carriage to *Candy*, and ſuch commodities as are bought there, to be carried back to the ſea-ſhore at *Cotiarum*, at his own charge.

X. In caſe any veſſels, ſloops, or boats, ſhould happen to be caſt away on theſe coaſts, his majeſty's ſubjects ſhall be obliged to ſave as much of the goods as they can, without any reward, for the uſe of our company.

XI. The *Dutch* ſhall be permitted to export their merchandizes, without exception, cuſtom free.

XII. All and every one of his majeſty's ſubjects ſhall be at liberty to traffick with our company.

XIII. His imperial majeſty obliges himſelf to purchaſe any rarities, or other uncommon commodities at ſuch a rate, as may bear a proportion, in reſpect of other commodities agreed upon with our company in their exchanges.

XIV. His majeſty engages to deliver yearly all the cinnamon that is to be got to our company; to be paid either in money or in merchandizes, according to the uſual exchange.

XV. It is agreed, that not any ſorts of merchandizes ſhall be delivered to ſuch perſons as are entered into contracts of commerce with the *Hollanders*, before the natives of *Holland* are ſatisfied in this point; and in caſe the contrary be proved, their perſons and goods ſhall be detained till they have made good the ſaid contract. *Baldæus.*

XVI. His majeſty ſhall not allow free commerce to any of the *European* nations, without peculiar conſent from their high and mightineſſes and his highneſs the prince of *Orange*.

XVII. His majeſty obliges himſelf to furniſh timber and other materials, for the building of veſſels, yachts and boats, to be delivered upon the ſhore.

XVIII. All priſoners taken on both ſides ſhall be releaſed.

XIX. All the officers of the *Dutch* company ſhall be exempted from his majeſty's juriſdiction; and if any of them happen to commit any treſpaſs, they are to be puniſhed by the heads of the *Dutch* company, as his majeſty's ſubjects ſhall enjoy the ſame benefit.

XX. His majeſty obliges himſelf to diſpoſe of all his precious ſtones and pearls to the *Hollanders*; as they on their ſide engage to ſell all their extraordinary jewels, precious things, and other rarities, at a reaſonable rate; but in caſe any difference ſhould ariſe upon that account, the ſame ſhall not be alledged as a reaſon for the diſſolving of this confederacy.

XXI. For the ſame reaſon his majeſty and the ſtates-general ſhall maintain this alliance inviolably, and aſſiſt one another upon all occaſions.

XXII. All acts of hoſtility committed on both ſides, ſhall be buried by a general oblivion.

XXIII. No body, except his majeſty, ſhall have power given him to coin money, or to enhaunce the value of the coin, beyond what has been agreed betwixt his majeſty and the *Hollanders*, in proportion to the money tranſported hither from *Holland*; and if any of his majeſty's or our ſubjects are found to have coined falſe money, they are to be puniſhed with death.

XXIV. His majeſty and the *Hollanders* ſhall agree upon the moſt proper methods for ſettling both the larger and leſſer coin, for the promoting of traffick.

XXV. Such coin as ſhall be adjudged current by both parties, ſhall be changed every three years by turns, once at *Candy*, and the next three years in one of our places.

XXVI. The coin ſhall be either enhaunced or lowered, according to the preſent exigency of affairs in time of war.

XXVII. All the *Indian* nations ſhall be free to come and traffick in their own veſſels in his majeſty's dominions, without paying any cuſtoms, for the ſpace of three years next enſuing.

XXVIII. After

Baldæus. XXVIII. After the expiration of the term of theſe three years, his majeſty ſhall be at liberty to enter into a treaty with the plenipotentiaries of their high and mightineſſes, concerning the rate of cuſtoms of all commodities. *Baldæus.*

XXIX. His majeſty agrees, that their high and mightineſſes, and his highneſs the prince of *Orange*, ſhall enjoy one moiety of all the cuſtoms; for which purpoſe certain commiſſioners and clerks ſhall be appointed by the conſent of both parties.

XXX. All the prizes taken on the coaſt of *Ceylon*, ſhall be divided, ſhare and ſhare alike, betwixt your majeſty on the one ſide, and their high and mightineſſes and his highneſs the prince of *Orange* on the other ſide; provided that what priſoners are taken ſhall be ranſomed, but never put death.

XXXI. All factors, or other officers belonging to their high and mightineſſes, and his highneſs the prince of *Orange*, ſhall give paſſes to ſuch of your majeſty's ſubjects as intend to traffick in thoſe parts; as his majeſty ſhall do the ſame; without which they ſhall be liable to be ſeized, and their goods confiſcated.

XXXII. His majeſty, their high and mightineſſes, and his highneſs the prince of *Orange*, ſhall be obliged to take effectual care to have the roads and paſſages, both by ſea and land, in the iſle of *Ceylon*, to be kept well and clear from highwaymen and pirates; for which purpoſe his majeſty obliges himſelf to furniſh timber, for the building of galleys and other veſſels, for the clearing of the ſeas; and in caſe any highwaymen or pirates are taken, they ſhall be puniſhed with death.

XXXIII. His imperial majeſty, their high and mightineſſes, and his highneſs the prince of *Orange*, do promiſe to keep this confederacy inviolably, to the utmoſt of their power, nor to ſuffer the ſame to be violated by their ſubjects; to inflict ſevere puniſhments upon ſuch as ſhall go about to violate it; and give full ſatisfaction for all damages ſuſtained upon that account.

CHAP. XI.

Marcellus de Boſchhouwer *deſires Leave to depart; which the Emperor will not conſent to: Has conſiderable Dignities beſtowed upon him.* **The Portugueſe** *rob and murder the* **Dutch** *at* **Cotiarum.** *The Emperor convenes the States of the Empire.* **The Portugueſe** *routed near* **Jafnapatnam.**

Boſchhouwer deſires to be diſmiſſed.

THE articles of this confederacy being thus concluded Mr. *Boſchhouwer* deſired leave from his imperial majeſty to depart, with the elephants that were ready to carry certain commodities to *Tegnapatan*, for the uſe of the *Dutch* factory there; from whence he might go to *Paliacatta*, to give the *Dutch* governor of that place an account of his negotiation. But the emperor and his council were not willing to conſent to his diſmiſſion, alledging, That ſince, according to one of the before-mentioned articles, they were obliged not to tranſact any thing in warlike affairs, without the knowledge and conſent of the *Dutch*, it was requiſite he ſhould ſtay with them for that purpoſe. Theſe reaſons prevailed ſo far with Mr. *Boſchhouwer*, that he reſolved to ſtay; and the emperor heaped favours after favours upon him, having created him prince of *Migonne*, *Kockele-Corle*, *Ananagepora*, and *Mirwiligael*, knight of the order of the *Golden Sun*, preſident of the council of war, the ſecond perſon in his privy council, and lord high admiral; and he knew ſo well how to improve the emperor's good opinion of his perſon, that ſince any thing of moment was undertaken without his advice.

Which is denied.

Has great dignities beſtowed upon him.

In the year 1611. *June* 20. the *Portugueſe* took the field with a body of one thouſand *Portugueſe*, and three thouſand *Indians* their allies, under the command of *Simon Coriè*; and having got a certain *Candineſe* for their guide, they marched through unknown ways to *Cotiarum*, where they ſurprized the *Dutch* belonging to Mr. *Boſchhouwer*, put them all to the ſword, and plundered the place, and then retired with all ſpeed to *Sette-Corle*, for fear of being overtaken by the emperor's forces. Portugueſe *murder and plunder the* Dutch.

For the emperor had no ſooner notice of their march, but he ſent a body of five thouſand men, commanded by *Marafinge Atſile*, an old experienced captain, and under him *Mayndappo* and *Vire Segre*, two brave noblemen, to *Cotiarum*; but coming too late, they purſued the *Portugueſe* day and night, till they overtook them near *Sette-Corle*, killed twenty three *Portugueſe*, ſix hundred *Indians*, ſet ſeveral villages on fire, and returned with many priſoners, and a good booty to *Candy*.

About the ſame time an envoy of the king of *Palugam* came to court, repreſenting that *John Sangati* his maſter's brother, and king of *Podere*, was entered into an alliance with *Difference betwixt two brothers.*

Baldæus. the *Portugueſe*, in order to deliver all his harbours into their hands, and afterwards to carry on a war againſt his imperial majeſty with their aſſiſtance. Hereupon the king of *Podere* being ſummoned to appear at court at a prefixed time, he ſent an envoy to clear his innocence with the emperor, unto whom he repreſented the perfidiouſneſs of the king of *Palugam*, who had killed his own brother at table, for no other reaſon but that he might be ſole maſter of the whole kingdom, offering beſides to remain there as a hoſtage for his maſter's fidelity. The emperor, though not very well ſatisfied with the king of *Podere*, by reaſon of his not appearing in perſon, yet conſidering that what had been alledged by his envoy, concerning the murder of his elder brother, was no more than truth, and that certain differences were ariſen lately betwixt them about the cuſtoms of the river of *Palugam*, one half whereof was allotted by the eſtates to the king of *Podere*, he diſmiſſed the envoy well ſatisfied, reſolving to ſuſpend his judgment, till time ſhould unfold the matter.

The emperor convenes the eſtates. The emperor having bent his thoughts upon a war, he convened the eſtates of the empire, *viz.* *Idele* king of *Cotiarum*, *Celle Wandaar* king of *Palugam*, *Comaro Wandaar* king of *Batccalo*, *Corre Witty Raelhamy* prince of *Ouve*, *Marcellus de Boſchhouwer*, prince of *Migonne*, *Meter Raelhamy* prince of *Vellene*, *Jallago de Ralle* prince of *Cotomale*, *Mewater Rale* prince of *Mewater*, *Wik Veneſinge* earl of *Quatre-Corle*, *John Sangati* prince and lord of *Podore*, *Cole Rale* duke of *Ode*, *Jattenore* brother of the prince *Jalagode*, *Gael Heberad* governor of the county of *Harcipate*, *Corope* governor of the county of *Odogo d'Askeri*, *Wanategere* governor of the province of *Matere*. In the ſame aſſembly appeared alſo the governors and commanders in chief of the leſſer provinces, and the ambaſſador of the king of *Jaſnapatnam*, the king of *Patania* being the only one, who, though ſummoned by a peculiar letter, dated *July* 16. 1611. made ſeveral frivolous excuſes for his not appearing there.

What was concluded there. Among other matters of the greateſt moment, it was reſolved in this aſſembly to raiſe an army of fifty thouſand men, one half whereof was to be employed in the ſiege of *Puntegale*, under the conduct of the prince of *Ouve*; the other againſt *Walane*, under the command of the prince of *Migonne*: and in caſe they met with good ſucceſs, both armies were to join and attack *Columbo*. For the carrying on of this enterprize, four millions five hundred thouſand livres were to be raiſed. Concerning the differences betwixt the king of *Palugam* and his brother *John Sangati*, they were both enjoined, under pain of death, not to hurt one another, till the matter could be further enquired into. *Baldæus.*

A high court of judicature was alſo ſettled, to examine and decide all ſuch matters as before that time uſed to be determined by the emperor and his privy council. The judges of this court were the prince of *Migonne* preſident, the prince of *Ouve*, the prince of *Velaren*, and the prince of *Cottomale*. None of the inferior courts were to take cognizance of criminal matters, without the approbation of this high court, from whence no appeal was to be allowed. The prince of *Ouve*, the prince of *Migonne*, the prince of *Velaren*, the prince of *Cottomale*, and the earl of *Quatre-Corle*, were appointed members of his majeſty's privy council.

Death of the imperial priest.

It was alſo further decreed, That not only liberty ſhould be granted, but alſo houſes and lands allotted to ſuch ſeamen as would ſettle in his majeſty's dominions; by which means they propoſed to get in time a ſufficient number of able ſeamen to man their galleys, of which three were ordered to be built immediately, with ſome other veſſels, to cruiſe upon the *Portugueſe* on the coaſt of *Orixa* and *Bengale*, &c. It was alſo agreed, that no quarter ſhould be given to the *Portugueſe* and their confederates, unleſs they were women or children; and that a pardon ſhould be publiſhed for all deſerters that would return within ſixty days into his majeſty's ſervice; which was done accordingly at *Candy*, *July* 23. 1612.

Portugueſe march to Jaſnapatnam. Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting advice was brought that the *Portugueſe* were on their march towards *Jaſnapatnam*; whereupon the empereror having ſent part of his forces, deſigned for the expedition againſt *Walane* and *Gale*, to obſerve their motions, they attacked the rear of the *Portugueſe*, who imagining no otherwiſe than that the whole force of the emperor was on their back, were ſoon brought into confuſion; but finding their miſtake, rallied again, and retreated towards *Columbo*, making themſelves maſters in their march thither of the dukedom of *Migonne*, where they committed all manner of cruelties. The *Modeliar*, or governor, being accuſed of having betray'd his truſt, ſent a letter to the prince of *Migonne*, wherein he declared, That after having ſuſtained three aſſaults, he was forced to ſurrender; adding, That they were ready to ſhake off the *Portugueſe* yoke with the firſt opportunity that offered, though the *Portugueſe* had taken moſt of their wives and children, (and among the reſt the governor's wife,) along with them, as hoſtages and pledges of their fidelity to *Columbo*. They ſent alſo a preſent to their prince, as a token of their obedience. The letter was dated *Auguſt* 30. 1612. by the command of the chief *Viſego Modeliar*.

Are beaten.

His funeral.

The

Baldæus. The prince, after having consulted about this letter with the emperor, sent answer, That he was extremely concerned at the loss of his country and subjects, exhorting them to persist in their fidelity; and that as soon as possible he would appear among them at the head of the imperial army. *Baldæus.*

CHAP. XII.

The Death of the Hereditary Imperial Prince: His Funeral. The King of Panua *rebels, is taken Prisoner; and killed, with all his Adherents.*

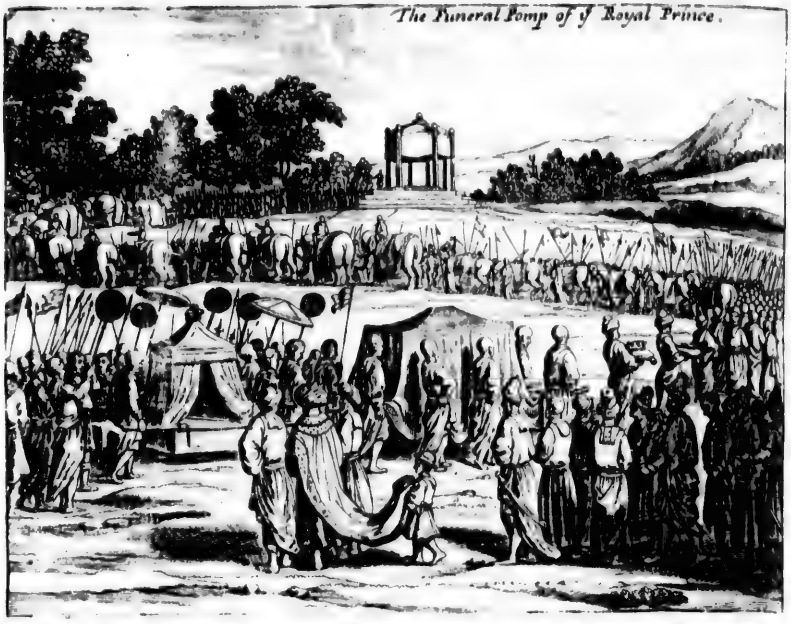
Death of the imperial prince. ABOUT the same time the hereditary imperial prince *Mahastanne*, son of the late emperor *Don John*, died after a sickness of six days. The occasion of his death was variously reported; but the general opinion was, That he had been poisoned by *Cenuwieraat*, his father-in-law, to make way for his eldest son *Comara Singastanne*, to succeed him in the empire. Certain it is, that his death was generally lamented; the guards were doubled all round the imperial palace, and great preparations made for his funeral; which was performed the 23d of *August*, in the afternoon. The empress especially gave most evident marks of her grief, calling him at parting, *Her own precious flesh and blood, her only hopes, life, and satisfaction*, vowing to revenge his death, and not to take any nourishment, that she might follow her son. She did afterwards fall into a swoon, and was fain to be removed out of the room by her two daughters, who also were melted in tears.

The corps of the deceased prince being exposed to the view of the people, they broke out into most lamentable exclamations, crying, *Where is the traitor that murdered our prince? we will tear him to pieces:* So that the emperor fearing a general insurrection, got the prince of *Migonne*, and the prince of *Ouve* to tell them, That the prince was not poisoned, but died of a fever; which somewhat appeased the tumult. The corps being put into a mourning hearse, adorned with gold and precious stones, was carried to the place of burial in the following manner:

His funeral. First of all went the prince's musicians, clad in black *Gingam*, or linnen; then the musqueteers and pikemen, three in a rank: these were followed by the shield-bearers and halberdiers with their halberds downwards: after these came forty war-elephants, guided by as many gentlemen; and eight *Persian* horses led by eight knights of the *Golden Sun*; and after these the grooms of the bed-chamber all richly attired. Then came the sceptre and crown, carried each upon a black velvet cushion, and the prince's arms. These were followed by the corps, attended by eight of the greatest lords of the country; then the empress's *Palankin*, or litter, attended by sixteen with fans, four umbrello's, and eight betel boxes, as also a nosegay of gold to be worn by the emperor only. After these came the emperor supported by the princes of *Migonne* and *Mewater*, followed by the chief lords of the empire and the governors of the provinces. They passed along the streets under several arches made of fine stuffs and plaister-work. The corps being deposited on the place of burial with a deal of solemnity, the priests muttered out certain prayers, and the common people expressed their sorrow by frequent mournful outcries.

The place of burial. The place of burial (called *Hona* by the *Cingalese*) was a four-square raised from the ground seven steps high: it was level on the top, and adorned with several rows of trees. In the midst of it was the grave, into which the lords who had carried the corps threw a great quantity of sandal-wood, and sweet-scented spices; and having put the corps upon it, covered with the same spices, as high as a man could reach; they also poured in among it three large vessels full of oil of cinnamon, and another with butter. Over the grave was erected a large canopy rising up like a pyramid of seven foot high; under which stood the lords whilst the ceremony lasted; which being over, the prince of *Migonne* took a bundle of straw, which was given him by the prince of *Amme*, and a golden chafindish with fire, and two lighted torches; and being attended by the said prince of *Amme*, and two gentlemen of the bed-chamber, set fire to the spices and corps in the grave, under the most dreadful ejaculations and outcries of the people, which lasted till the corps was quite burnt to ashes: which done, the whole train returned to court to condole the empress and her daughters. *His corps burns.*

In


The Funeral Pomp of y Royal Prince.

Baldæus. In *September* advice being brought to court that the king of *Panua* had joined the *Portugueſe* againſt the emperor, and that the king of *Cotiarum* intended to follow his footſteps, the emperor with the advice of his privy council ſent his letters, dated the 23d of *September*, to both theſe kings, to make their perſonal appearance at court within ſixteen days, under the forfeiture of all their eſtates, and baniſhment. The king of *Cotiarum* happening to be ill at that time, he ſent his uncle to know the reaſon of his being ſummoned to court; and thereupon appeared in perſon on the 9th of *October* following, giving ſuch proofs of his innocence, that he was ſoon cleared by the emperor. But the king of *Panua* knowing himſelf guilty, did not think fit to appear; ſo that it was reſolved to reduce him by force, his defection having put a ſtop to the expedition againſt *Walane* and *Gale*. Accordingly the princes of *Migonne* and *Ouve*, at the head of an army of thirty five thouſand men, marched, *Jan.* 1. 1613. directly towards *Panua*, with a reſolution to deſtroy all with fire and ſword: but the inhabitants finding themſelves not in a condition to oppoſe ſo formidable a force, ſent deputies with preſents to the princes, deſiring they might be ſpared, as having no hand in this defection; which being granted, they were amerced in four hundred and fifty ſeven thouſand *Larynes*, (beſides their yearly tribute,) amounting juſt to two months pay of the whole army, and to give hoſtages for the king's appearance at court in five or ſix days after.

The king of Panua joins with the Portugueſe.

Appears at court, and is accuſed of treaſon. Accordingly he was no ſooner come there, but being brought before the privy council, his acculation was read to him in writing, *viz.* "That he had entered into an engage-
" ment with the *Portugueſe* againſt the em-
" peror, and was to have married the young
" princeſs *Hantan Adaſcyn*, and with her, as
" a dowry, the kingdoms of *Batecalo* and
" *Palugam*: That he had deſpiſed the em-
" peror's order in not coming to court; and
" hired a certain ruffian for five thouſand
" *Larynes* to murder the emperor, with a
" promiſe of twenty thouſand more, and
" certain poſſeſſions, after the ſame was ac-
" compliſhed, as appeared both by his own
" hand-writing, and the confeſſion of the
" ruffian." Which being ſo evident againſt him, that he had ſcarce any thing to reply, he acknowledged himſelf guilty, craving the emperor's mercy, in regard of his being deſcended from the imperial blood, and of the many ſervices done to the crown by his anceſtors.

Is committed priſoner. He was by order from the council ordered to be committed priſoner in the caſtle of *Meddema Honore*; from whence he ſent a moſt ſubmiſſive letter to the emperor, implo- *Baldæus.*
ring his mercy to ſave his life, and to condemn him to a perpetual impriſonment. About ſixty two perſons, found to have been his accomplices in this conſpiracy, were ſent to other priſons, and afterwards puniſhed with death.

His trial. The 20th of *March* being the day appointed for the trial of the king and his accomplices, fifty lords of the empire appointed for that purpoſe, after a full hearing, found them all guilty of high treaſon, and accordingly pronounced the following ſentence: *That the king of* Panua *ſhould be be-* *Sentence.*
headed; and the reſt be thrown before the elephants, and all their goods and eſtates be confiſcated. This ſentence being ſigned by his imperial majeſty, was put in execution accordingly the 24th of *March* following in the forenoon.

Execution. Accordingly a ſcaffold covered with white (the royal colour here) being erected in the caſtle of *Meddema Honore*, the king was brought thither, and ſeated himſelf upon a gilt chair. He at firſt appeared undaunted; *Behaviour.* but being deprived of all his dignities, in the view of the people, and the ſentence read to him, he began to bewail his unfortunate condition, asking frequently whether there were no hopes of a pardon? Being told no, he ſuffered himſelf to be undreſſed by ſome of his gentlemen of the bed-chamber, (who were all in tears,) unto whom he made rich preſents of jewels, and ordered his chancellor (who had not had the leaſt knowledge of this deſign) to bind up his eyes. In the mean while the king took ſome *Betel* and *Arek*, and then ſaid, *Why do we ſtay? Unfortunate I, what am I reduced to?* Then taking three turns round the ſcaffold, he ſat down, and taking a little *Betel*, told the ſpectators, *I am a king deſcended from the imperial blood; but ſince I muſt die, this is my only requeſt, That my dead corps may not be left to the management of vile perſons, but be honoured with a royal ſepulture.* Which being promiſed by ſome of the lords there preſent he ſeemed to be well ſatisfied; and having asked their pardon for what had paſſed, he had his eyes tied up, and laying his head upon a block, it was ſevered from the body, which (at the interceſſion of the ſaid lords) had a royal ſepulture allowed it by the emperor. *Speech.*

His ſucceſſor. After his death *Samatway*, the king's uncle, being with a general approbation declared his ſucceſſor, marched at the head of an army of fifty thouſand men, the 8th of *April* to *Panua*, to take poſſeſſion of that kingdom, which he found involved in no ſmall troubles, there being a ſtrong party who oppoſed his ſucceſſion: But one hundred and twenty five of the ringleaders being cut

Baldæus. to pieces by the new king's forces, the reſt thought fit to ſubmit. So ſoon as he found himſelf in the quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom, he ſent back the forces, as alſo the arrears of the annual tribute, beſides conſiderable preſents. The *Portugueſe* not long after ſent their deputies to entice thoſe of *Panna* with vaſt promiſes, to engage with them afreſh; but theſe were ſent back without being heard. *Baldæus.*

CHAP. XIII.

The Emperor ſits down before Walane. *The Prince of* Migonne *equips a Squadron of Ships. The Empreſs falls ſick, diſpoſes of her Affairs, and dies.*

The emperor beſieges Walane.

IT was not long after that the emperor, with a good army, formed the ſiege of *Walane*, and took the caſtle by aſſault; but his ſoldiers being too intent upon the plunder, the *Portugueſe* recovered themſelves, and beat them from thence. The emperor being highly exaſperated at this miſcarriage, cauſed one hundred and five *Cingaleſe* to be hanged, which proved of the worſe conſequence; becauſe the *Portugueſe* receiving freſh ſuccours ſoon after, he was forced to raiſe the ſiege. *Raiſes the ſiege.*

A ſquadron of ſhips ſent a cruiſing.

In the mean time the prince of *Migonne* had not been idle to equip ſome galleys and *Fuſtes*, (ſmall veſſels,) to cruize upon the *Portugueſe*, between the cape of *Comoryn* and the iſle of *Ceylon*. The ſame ſet ſail the 16th of *May* out of the harbour of *Cotiarum* under the command of a nephew of the prince of *Ouve* as admiral, and *Wandige Nay Hanni* vice-admiral. The firſt galley was called the *Candy*, one *Sanderappo* captain; the ſecond called the *Holland*, *Kiſtena* captain; the third the *Migonne*, one *Dingappe* captain; the fourth called the *Fortune*, one *Ordia* captain; fifth, the *Good Luck*, one *Marafinge* captain; ſixth, the *Faithful*, commanded by captain *Sanderappo*. Theſe ſhips returned the ſixth of *March*, 1613. with a great booty, amounting to near ſix hundred thouſand livres. For they had taken two *Portugueſe* veſſels near *Cbilau* to the north of *Negumbo* and *Manaar*, called *Patafios*, and three *Fuſtes*, beſides twenty barks which they ſet on fire. Not far from *Calecut* and the cape of *Comoryn*, they took another ſhip, whereof they threw (according to order) the *Portugueſe* overboard, forced another aſhore, and took a *Mooriſh* veſſel richly laden coming from *Ormus*, and bound for *Cochin*, and another *Portugueſe* ſhip coming from *Bengale*. The *Portugueſe* and *Miſtices*, of all which they threw into the ſeas, keeping only the *Portugueſe* women and *Negros*. In the road of *Panaca*, they met with another *Portugueſe* ſhip riding at anchor, deſerted by the ſhip's crew, which they brought into the harbour of *Cotiarum*. His majeſty ordered the booty to be diſtributed among the officers and ſeamen.

1613. *The empreſs falls ſick.*

In *July* 1613. the empreſs *Donna Catharina* being with child, fell dangerouſly ill of a fever: ſhe ſent for the prince of *Migonne* and the prince of *Ouve*, unto whom (after having taken an oath of ſecrecy from them) ſhe diſcovered the whole ſentiments of her heart, and (with the emperor's conſent) conſtituted them governors of her children. She had conceived ſuch an immoderate grief at the death of her eldeſt ſon, the prince of *Mahaſtanne*, that ſhe would ſcarce take any ſuſtenance. She declared, that nothing troubled her more, than that before her death ſhe ſhould not ſee the downfal of the *Portugueſe* in *Ceylon*; and would often, with a great deal of eagerneſs, enquire whether the expected ſuccours were not arrived out of *Holland*. Such was her grief, as I told you before, about the loſs of her ſon, that ſhe would ſcarce reſt day or night; which had queſtionleſs proved the occaſion of this diſtemper: and ſhe was no leſs troubled how to diſpoſe of her children after her death; ſhe bequeathed to them all her jewels and treaſure ſhe had been gathering for a conſiderable time; as alſo certain legacies to all her ſervants, and reſtored all her ſlaves of both ſexes to their liberty. *Takes care of her children and ſervants.*

Her ſickneſs increaſing daily, ſhe was carried from *Welmantotte* (her ordinary reſidence) to *Modeni*, where, in the preſence of the emperor ſhe charged her eldeſt ſon to revenge the late deceaſed prince's death upon the phyſician, who, ſhe ſaid, was the author thereof: but as ſhe was ſometimes not well in her ſenſes, ſo this was not much regarded. In the mean while the emperor took care to prevent all diſorders which might be occaſioned by the empreſs's death, by reinforcing the frontier garriſons, and doubling the guards in other places. The empreſs having pretty well recovered her ſenſes, ſent for her five children, *Comara Singaſtanne* hereditary prince of the crown, and his two brothers *Janiere Aſianne* and *Lamait*, and the two princeſſes *Mahadaſcyn* and *Hantan Adaſcyn*: ſhe

Baldæus. clasped them one after another, with tears in her eyes, in her arms, and kissing them, said, *See here, you dearest part of my own flesh and blood, your mother that has brought you into the world, but must leave you in a little time.* Then she called to her the two before-mentioned princes, unto whom she delivered her children in these words: *I now deliver to you the dearest pledges I have; take care of them as of your own eyes, and retaliate upon them the many obligations you have received at our hands.* Then turning towards the emperor, she told him, *You are the occasion of my death.* Which so sensibly touched him, (he loving the empress extremely,) that soon after it threw him into a violent distemper. After that she scarce spoke to any body, except the prince of *Ouve*, unto whom she declared her sorrow, for having adored and sacrificed to the pagan idols, contrary to her better knowledge, having been educated a christian, telling him, That she saw the devils ready to strangle her. The prince of *Migonne* (upon whom she fixed her eyes all the while) answered her, *That the infernal spirits had no power over a christian, provided they heartily repented of their sins; that therefore she ought to rest satisfied, and to implore God's mercy for her soul, for Jesus Christ's sake.* She returned for answer, *I am a christian, and would willingly pray, I desire you to pray with me.* The prince of *Migonne* prayed aloud, *Our Father*, and the twelve articles of the christian creed: unto which the empress replied in *Portuguese*, *O Christi ajuda mi! O Christ help me!* Soon after being carried back to *Welmantotte*, she spoke her last words: *O my dear princes and princesses*, said she, *where must I leave you? My lords*, (pointing to the prince of *Migonne* and prince of *Ouve*,) *perform your promises; farewel, I am departing; O God, take care of my soul:* and so she expired the 20th of *July* 1613. in the thirty fifth year of her age, and was buried the twenty first, with the same pomp, and in the same place, as the prince her son was before. Baldæus.

CHAP. XIV.

The Emperor falls very ill: Assembles the Estates. The Transactions of that Assembly.

Tamporne falls sick. THE emperor finding himself worse and worse, would needs be carried to a small city, called *Dilege*, where he appointed the states of the empire to meet *Aug.* 18. in order to settle the succession of the crown. The members of this great assembly (according to the schedule read to the king) were, *Idele*, king of *Cotiarum*; *Celle Wandaar*, king of *Palugam*; *Comaro Wandaar*, king of *Batecalo*; *Samarway*, king of *Panna*; *Namacar*, the king of *Jafnaputnam*'s ambassador; *Coriwitte*, prince of *Ouve*; *Marcellus*, prince of *Migonne*; *Materael Hani*, prince of *Velaren*; *Talagode Rale*, prince of *Catemale*; *Mewater Rale*, prince of *Mewater*; *Jane Sengati*, prince and lord of *Podere*; *Wiek Venesinge*, earl of *Quatre-Corle*; *Gael Henerad*, governor of the earldom of *Harsipate*; *Corope*, governor of the earldom of *Odogodas*; *Kerry Wanasegre*, governor of the province of *Matele*; *Attapatte*, governor of *Wluat Gamme*; and *Palgrame Halvenrale*, governor of *Atapeli* and *Wilwele*; besides a great number of other noblemen, unto whom his imperial majesty made the following speech. *Assembles the estates.*

My Lords,

His Speech. "THIS present assembly being occasioned by my sickness, (perhaps "the fore-runner of my approaching end,) "I first of all desire you to forgive me all "miscarriages I have committed, the same "having been done without my knowledge; and feeling my self very feeble, "and decaying in strength, I thought fit "to take effectual care about the succession, "to avoid all contests that might likely "arise after my decease. You cannot be "forgetful what disturbance arose in the "empire after the death of my brother "*Vinne Ladarma Soria*, which ought to "serve us as a caution to prevent the same at "this juncture, by committing the tuition "of *Comara Singastanne*, the eldest hereditary prince of the crown, to such as you shall "judge best qualified for so high a trust, "with a full authority to manage the administration of all publick affairs during "the prince's minority; the choice whereof "I recommend to your present care."

The lords being not a little surprized at this proposition, gave in their opinions in writing, wherein they pitched upon the prince of *Migonne* and the prince of *Ouve*, who both excused themselves, pleading their inability, and desiring his majesty to chuse some more able persons in their steads. The emperor reply'd, sighing, *And are you then so backward in doing me this piece of service? Can you be so forgetful of all the obligations I have heaped upon you?* They answered, That they were ready to sacrifice their lives and estates

Baldæus. eſtates for his majeſty; but that they were afraid, their ſhoulders were too weak for ſo great a burden. *Well then*, reply'd the emperor, *we will leave the choice to my ſon the prince*, wherewith the whole aſſembly was ſatisfied. The emperor then ordered the king of *Cotiarum* to bring in the prince; which being done accordingly, he told him, *Son, make your choice from among all theſe kings and princes of two perſons, ſuch as you love beſt, who ſhall be adminiſtrators of the entire after my death.* The prince anſwered all in tears, *Good father! and will you die, dear father? pray do not leave me!* which words drew tears both from the emperor and the whole aſſembly. The emperor anſwered, *I do not know how ſoon my time may come to leave you; wherefore I would have you pitch upon two perſons, ſuch as you love beſt next to my ſelf. Well then*, reply'd the prince, *I love the prince of* Migonne, *and likewiſe the prince of* Ouve, *and next to him the prince of* Velaren. *I am ſatisfied*, ſaid the emperor, *bring them to me, that I may ſurrender you to their care.* Accordingly the prince having led the two before-mentioned princes to the emperor, he told him, *Theſe ſhall be my governors now, and when come to maturity my chief counſellors.* The emperor returned for anſwer, not without ſome emotion, *My dear ſon, ſee here your father, whoſe life, perhaps, will not be long; you are but young, therefore be always adviſed by theſe two princes.* A torrent of tears which trickled down his cheeks having ſtopped his voice, he ordered himſelf to be carried out of the aſſembly, enjoining only in a few words all the lords there preſent, to perſiſt in their fidelity, which they unanimouſly promiſed to do, and in token of their entire ſubmiſſion, ſaluted the emperor with the uſual *Sambaje*, or reverence, according to the cuſtom of that country.

The next day the royal patent, to inveſt the before-mentioned two princes with the adminiſtration of the empire, was read in the aſſembly. *Cenuwieraat*, by the grace of God, emperor of *Ceylon*, king of *Candy*, *Settevacca*, *Trinquenemale*, *Jafnapatnam*, *Sette-Corles*, *Manaar*, *Chilaon*, *Panua*, *Batecalo*, *Palugam* and *Jale*; Prince of *Ouve*, *Dennevaque*, *Paſſadon-Corle*, *Velaren*, *Coromale*, *Mewater* and *Ventane*; duke of *Willegame*, *Cale*, *Ody* and *Jattenore*; earl of *Quatre-Corle*, *Harkepattee*, *Odogodaſcary*, *Crawitty* and *Batagedre*: Peace to all thoſe that read theſe preſents.

The adminiſtrators of the empire declared.

" BEING much indiſpoſed, and conſequently in no ſmall danger of life, we thought fit to convene all the great men of the empire to conſult the welfare of the publick, and of our dearly beloved ſon *Comara Singaſtanne*, (whom God preſerve.) It is for this reaſon that we have appointed two princes adminiſtrators (after our deceaſe) not only of the empire, but alſo of our hereditary prince during his minority, with full authority to govern the realm; the two princes choſen for ſo great a truſt, being the prince of *Migonne* and the prince of *Ouve*, declared ſuch by the unanimous conſent of the aſſembly. We do by theſe preſents ſurrender to the ſaid princes all our kingdoms, provinces, and dominions, to be governed by them, during the minority of our dearly beloved ſons; and as we are very glad to have been able (in our life-time) to prevent all inteſtine commotions by this ſettlement, ſo we require and deſire the two before-mentioned princes to take upon them the government of all our dominions till our recovery; or in caſe of my deceaſe, till the hereditary prince comes to an age of maturity, or his brothers, in caſe he ſhould happen to die before that time: we therefore command by theſe preſents expreſly, that no body elſe ſhall preſume to take upon him the adminiſtration and tuition of the before-mentioned princes and princeſſes, but ſhall obey the ſaid two princes without the leaſt oppoſition, under forfeiture of their lives. Theſe two princes ſhall take effectual care of the education of the young princes and princeſſes under proper tutors, and to ſee the eldeſt prince, when come to age, quietly ſettled in the throne; and in caſe of his deceaſe, *Janiere Aſtan* to ſucceed, as after him *Lamoſtanne*, the third is to be the next heir to the crown; but in caſe all the ſaid princes ſhould die without iſſue, our dearly beloved daughter, the princeſs *Mahadaſcyn*, and after her her ſiſter, the princeſs *Hantan Madaſcyn*, ſhall ſucceed them in their due turns. But in caſe theſe alſo ſhould leave no children behind them, the empire ſhall devolve into your hands, and you ſhall be at full liberty to chuſe, with the unanimous conſent of the great men of the empire, ſuch a perſon of the imperial blood as you think the beſt qualified for the welfare of the empire, which I leave to the wiſdom of this aſſembly. In the mean while, every one (after my deceaſe) ſhall be obliged to be accountable to the two adminiſtrators for all the revenues of the reſpective lands without failure, upon pain of death and loſs of their eſtates. The two adminiſtrators ſhall have a due regard for all ſuch counſellors as were in our life-time, and not turn them out, unleſs they ſhould

Baldæus.

The emperor arrendors his children to the adminiſtrators.

ſettlement of the empire.

Baldæus. " ſhould not behave themſelves as they " ought to do, when they ſhall have power " to put others in their places.

" All mandates ſhall be iſſued by the " two adminiſtrators in the name of the " whole empire, and the hereditary prince; " according to which all the great men " and nobility, without exception, ſhall " appear at court when required, and obey " them in all other reſpects: they ſhall alſo " be obliged to take the uſual oath of al- " legiance to the hereditary prince, and " his two adminiſtrators, and to promiſe " to perſiſt in their fidelity, and not to " ſuffer any alliance or engagement to be " made with our enemies the *Portugueſe*, " or any rebels, under what pretence ſoe- " ver. They ſhall be obliged to aſſiſt in " the reducing of all ſuch (though of the " next kindred) as pretend to diſturb " the publick peace: and laſtly, all the " kings and lords ſhall take an oath, That " after our deceaſe they will raiſe no " diſturbance in the empire, but will ſub- " mit quietly to the preſent diſpoſition, " under forfeiture of their lives. For " which reaſon our grant written in golden " letters, is to be delivered to the princes " of *Migonne* and *Ouve*; purſuant to which " they ſhall have full authority to govern " and protect in our and the hereditary " prince's name our dominions, and to ad- " miniſter juſtice both in civil and crimi- " nal cauſes. We therefore order and com- " mand all kings, princes, dukes, earls, " clergymen, nobles, governors, and heads Baldæus. " of provinces and cities, captains, preſi- " dents, counſellors, admirals, chancel- " lors, and all other perſons in our ſervice, " as deputies, adminiſtrators, farmers, in- " habitants, ſoldiers, citizens, and others " inhabiting the cities, villages, or any " places whatever, all and every one in " particular, to receive and acknowledge " the before-mentioned two princes, admi- " niſtrators, and governors of the realm, " till the hereditary prince came of age, " and to take the oath of fidelity to them, " and ſhew them the ſame reſpect as to " our own perſon, and, as becomes faith- " ful and true ſubjects, to behave them- " ſelves in all reſpects according to the " true intent of this patent. We alſo " annul by theſe preſents all laws or con- " ſtitutions which may ſeem contrary to " the true meaning thereof; and to give it " all the authority and weight that can be, " have in conjunction with the hereditary " prince, and the princes, dukes, and " lords of this aſſembly, ſigned it with our " own hand, and ordered the great ſeal to " be affixed to it. For the ſame reaſon we " have alſo commanded the ſame to be " regiſtred in all the courts, councils, " and treaſuries of our empire, that no " body may plead ignorance of this our " laſt will."

Dated at the Imperial Court at Digelege, *19 Aug.* 1613.

CHAP. XV.

The Hereditary Princes are carried to Cockele-Corle. Gael Heneraed *is routed; and being ſummoned to Court, is made Priſoner, and executed.*

The emperor's diſpoſitions for orders to the adminiſtrators.

THE ſaid patent being publiſhed by his imperial majeſty's order, the adminiſtrators, as well as the reſt of the eſtates, took the oath of allegiance to the hereditary prince; which done, the adminiſtrators upon their knees returned his majeſty thanks for the honour he had beſtowed upon them, wiſhing him a long and happy life. His majeſty lifting them up, ordered them to ſit down by him, and diſcloſed to them ſome of his treaſures which were buried under ground, beſides ſeveral other matters relating to the adminiſtration of the ſtate.

Then the three princes and two princeſſes being called in, he exhorted them to follow the directions of their governors; and taking the eldeſt prince in his arms, *My deareſt ſon*, ſaid he, *I wiſh you and your brothers and ſiſters all imaginable proſperity:* and then turning to the princes of *Migonne* and *Ouve*; *Receive*, ſays he, *from my hands theſe my deareſt treaſures, which I commit to your care*; and thus delivered them up to the two adminiſtrators, who took care to have them convey'd in the night-time to the dukedom of *Cockele-Corle* for their better ſecurity, charging thoſe who conducted them, upon their lives not to divulge whither they were carried: which done, the aſſembly was diſſolved the twentieth.

They are carried to Cockele-corle.

The *Portugueſe* had no ſooner notice of the death of the empreſs, and the ſick-

Baldæus. neſs of the emperor, but they left no ſtone unturned (notwithſtanding the miſcarriage of their deſign upon *Panua*) to raiſe new troubles. For this purpoſe they had found means to bring over to their ſide the ſon of *Gael Heneraed*, governor of *Harcipate*, preſident in the dukedom of *Cockele-Corle*, who all along had ſupplied them with proviſions at *Walane*, and had engaged ſeveral of the nobility to raiſe diviſions, thereby to give opportunity to the *Portugueſe* to make themſelves maſters of the kingdom. The two princes adminiſtrators having got ſome notice of the matter, they reſolved to find out the bottom of this deſign. For this purpoſe the prince of *Migonne* marched the 15th of *September* at the head of a good body, under pretence of changing the gariſons on the frontiers, but near *Ode* and *Jatteno* met *Heneraed*'s forces, who being not a little ſurpriſed at the ſight of the prince, pretended they were ordered for *Cottamale* upon ſome particular buſineſs. The prince being now more than ever confirmed in the matter, ordered their chief commander to be brought before him immediately, who being ſearched, a letter of *Gael Heneraed* was found about him, *viz.* *That all things looked with a good face towards the accompliſhment of the deſign concerted betwixt them. That he had conſulted with his Son* Abecque, *preſident of* Cockele-Corle, *and that they had agreed with many of the nobility to murder the princes and princeſſes, and likewiſe the princes of* Migonne *and* Ouve, *the iſſue whereof they ſhould know as ſoon as it was put in execution. He ſent them in the mean time, a certain quantity of powder, ball and proviſions, adviſing them to be upon their guard, becauſe the gariſon of* Candy *had been reinforced conſiderably of late, which ſeem'd as if ſome deſign were in hand againſt them.*

A letter intercepted of Heneraed's.

The prince gave immediate orders to ſeize the commander, who ſtanding upon his defence, was cut to pieces: His ſoldiers and pioneers attempted to ſave themſelves by flight; but being purſued were moſt ſlain, except a few that ſaved themſelves in the woods. The prince diſpatched a meſſenger immediately to the governour with orders to come immediately to court, having particular occaſion to concert ſome matters of moment with him.

Heneraed's forces routed.

He is ſummoned to court.

He who knew nothing of what was paſſed, appeared accordingly the 17th of *September* at the court in *Candy*; where being well received by the prince, they talked of ſeveral matters relating to the government; upon which occaſion he gave him repeated aſſurances of his fidelity, telling him, That he was ready to venture his life for the welfare of the empire. The prince of *Migonne* had much ado to diſſemble his anger, only told him, *We have nevertheleſs received certain advice that you hatch treaſon againſt the crown, and are entered into a confederacy with the* Portugueſes *our enemies, contrary to the oath you have ſo lately taken.* He declared his innocence with many aſſeverations, deſiring that he might be confronted with his accuſers: Whereupon the prince of *Ouve* told him, *We could wiſh you innocent, but are too well informed of your treachery*, and ſo ordered him to withdraw (after ſome further excuſe) to be diſarmed, and his perſon to be ſecured. *Baldæus.* *He is ſeized.*

The captain of the guard coming to ſeize him, he ſaid, *Friend, you are wrong*; and ſo made the beſt of his way towards the gate, in hopes of making his eſcape; but the captain asking him, *Are you not the governor* Gael Heneraed? he anſwered, *Yes.* The captain reply'd, *Then I am not wrong; I beg your pardon, being obliged to execute his majeſty's orders.* So that ſeeing there was no hopes of eſcaping, he deſired to be brought before his majeſty, or before the prince's adminiſtrators. The captain told him, That he had no ſuch orders. Whereupon ſome of the governor's ſoldiers put themſelves in a poſture of defence; but were all made priſoners, and put to death the next day, being thirty two in number. Another party attempted to eſcape by night; but fifty of them were taken and committed to priſon, which made his caſe worſe. *His ſoldiers taken.*

In the mean time the two adminiſtrators took care to have the emperor's children tranſported to another caſtle, and ſent orders to all the governors to ſtop all the ſoldiers of *Heneraed*, unleſs they were provided with a paſſport from his majeſty. *The emperor's children carried to another place.*

The 22d *Heneraed* was examined in the council; where at firſt he boldly deny'd every thing alledged againſt him; but ſoon after confeſſed the whole, and begged mercy, alledging, That what he had done was out of diſcontent, becauſe he had not been promoted to a higher ſtation. He did not deny that twenty ſix noblemen had been concerned in this conſpiracy, yet refuſed to name them; but ſeeing the *Brahman*, who had made the firſt diſcovery appear, he ſaid, *No queſtion but you will ſoon know their names now; however, I will not diſcover them.* The *Brahman* declared, That *Gael Heneraed* had cauſed two gentlemen to be murdered, becauſe they refuſed to have a hand in this conſpiracy. The twenty ſix noblemen being apprehended, confeſſed the fact; and the 25th being appointed for their trial, they were all condemn'd to death. The 27th they were executed in the following manner: The fifty ſoldiers who had endeavoured to make their eſcape, had their heads cut off. The twenty ſix noblemen, who *He is examined.* *Tried and condemn'd, with twenty ſix gentlemen.* *Their execution.*

Baldæus. who had ſigned the confederacy, had the heads cut off firſt, and then their bodies thrown before the dogs. Four of his chief counſellors were drawn with hot pinchers, had afterwards their hands cut off, and their bodies quartered, which were hung up about the caſtle. The unfortunate governor, who had been a ſpectator of the miſerable exits of his accomplices, being likewiſe burnt with red hot pinchers at each corner of the ſtreets, was broken alive upon the wheel, and afterwards thrown before the elephants, one of which threw him up to a conſiderable height, and afterwards catching him again, cruſhed him to pieces with his teeth. The reſt had the good fortune to eſcape to *Columbo*. *Baldæus.*

CHAP. XVI.

A Battle betwixt the Emperor and the Rebels. The Portugueſe *propoſe a Treaty of Peace; which is refuſed. They march towards* Candy; *but are routed.*

SOON after the princes of *Migonne* and *Ouve*, together with the earl of *Quatre-Corle*, took a progreſs to *Cockele-Corle*, being followed by two thouſand men, and honourably received by the inhabitants; they ſettled matters upon the old foot, and made ſome alteration in the coin, giving ſtrict orders not to raiſe the money above the prefixed value.

An engagement betwixt the emperor and rebels.

In the year 1614. there happened a bloody engagement betwixt the imperial forces and the rebels, wherein four thouſand men being killed on both ſides, and the laſt finding themſelves too weak, retreated in the night time, and ſollicited the *Portugueſe* for help. The emperor remaining thus maſter of the field, ordered his camp to be ſtrongly fortified; and keeping only two thouſand men, and one thouſand pioneers for his guard, he ſent his general with the whole army to cut off the retreat of the enemy. The *Portugueſe*, having got notice thereof, gathered ſecretly a body of one hundred *Portugueſe*, and five thouſand natives; and marching through unpaſſable ways, ſurpriſed the outguards, and entred the camp without much oppoſition, every one ſeeking how to ſave themſelves by a timely flight. In this action the prince of *Migonne* was wounded with a lance in his right leg, and the prince of *Ouve* in the right arm, and five hundred were ſlain upon the ſpot on the emperor's ſide.

The Portugueſe ſurprize the emperor's camp.

Anno 1614. *March* 14. *Don Munno de Feriera*, brother of the earl of *Fere*, arrived at *Columbo*, in the quality of viceroy of *Goa*, to relieve *Don Jeronimo d'Oviedo*. He brought along with him about one h red thirty two *Portugueſe*, beſides a good number of *Miſtices*, to reinforce the garriſons, with poſitive orders to endeavour, if poſſible, to procure a peace with the emperor of *Ceylon*.

Purſuant to theſe orders he ſent the 3d of *June*, *Don Franciſco de Menezes* his envoy to *Candy*, with full power to treat with the ſaid emperor upon the beſt terms he could. Accordingly the ſaid envoy delivered to the emperor a letter from the general, and another from the viceroy of *Goa*, written in the king of *Spain*'s name, the chief contents whereof (beſides ſome compliments) were, *Propoſes a peace.*

" That his catholick majeſty being averſe *The king of Spain's letter.*
" to the effuſion of human blood, was in-
" clined to enter into a treaty with his ma-
" jeſty, in order to ſettle a firm and laſt-
" ing peace; for which purpoſe he had
" granted full power to certain perſons of
" note to treat upon that head, deſiring
" that his majeſty would be pleaſed to ac-
" cept of them as ſuch, and give them a
" favourable reception.

Goa, Feb. 22. 1614.

The general's letter was much to the ſame purpoſe.

The emperor having propoſed the matter the 13th following in council, it was reſolved they ſhould bring in their propoſitions in writing, which being done the 18th of the ſame month, were as follows.

1. The king of *Spain* is willing to enter into an amicable treaty with the emperor. *Articles propoſed by him.*
2. The peace to be concluded either for ever, or for a certain ſpace of years, to be kept inviolably, and all hoſtilities to ceaſe both by water and land immediately.
3. Each party to keep what they are in poſſeſſion of at preſent.
4. His imperial majeſty ſhall renounce his alliance with the *Dutch*, and engage himſelf never to enter into any other with them for the future, or any other ſtate at enmity

Baldæus. enmity with *Spain* and *Portugal*, and to permit no other *European* nation to traffick there.

5. Both parties to be at liberty to traffick in what commodities they pleaſe, without entering into any articles upon that head.
6. His majeſty ſhall grant liberty for the free exerciſe of the *Roman* catholick religion in *Candy*, and the building a church and convent, with convenient habitations for two or three hundred perſons, both of the clergy and laity.
7. His majeſty ſhall ſend one of his hereditary princes to keep his court at *Columbo*, in lieu whereof they will ſend a perſon of quality to ſtay always near his majeſty.
8. His imperial majeſty ſhall reſtore all the jewels, money, priſoners, ſlaves of both ſexes, cannon, *&c.* taken in the laſt war.

Are rejected. Theſe propoſitions being read and debated in the council, it was reſolved not to enter into any further treaty with the *Portugueſe*, as fearing, not without reaſon, that ſome treacherous deſign (as often had happened before) lay concealed under this pretended treaty. An anſwer was therefore returned to the *Portugueſe* envoy, *Jun.* 20. That his imperial majeſty was not inclined to treat with the king of *Spain*, before all the lands and lordſhips taken from him were reſtored: That however the *Spaniards* ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of *Gale* and *Columbo*, with the territories thereunto belonging; but that his imperial majeſty would by no means renounce his alliance made with the *Dutch*, but keep the ſame inviolably. Furthermore his majeſty required a full compenſation of all the damages he had ſuſtained in this war, and was reſolved to have cuſtom paid him of all goods exported or imported.

The Portugueſe propoſe a truce. The *Portugueſe* finding them ſo reſolute, would fain have made a conſiderable abatement in their pretenſions; for which purpoſe they propoſed a ceſſation of arms: which being likewiſe rejected, the envoy returned the 8th of *June* without effecting any thing, with a letter from the emperor, directed to the *Portugueſe* general, containing in ſubſtance, *That he was reſolved not to violate his oath with the* Dutch; *and that being ſenſible no faith ought to be given to the* Portugueſe, *he intended to purſue them by force of arms; and that they might make their account accordingly.*

The Portugueſe march towards Candy. The *Portugueſe* not a little exaſperated at ſo reſolute an anſwer, marched with an army of twenty five thouſand men towards *Candy*. The emperor's army conſiſted of twenty nine thouſand men, and meeting juſt near *Walane*, *Aug.* 6. a ſmart engagement enſued, in which the *Portugueſe* were worſted, two thouſand one hundred *Indians*, and forty *Portugueſe* being ſlain on their ſide, with the loſs of ſeven hundred men on the emperor's ſide. The *Portugueſe* ſaved themſelves from a total defeat, by the favour of the adjacent woods. *Baldæus.* *Are beaten.*

This victory occaſioned no ſmall joy at *Candy*; where the prince of *Migonne* and the prince of *Ouve*, who had led the van, were received with more than ordinary reſpect. Soon after a deſerter came to *Candy*, who gave them an account of the whole condition of the *Portugueſe* camp, which might have been entirely ruin'd, had the *Cingaleſe* purſued their victory. He told them, that before the battle, they had not left above three hundred men at *Columbo*, which had occaſioned ſuch fears and tumults in that city, that the ſame might have been eaſily ſurprized with a moderate force; and that upon the return of the general from the army, he had ordered ſeveral to be hanged upon that account.

The emperor would have married his daughter-in-law. The 29th of *Auguſt*, the emperor declared, That he would marry the daughter of the late empreſs by her firſt husband, alledging, That he had debauched her before, which made moſt of the great men conſent to the match; but the prince of *Migonne* oppoſed the ſame, telling the emperor with a great deal of freedom, *That to commit inceſt was directly contrary to the word of God; and that for that reaſon he could never approve of it, but was obliged to put his imperial majeſty in mind of his ſalvation.* Theſe words having drawn tears from the emperor's eyes, he promiſed to lay aſide all thoughts of that nature for the future, and to converſe with her no otherwiſe than a father might do with his daughter.

The Portugueſe ſurprize five hundred Candineſe. The 5th of *October*, thoſe of *Candy* defeated a convoy of nine hundred *Portugueſe*, that were marching with proviſions and ammunition to *Candy*, but had not the ſame ſucceſs in another enterprize; for having laid an ambuſh of five hundred men, to intercept the *Portugueſe* general, as he was coming from *Columbo* to *Walane*, the *Portugueſe* having got intelligence thereof, ſent a ſtronger body, which ſurrounded them, and cut them all to pieces, except two *Cingaleſe*, who hid themſelves among the dead, till the night gave them an opportunity to make their eſcape.

Towards the end of the year 1614. the inhabitants of *Batecalo* having murdered the ambaſſadors of the king of *Palugam* upon the road, a furious war enſued betwixt them, in which the laſt worſted (with the aſſiſtance of the prince of *Ouve*) the king of *Batecalo*, who was himſelf treacherouſly murdered, and his kingdom beſtowed upon the king of *Palugam*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

Mr. Boſchhouwer *ſent as an Ambaſſador to the* United Provinces; *enters into an Engagement with the Crown of* Denmark: *Dies in his Return to the* Indies. Gule Gedde *the* Daniſh *Commodore arrives in* Ceylon; *Returns without effecting any Thing. The* Portugueſe *erect divers Fortifications by Fraud. The Emperor's Enterprize upon* Columbo. *The* Portugueſe *beaten.*

Baldæus. MArcellus de Boſchhouwer, who had (as we have underſtood) attained to the higheſt dignities in the empire of *Ceylon*, being deſirous to make himſelf known by ſome great enterprize, obtained leave from the emperor, 1615. to go to *Maſulipatam*, to ſollicite the ſo-long promiſed ſuccours againſt the *Portugueſe*, with full power to enter into alliances with all ſuch kings, princes, and ſtates, as he thought might contribute any thing towards clearing his majeſty's dominions from the *Portugueſe*.

Having for this purpoſe obtained divers letters and credentials, wherein his majeſty promiſed to ratify every thing the ſaid Mr. *Boſchhouwer* ſhould treat of with any prince upon that ſubject, he ſet out in quality of ambaſſador and plenipotentiary from *Ceylon* the 9th of *May*, 1615. and arrived *June* 2. at *Maſulipatam*, where at that time one *Hans wan Haſe*, director and viſitor-general of the *Indies*, commanded in chief, who went along with *Marcellus de Boſchhouwer*, to *Bantam*, in order to concert meaſures with *Gerard Reynſt*, the *Dutch* general there, concerning the intended ſuccours againſt the *Portugueſe*.

Boſchhouwer ſent ambaſſador.

Comes to Bantam.

But the ſaid general being dead ſometime before, and the war carried on at that time by the *Dutch* company in the *Molucca* iſlands and thoſe of *Banda*, as alſo againſt *Poulo Ay*, hindering the *Dutch* at that juncture from ſending the promiſed ſuccours to the emperor of *Ceylon*, (it being abſolutely requiſite to ſecure the *Molucca's*, before they could think of any new conqueſts,) it was reſolved by the council at *Bantam* to permit Mr. *Boſchhouwer* (at his earneſt requeſt) to go to *Holland*, in order to repreſent the true ſtate of matters in the empire of *Ceylon* to their high and mightineſſes the ſtates-general, his highneſs the prince of *Orange*, and the directors of the *Eaſt-India* company.

Arrives at Holland.

But upon his arrival in *Holland*, he found things not in any wiſe to anſwer his expectation; for in regard of his quality and high ſtation in *Ceylon*, pretending to much more reſpect and honour than the company was willing to grant him, this occaſioned ſuch conteſts among them, that he reſolved (notwithſtanding his allegiance due to the ſtates) to go into *Denmark*, where he arrived *June* 16. *O. S.* 1617. and not long after entered into an engagement with the *Danes* at *Copenhagen*, which was ratified by their king *Chriſtian* IV. 1618. *March* 30. Accordingly he ſet ſail from *Denmark*, with his lady, (who challenged the title of princeſs of *Migonne*,) and a retinue of ſervants and ſoldiers, but died before he came to the end of his voyage; after which, moſt of the ſoldiers deſerted on the coaſt of *Coromandel*, (where his lady died alſo afterwards,) whereby, though all his deſigns vaniſhed into ſmoke, yet will it perhaps not be beyond our purpoſe, to give a more circumſtantial account of this unfortunate voyage.

Baldæus.

Engages with the Danes.

Sets ſail for Ceylon.

Dies.

Mr. *Boſchhouwer* having (as we told you) obtained a man of war, and a yacht from the king of *Denmark*, on account of the emperor of *Ceylon*, and the *Daniſh Eaſt-India* company (lately erected) having joined five ſhips with them, under *Gule Gedde*, a *Daniſh* nobleman, they ſet ſail out of the *Sound*; and after many tempeſts and other difficulties, having paſſed the *Engliſh* channel, they did not arrive in *Ceylon* till twenty two months after, *viz.* 1620. not without the loſs of a conſiderable number of their men (among whom was Mr. *Boſchhouwer* himſelf) that periſhed for want of proviſions, and the fatigues of ſo tedious a voyage.

A particular account of his voyage.

Some of theſe ſhips arriving in the harbour of *Batecalo*, others at *Coutjare*, *Gule Gedde* gave notice of his arrival, and of the occaſion thereof, as alſo of the death of *Boſchhouwer*, to the emperor; who no ſooner underſtood his death, and that the *Danes* pretended to put the equipment of this ſquadron to his account, but he appeared much ſurpriz'd thereat, declaring, That he had given no authority to *Boſchhouwer* to enter into ſuch an engagement; ſo that the *Danes* had nothing but bare words, in recompence of the vaſt charge they had been at upon this account.

The Danes arrive in Ceylon.

The emperor rejects their offer.

The *Daniſh* commodore *Gule Gedde* finding himſelf thus diſappointed in all his hopes, applied all his thoughts, how to reimburſe the king his maſter part of the

Baldæus. charge he had been at in the equipment of this ſquadron; for which reaſon he ſeized upon all *Boſchhouwer*'s effects aboard his veſſels, after having taken care of his burial, which was performed with little pomp; but that of his ſon of three years of age, (who being born at *Copenhagen*, was godſon of king *Chriſtian* IV. and died likewiſe in this voyage) was done with more ſolemnity. The ſeizing of *Boſchhouwer*'s effects being performed in the harbour of *Trinquenemale* by *Gule Gedde*, he ſent his widow at her requeſt to *Candy*, ſtripp'd of every thing, except what ſhe had ſaved privately by the aſſiſtance of ſome friends, from whence after a ſtay of ſeven years, ſhe was by the emperor *Zenerat*, (at the requeſt of general *Roland Crape*) ſent with ſome ſervants to *Tranquebare*.

The Daniſh commodore ſeizes Boſchhouwer's effects.

After the departure of *Boſchhouwer*'s widow for *Candy*, the commodore *Gule Gedde* ſet ſail with part of his ſquadron from *Coutjare*, in order to join the reſt of his ſhips at *Batecalo*, and to ſollicite once more ſatisfaction from the emperor; but in the mean while, one of his ſhips that was left at *Trinquenemale* being ſeized upon by the ſhip's crew, and afterwards ſplit upon the rocks, the ſeamen and ſoldiers got with their boats to the coaſt of *Coromandel*, where ſome of them took ſervice among the *Portugueſe* at *St. Thomas*, the reſt among the *Dutch* at *Paliacatte*. *Gule Gedde* having but ſmall hopes of ſucceſs, and fearing that ſome of the other ſhips might follow their example, thought fit to weigh anchor, and take his next courſe for *Denmark*.

Returns to Denmark.

The *Portugueſe* being infinitely glad at the departure of theſe unwelcome gueſts out of *Ceylon*, now bent all their thoughts how to exclude all other nations from the traffick of that country: to encompaſs which, they judged it the moſt proper means to erect a fort near that harbour, the place whereof (after a narrow view taken of the ground, and various debates) was pitched upon at the north-weſt point of the bay, upon a neck of land jetting out into the ſea, on the backſide of the *Pagode* of *Trinquenemale*, the walls whereof would be of conſiderable advantage to them.

The Portugueſe erect a new fort.

Accordingly the ſaid fort being begun 1622. was carried on with all imaginable vigour to bring it to perfection, before the emperor of *Candy* (with whom they were at peace then) could have any notice of it. For no ſooner was that prince advertiſed of this treacherous deſign, but he proteſted againſt it, and ſent a conſiderable force to demoliſh it; but being repulſed by the *Portugueſe*, theſe continued the fortifications, being an irregular triangular fortreſs, which they furniſhed with great cannon taken out of the ſea, belonging formerly to the *Daniſh* ſhip that was caſt away near that place. *Baldæus.*

Whilſt the *Portugueſe* were embroiled with the *Cingaleſe* upon that account, a certain *Radye* of the *Malabars* entered the kingdom of *Jafnapatnam* with a conſiderable force, in hopes to recover the ſame from the *Portugueſe*, who had lately conquered the ſame: but *Philippo d'Oliveire* their general, an old experienced captain, received them ſo bravely, that few of them returned into their native country.

Routs the Malabars.

The *Portugueſe* having thus once more rid their hands of their enemies, yet not thinking themſelves ſecure, unleſs they ſtrengthened their conqueſts by ſome additional fortifications, ordered certain new works to be made, which afterwards were changed into a royal fortreſs with four baſtions. The foundation whereof was laid, 1624. but not brought to perfection till the year 1632. being lined with white ſtone.

Build two more forts.

But to eſtabliſh themſelves the better in this iſland, they concluded a peace (by the mediation of certain clergymen) with the emperor, who was willing to embrace it, till he could find a more convenient opportunity of revenging himſelf for the many affronts they had put upon him; one of the main conditions of this peace was, That the *Portugueſe* ſhould not build any other forts or fortifications in any place of the empire, but might remain in poſſeſſion of what they had at preſent.

Makes peace with the emperor.

Notwithſtanding this agreement, which was ſo advantageous to the *Portugueſe*, finding that the *European* nations had ſtill a free acceſs into the kingdom of *Candy* by the river *Palliagamme*, (otherwiſe called *Batecalo*,) they were contriving all poſſible means to ſecure that paſſage to themſelves.

To accompliſh their end with all imaginable ſecrecy, they pitched upon a *Miſtice*, an experienced engineer, who, being of a dark colour, was ſent in the diſguiſe of a *Guſuratte Jogy*, or mendicant frier, from *Columbo* to *Batecalo*, who ſettled himſelf in the village of *Samanture*; from whence having taken a full view of all the circumjacent country for two years together, he pitched upon a ſandy place, about two leagues one half from the village, for the erecting of the deſigned fort; but finding, upon ſtrict enquiry, that the channel leading that way from the mouth of the river, was the greateſt part of the year choked up with ſand; and that conſequently there would be no conveniency of getting freſh water there, he was forced to go about ſix leagues lower down the river, where meeting with a ſmall iſle of a league in circuit, and not above a mile diſtant from the main channel, convey'd thither directly from the mouth

Contrivance of the Portugueſe.

Baldæus. mouth of the river, he returned to *Columbo*; and having given a full account to the government there of the advantageous situation of this isle for their intended project, the *Portuguese* sent him back in 1627. with thirteen companies of soldiers, in order to put it in execution. These, at their arrival, having secured themselves by throwing up some intrenchments inclosed with palisadoes, to work they went with all expedition to perfect the intended fortress, which was of a quinquangular figure, with three bastions.

The Cingalezes repulsed. The king of *Candy* had no sooner intelligence thereof, but he sent a good body of troops thither to prevent their design: they made shift to land in the island, but were forced to retreat without effecting any thing, and leave the *Portuguese* to perfect their fortifications; which they did soon after, being well provided with all sorts of materials for such a purpose.

The emperor engages with the Cingalese at Columbo. The emperor finding himself thus by no less than seven capital forts, built on all the best avenues of the isle, reduced to such straits by the *Portuguese*, that without their consent he was not in a condition to keep the least correspondence with any foreign nation, resolved to try his utmost to draw these thorns out of his flesh. For this purpose he thought fit to try the inclinations of the *Cingalese* inhabiting at *Columbo*; and finding them ready to revolt by reason of the many indignities received from the *Portuguese*, he engaged them to his party. Things being thus settled, the only thing remaining was, how to entice their general *Constantine de Saa* to take the field, by which means they might find an opportunity of going over to the emperor. Knowing therefore that *Don Michael de Noronha*, *Conde de Linbaros*, the then viceroy of *Goa*, had lately wrote an affronting letter to the said general, wherein he told him, That he was more fit for a merchant than a soldier, and that he regarded more his own profit than the king's glory, and his conquest, they insinuated into him, That since both his expeditions against *Candy* had proved unsuccessful, it would not be amiss (to retrieve his honour) to try his fortune against *Ouve*, promising to appear in the field with all their powers; which they did accordingly.

Constantine de Saa, the *Portuguese* general was so highly pleased at this proposition, that he not only gladly embraced it, but also sent a challenge to *Comarra Singe Hastanne*, prince of *Ouve*, eldest son of the emperor *Zenerat Adascyn*, who sent him word, that he would expect his coming like a man of honour. Accordingly the *Portuguese* general took the field the 30th of *August* with one thousand three hundred of his own countrymen, one thousand seven hundred *Mistices*, and eight thousand *Cingalese*; and the prince of *Ouve* being joined by his two brothers, *Vysiapallo* and *Raja Singa*, made up an army of twenty three thousand men, who (according to the advice of the emperor their father) kept at a distance, seeming to avoid an engagement. The *Portuguese* being much surprized at their being suffered to pass the mountains of *Ouve* without the least opposition, marched directly to *Badule* the capital city of that dukedom, which they took and plundered with all the circumjacent country, and so retired again towards the mountains, the princes being all the while spectators of their ravages, with a resolution to watch their opportunity of taking a severe revenge, so soon as the *Cingalese* (according to their promise) should desert the *Portuguese*.

Baldæus. *Plunder Badule.*

These things were not so secretly carried on, but that *Constantine de Saa* got some scent of the matter. This made him summon before him all their chief officers, unto whom he represented the reasons of his suspicion, but in very obliging terms, thinking it his best way to dissemble, yet to use all imaginable precautions against them. They positively denying what was alledged against them, he continued his march till night, when finding the enemy to keep closer to him than they used to do, and being confirmed in his former suspicion by fresh intelligence, he ordered the *Cingalese* (contrary to what they used to do) to pitch their tents in the center of the camp, and the next morning with break of day for the whole army to set fire to all their baggage, (except wearing apparel,) the better to further their march. They had scarce marched a few hours, when the princes coming up pretty close with the *Portuguese* army, the eight thousand *Cingalese* joined with their countrymen, and with their joint-forces attacked them in the flank at the descent of a mountain, firing upon them very furiously through an adjacent wood, whereabouts a great number of the *Portuguese* were slain, the *Cingalese* falling in pell-mell among them with their scymetars and pikes, especially after a sudden storm had rendered the *Portuguese* firelocks almost useless, without which they might probably have made a tolerable good retreat. *Constantine de Saa* their general had his head cut off by one of the rebellious *Cingalese*, which he presented to *Raja Singa* upon a drum, whilst he was washing himself in a neighbouring brook. To confess the truth, *de Saa* deserved a much better treatment, both in respect of his valour, and the many good offices he had done to the same *Cingalese* at *Columbo*, who now so basely betray'd him and his whole army.

Are attacked in their march

And routed.

The Portuguese take the field.

It

Baldæus. It is not easy to be imagined what a consternation this general defeat occasioned among the *Portugueſe* in the isle of *Ceylon*, and especially at *Columbo*; for the defence whereof there were scarce any troops left behind, except a few of the most antient among the inhabitants. This encouraged the emperor to send his youngest son *Mahastanne*, (afterwards named *Raja Singa*,) to form the siege of that place, which he did accordingly; but was so bravely received by *Lancerotte de Seſies* their governor, that after a whole month's siege, he was forced to retreat without effecting any thing. The besieged being afterwards reinforced from *Goa* with four hundred men, (among whom were three hundred *Caffers*,) with a considerable quantity of provisions, ammunition, and other necessaries, began to hold up their heads again, and bid defiance to the *Cingaleſe*. *Baldæus.*

Columbo besieged by the Cingaleſe.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Emperor dies. Inteſtine Diviſions betwixt his two Sons. The Portugueſe *at War with the new Emperor; make Peace with him. The* Hollanders *invited, by his Majeſty's Letter to the Governor of* Paliacatta, *to come into the Iſle of* Ceylon.

The old emperor dies. SOON after, *viz.* 1632. the old emperor happening to die, left the empire betwixt his three sons, *viz. Ouve* to *Commarra Singa Haſtanne* his eldest son, *Matele* to *Viſia Palla Haſtanne* his second, and *Candy* to *Mahaſtanne* the youngest, who, besides this, assumed the imperial title under the name of *Raja Singa Adaſcyn*, to the no small dissatisfaction of his eldest brother *Comarra Singa Haſtanne*, whom he knew so well how to amuse under different pretensions, that the matter remained undecided as long as he lived; and, immediately after his death seized upon the province of *Ouve*, which *Viſia Palla* the second brother (who claimed one half for his share) took so heinously, that matters came betwixt them to an open rupture.

The youngeſt son seizes upon the imperial title.

The Portugueſe *begin a war against the emperor.*

The *Portugueſe* having by this time received divers supplies from *Goa*, and pretty well recovered of their late disgrace, resolved to improve this opportunity to their advantage. For which purpose entring the *Low Lands*, they forced most of the princes there to side with them, but durst not venture to attempt the passage of the mountains. They pitched their tents therefore near *Allago*, as the most proper place to keep the adjacent country in awe: but *Raja Singa*, the new emperor, surprized them in their camp, and forced them to retreat with all haste to *Columbo*.

Are beaten.

The *Portugueſe* now finding themselves unable to cope with the emperor, thought it requisite to come to an agreement; for which purpose having sent their envoys to *Candy*, a peace was concluded accordingly; but soon broken again on the *Portugueſe* side, who let slip no opportunity to improve their advantage, notwithstanding the said peace.

Make peace.

Raja Singa being thus fully convinced, that no firm peace was likely to be settled with the *Portugueſe* in *Ceylon*, dissembled his resentment; but in the mean time resolved to invite the *Hollanders* to force them out of the isle; and accordingly sent the following letter, dated *Sept.* 9. 1636. to the governor of *Paliacatta*.

I *Raja Singa*, emperor of the isle of *Ceylon*, king of *Candy*, *Settevaca*, *Danbadany*, *Anorayapore*, *Jaſnapatnam*, prince of *Ouve*, *Mature*, *Dinavaca*, *Quatre-Corle*, great duke of *Sette-Corle*, *Matalte*, earl of *Catajar*, *Trinquenemale*, *Batecalo*, *Valefebuilena*, *Dumbra*, *Panoa*, *Patoveta*, *Putelaon*, *Vaſſare*, *Gale*, *Billigaon*, marquis of *Duramira*, *Ratenura*, *Tinipane*, *Axcepaon*, lord of the ports of *Alicaon*, *Calcture*, *Columbo*, *Negombo*, *Cbilao*, *Madampe*, *Calpentyn*, *Ariputure*, *Manaar*, and of the pearl-fishery.

The Dutch invited to Ceylon by the emperor's letter.

" THough I do not question but that fame has already made known to you the good success of our arms against the *Portugueſe*, yet did judge it absolutely requisite to give a more particular account thereof to the governor of the fortress of *Paliacatta*. First of all the emperor did regain from the *Portugueſe* the two fortresses of *Walane* and *Forago*, as likewise the city of *Marua Goma*, with five hundred *Portugueſe* inhabitants, and a good number of monks of divers orders. *Don Nuno Alvares Perere* being then their general, thought thereupon fit to make peace in order to recover the prisoners taken by the emperor's forces. About eleven years after the conclusion

Baldæus.

" concluſion of the ſaid peace, *Conſtantine de*
" *Saa*, being made their general, did trea-
" cherouſly ſurprize *Jafnapatnam*, and built
" the forts of *Batecalo* and *Trinquenemale*,
" giving no other reaſon for their ſo doing
" to the emperor, than that having certain
" intelligence, that ſome of their *European*
" enemies were coming to ſettle there, they
" were forced to erect theſe fortifications
" for their own defence. About a year
" after the frier they had left their hoſtage
" at *Candy*, being releaſed by the emper-
" or, (according to his parole,) they made
" a powerful irruption into the empire:
" and after their retreat the emperor hap-
" pening to die, I had ſcarce aſcended the
" throne, but within eleven months after
" they made another incurſion; but en-
" countring them near *Ambatana*, we for-
" ced them to retreat with conſiderable
" loſs. Seven months after they invaded
" the dukedom of *Ouve*, where we routed
" them in a ſmart engagement; and the
" rebellious natives having deſerted them,
" and joined with us, (according to their
" duty,) compleated our victory: their gene-
" ral, a major-general, and the governor of
" *Dinavaca*, being ſlain upon the ſpot, with
" four hundred ſoldiers, and their colonel of
" the artillery, their governor of the ſeven
" *Corles*, and *Matura*, with three hundred
" ſoldiers, many captains, and enſigns ta-
" ken priſoners. Since that time we took
" the fort of *Mantea Ravane* with one
" hundred *Portugueſe* ſoldiers with their
" captains, and another fort in *Sofragaen*,
" with three companies, beſides that two
" other fortifications of theirs were demo-
" liſhed. It was much about the ſame time
" that I kept the city of *Columbo* inveſted
" for thirty days; but finding my ſelf ill,
" I returned to *Candy*, leaving the com-
" mand of my forces to *Mara Tana Wan-*
" *daar*, who, within fifteen days after my
" departure retreating thence, thereby gave
" an opportunity to the enemy to protract
" the war for a year and half, and after-
" wards deſerted in perſon to the enemy.
" I did alſo fall into the enemies dominions,
" and having entrenched my ſelf near *Ga-*
" *netena* in the four *Corles*, I did conſider-
" able miſchief, ſo that the new governor
" of *Columbo*, *Diego de Melo de Caſtro*,
" (formerly governor of *St. Thomas*,) ſent
" thither from *Goa*, was forced to ſue for
" peace, which I granted to prevent the
" miſeries and calamities of a long war,
" the ſaid general having ſworn by the
" name of his God, and in his king's ſtead,
" to deliver up the forts of *Trinquenemale*
" and *Batecalo*, and to releaſe all priſoners
" on both ſides. Thirteen months after the
" concluſion of this peace, the governor of
" *Batecalo* did ſide with certain rebels, in *Baldæus.*
" order to aſſaſſinate one of my governors,
" aiding and aſſiſting them alſo in robbing
" a bark belonging to me, and committing
" divers treacherous acts in many parts, as
" well of our own kingdoms, as thoſe of
" other *Indian* princes; therefore I have ta-
" ken a reſolution to rid my hands of theſe
" enemies, and to declare my ſelf a brother
" in war with the king of the *Hollanders*,
" as long as the ſun and moon ſhall rejoice
" us with their light, and the viceroy of
" *Jacatra* and the governor of *Paliacatta*
" ſhall be willing to aſſiſt me, in hopes that
" this confederacy with the *Dutch* nation
" will anſwer my good intentions and ſen-
" timents of them. I the king let the go-
" vernor of *Paliacatta* know, that during
" the ſeven years ſince my acceſſion to the
" throne, I have made the beſt enquiry I
" could who was the moſt potent king in
" *Europe*, in order to oppoſe the deſigns
" of the *Portugueſe*: and being at laſt in-
" formed that the king of the *Hollanders*
" was not only a ſcourge to their king, but
" alſo ſupported by the ſtrength and power
" of ſeveral other kings his confederates,
" I took a firm reſolution (relying upon
" the fidelity of the governor of *Paliacatta*)
" to declare my ſelf a brother in war to the
" king of the *Hollanders* as long as ſun and
" moon ſhall continue in the firmament.
" 'Tis true, ſome treaties of this kind have
" been made formerly betwixt my prede-
" ceſſors and the viceroy of *Jacatra*, and
" the governor of *Paliacatta*; but theſe
" having proved ineffectual, it ſeems as if
" it had pleaſed God to bring the ſame to
" perfection under my reign, in hopes that
" the governor of *Paliacatta* will with all
" poſſible care ſecond our endeavours, where-
" of we give him aſſurances upon our royal
" word, that they ſhall be at liberty to
" erect a fortreſs either at *Cotiar* or *Bate-*
" *calo*; for which purpoſe they may employ
" a ſquadron of five ſhips, (a force ſufficient
" to ballance the preſent ſtrength of the
" enemy,) who may be ſecure of our aſ-
" ſiſtance, either by my ſelf in perſon, or
" by my brother. All the cannon or
" booty taken by them ſhall be at their
" own diſpoſal; and they ſhall be provi-
" ded with all ſorts of materials requi-
" ſite for the building of a fort either
" at *Batecalo* or *Cotiar*. I further engage
" my ſelf by my royal word, to repay
" the governor all the charges he ſhall
" be at in equipping the ſaid ſquadron
" to be ſent to my aſſiſtance, to which
" of the before-mentioned harbours you
" pleaſe. If the governor approves of
" theſe propoſitions, let him ſend a veſſel
" to *Trinquenemale* or *Cotiar*, in order to

Baldæus. " transport my ambassadors with safety to
" him, whom I would have rest secure,
" that in case he can bring this business to
" perfection, he shall be well rewarded for
" his service according to his dignity and
" merits: but if it be beyond his power,
" let him dispatch this messenger with all
" speed to the viceroy of *Jacatra*.

Dated the 9th of *Sept.* 1636. *Raja Singa* Imperador.

A certain *Brahman* being dispatched with this letter, the same lived for six months undiscovered among the *Portuguese* at *Jafnapatnam*, before he could meet with a conveniency to be transported to the coast of *Coromandel*; from whence he pursued his journey by land to *Paliacatta*, where he delivered *Raja Singa*'s letter to the then governor *Charles Reyniers*. *Baldæus.*

CHAP. XIX.

A Treaty; and Letter in return of that of the Emperor's. The Dutch ***Deputies in*** Ceylon ***are honourably received. Their Transactions; and return with the Emperor's Ambassadors. The*** Portuguese ***endeavour to render the*** Dutch ***suspected. The Emperor's Answer to the*** Dutch ***Admiral.***

Charles Reyniers, the governour of *Paliacatta*, (afterwards general of the *Indies*) had no sooner received this letter, but he sent the same to *Batavia* to the general and great council of the *Indies*, who after mature deliberation resolved to send person fitly qualified for such a trust aboard the *Falcon* yacht, in order to enter into a strict amity and commerce with the emperor, and to procure a considerable cargo of cinnamon; whereof immediate notice was also to be given to the *Dutch* fleet before *Goa*.

Resolution of the council of the Indies.

It is to be observed, that sometime before this letter was brought to *Batavia*, the general *Anthony van Diemen*, and the council of the *Indies*, had already taken the affairs of *Ceylon* into their consideration, having ordered the beforesaid Mr. *Reyniers* to make all possible enquiry, whether it were not feasible to get some share as well as the *Portuguese* in the cinnamon trade. One *John Thiissen*, a master of a vessel, (afterwards governour of *Malacca*, and now a member of the council of the *Indies*,) who had been a prisoner in *Ceylon*, having also lately given the said council an exact account of the condition of the isle, it was resolved 1637. to send him forthwith with three yachts, the *Falcon*, the *Voorburgh*, and the *Lesser Hollandia*, and the *Ruttem* frigat, to the coast of *Coromandel*; where coming to an anchor before *Paliacatta* the last day of *August*, and their commissions being opened, he was, in conjunction with the factor *Andrew Helmont*, constituted envoy to the emperor of *Ceylon*.

Dutch *envoys sent to* Ceylon.

Accordingly the 21st of *October* they took their way towards *Tegnapatnam*, where having furnished themselves with two negroes acquainted with that country, they set sail for *Ceylon*, where they arrived within five or six days after, and cast anchor near the village of *Calmony*, or *Calarme*, about seven leagues from the *Cabo de Fradres*, i. e. the *Monks Cape*. They sent immediately one of the two before-mentioned negroes ashore, to get intelligence what part of the country they were in; which being done by a certain signal, (a fire made upon an adjacent hill,) they sent him, after his return, in company of the other negro with a letter of recommendation from the factor *Chrimma* to the emperor of *Ceylon*, under promise that they were to return in sixteen days; which they did accordingly, bringing along with them not only certain hostages, and among them a certain *Hollander*, who, living at the emperor's court, was willing to accompany them, and gave them very good intelligence, but also the lord high-treasurer of his majesty, and *John Alberts* another *Dutchman*, a native of *Embden* (who having deserted from Mr. *Anthony Caen*'s ship, had since served the emperor in the quality of a court-martial) in order to conduct our envoys to the imperial court.

Accordingly they set out on their journey from the village of *Samanture*, and in four days arrived at *Pangergame* in the country of *Vintane*, where they were introduced the same night by the light of torches into the emperor's presence, who then kept his residence at one of his pleasure-houses on the other side of the river *Mavilgange*. Their reception was very magnificent, as will appear anon by the entertainment given to Mr. *Gerrard Hulst*, whereof we shall have occasion to give a more ample description. The credential

Have audience of the emperor.

Baldæus. credential letters written by the governour of *Paliacatta*, and delivered by the envoys to his imperial majesty, were as follows:

To the most potent emperor *Raja Singa*, &c.

Most Potent Emperor!

Letter from the governour of Paliacatta to the emperor of Ceylon.

GOD protect your imperial majesty. Your majesty is not ignorant of the long and tedious wars we have for so many years last past carried on (by the blessing of God) with good success, both in *Europe* and the *Indies*, against the king of *Spain* and *Portugal*; and how at this time we keep *Goa*, their chief city in the *Indies*, blocked up with so numerous a squadron of men of war, that they are not in a condition to relieve any of their subjects from thence. We have understood by your majesty's letter the many outrages, insolencies, treasons, and wars, carried on by the *Portuguese* against your majesty since their settlement in your territories, contrary to the engagements, treaties and confederacies made betwixt you and them; all which they have treacherously broken, in order to make themselves masters of your empire, and to impose the most miserable slavery upon your subjects. Our general of *Jacatra* being informed of these designs, and your majesty's most commendable intentions to free your country from such unwelcome guests, and to secure your subjects against all violences, by sweeping out the very remnants of the *Portuguese*: the general, I say, being extremely rejoic'd at this resolution, and more especially that your majesty desired our assistance, did give immediate orders for the dispatching of these envoys, to treat with your majesty, and to declare to you the sincerity of our intentions towards your majesty and your subjects, in the same manner as the effects thereof have been sufficiently approved by many of your neighbouring princes and nations. If your majesty will be pleased to allow us the exportation of some cinnamon, we oblige our selves to assist your majesty with muskets, powder, ammunition, and other arms; so that in case you will order two or more ships cargoes of cinnamon to be got ready for our use against *May* next, we either will pay ready money for it, or exchange the same for ammunition or other merchandizes, as your majesty shall think fit. So soon as our envoys are assured of your majesty's resolutions upon this head and of your intentions to enter into a further treaty with us, they shall (according to orders) set sail immediately to our fleet before *Goa*, to confer with the admiral how soon and how many ships may be detached out of his fleet either for the transportation of the cinnamon, or your majesty's aid, according to the present exigency of affairs. We desire therefore your majesty to give these envoys, sent with a most sincere intention to your majesty, a suitable reception, and a favourable audience: and afterwards to dispatch them with all convenient speed, to further their arrival at our fleet before *Goa*, before the *Mousson* be passed, which otherwise might prove no small obstacle to our design. We acknowledge we ought to have presented your majesty with some foreign rarities (according to custom;) but being ignorant of the condition of your country, and in no small fear that these envoys might perhaps be detained by the *Portuguese*, we hope your majesty will excuse the same for this time. We pray, most potent emperor, that god may grant your majesty health, prosperity, and victory over your enemies. Baldæus.

Dated in the fort *Geldria*, the 20th of *Octob.* 1637.

Subscribed,

You majesty's most devoted servant,

Charles Reyniers.

Transactions of the envoys.

The emperor, whilst the envoys were making their propositions, stood with the crown on his head, and a scymetar in his hand, his head, arms, and legs adorn'd with jewels, rings, and chains of gold. He enquired after the state of affairs in *Holland*, the health of the prince of *Orange*, and whether the envoys had a full power to treat with him. Unto which they answered, No: but that the admiral of the *Dutch* squadron before *Goa* had. So they were conducted to the apartments prepared for their reception, to rest themselves after so fatiguing a journey.

The next day, being again admitted into the emperor's presence, he asked them several matters concerning the present state of affairs in *Europe:* The *Portuguese* having made it their business to represent the *Dutch* as an inconsiderable *Mob*; and the emperor nevertheless having, by the great naval strength that appear'd of late years in the *East-Indies*, conceived a quite different opinion of their strength than what had been whispered about by the *Portuguese*, was very glad to find the truth to prove agreeable to his former sentiments, concerning the power of a nation with whom he was going into a strict confederacy against the *Portuguese*.

Baldæus.

gueſe. The next following day they began to enter upon a treaty about the cinnamon, and the fort of *Batecalo*. Whilſt his majeſty held frequent conferences (twice a day for a whole week) with our deputies, a letter was ſent to the king or prince of *Mateli* (the emperor's brother) by *Diego de Melo de Caſtro*, governor of *Columbo*; wherein he complained *of the intended breach of the peace, ſtiling the* Hollanders *rebellious ſubjects of the king of* Portugal, *who had incurred the hatred of all the other* Indian *princes*. He added, *That the emperor was guilty of this rupture, whereof he had given notice in a letter to the viceroy of* Goa. His majeſty deſired that the ſaid letter ſhould be tranſlated into the *Dutch*, and be delivered by the envoys to the admiral before *Goa*; and told them for the reſt, that he was too well acquainted with their ways, to give ear to theſe calumnies: That he would endeavour to amuſe them with compliments, till he could find an opportunity of ſurprizing the fort of *Mankeware* in the *Low-Countries*, near the ſouth ſhore of the iſle. He writ alſo a letter to the admiral *Weſterwold*, and ordered three deputies to go along with our envoys to take a view of the fleet before *Goa*, and to give account thereof to him.

The Portuguese endeavour to render the Dutch *ſuſpected.*

The emperor's courtesy to the Dutch.

The 27th of the ſame month his majeſty thought fit to diſpatch the envoys: *Palankyns*, or litters, were ordered for their journey, with ſome elephants for their baggage, and a convoy of twenty *Laſcaryns*, under the command of a colonel to conduct them, with orders to defray their charges in all places through which they paſſed. It was further remarkable, that whilſt the governor of *Paliacatta*'s letter was delivered to his majeſty, and the envoys made their propoſitions, he aroſe from his chair, and remained ſtanding all the while, an honour never done to the *Portugueſes*. The *Dutch* envoys ſet ſail the 4th of the next following month of *December*, with the three before-mentioned deputies aboard the *Falcon* yacht, and coming up the 19th following with the *Dutch* ſquadron before *Goa*, they delivered to *Adam Weſterwold*, their admiral, the following letter from his imperial majeſty.

Their honourable diſpatch.

Letter of the emperor to the Dutch *admiral.*

" HAVING ſent a letter in *September* to the governor of *Paliacatta*, " I received an anſwer thereupon the 19th of *November*, 1637. but the envoys not being inſtructed ſufficiently to treat with me, but the ſame being referred by the general of *Jacatra* to the admiral of the fleet, I thought fit to ſend certain deputies to treat with your excellency. The before-mentioned governor having made mention alſo of the tranſportation of a certain quantity of cinnamon, your excellency, if you pleaſe, may ſend five men of war to attack the fort of *Batecalo*, and ſome other veſſels to other harbours, in order to take in all the cinnamon that is to be had there. I am informed that you intend to ſtay before *Goa* till *April* next, and then are to return to *Jacatra*, in order to return afterwards with all poſſible ſpeed to the harbour of *Columbo*; and thence to detach three ſhips to the harbour of *Batecalo*, in order to make themſelves maſters of that place. I will at the ſame time advance with my forces to *Columbo*; and in caſe god be pleaſed to bleſs our arms with victory againſt our enemies, I dare aſſure you, upon my royal word, that the city ſhall be preſerved for our mutual uſe; and that we will enter into a contract with you concerning all the pepper and cinnamon in the iſle. It is therefore that I judge it adviſable to come with your whole ſtrength, in order to accelerate our confederacy, which may be as durable as the ſun and moon: But if this ſhould not be convenient, pray ſend a truſty perſon whom we may treat with, there being little time to be loſt, ſince things being already come to a rupture with the *Portugueſe*, we ſhall ſtand in preſent need of your aſſiſtance. I expect the return of the three deputies with the arrival of your fleet."

Baldæus.

From *Vintane* 28 *Nov.* 1637.

Signed,

Imperador *Raja Singa.*

Sealed with the pummel of his majeſty's ſcymetar printed in red wax.

It was directed,

To the lord admiral of the *Dutch* fleet before *Goa.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

Sea Engagement before Goa *betwixt the* Dutch *and* Portuguese *Fleets.*

Baldæus. Sea engagement before Goa.

WHILST the envoys were honourably entertained aboard the fleet by *Adam van Westerwold*, the *Dutch* admiral, a sea engagement happened the 4th of *January* 1638. betwixt us and the *Portuguese*. The *Dutch* squadron was composed of the following ships.

A list of the Dutch squadron.

The *Utrecht*, aboard whereof was the admiral *Adam van Westerwold*, captain *Rayner Wybrandz*, head factor *James Nolpe*, carrying forty two brass and iron cannon mounted, and one hundred and fifty men, among whom were thirty five soldiers, commanded by lieutenant *Hans Maagdelyn*.

The *Flissingen*, aboard of which was the vice-admiral, head factor, fiscal, and commissary *John van Twist*, *Hubert Hubertson* captain, carrying thirty eight pieces of cannon, and one hundred and forty men, among whom were twenty soldiers, commanded by a serjeant named *Cornelius Bloem*.

The *Arms of Rotterdam* rear-admiral, commanded by *Herman Wolters Baak*, and *John David Wolfwinkel* clerk, carrying thirty eight pieces of cannon, and one hundred and thirty men, among whom were twenty soldiers.

The *Hague*, aboard of which were *Floris van Castel* head-factor, *Minne Williams Keert de Koe* captain, and *James van Chapel* under factor, carrying thirty four pieces of cannon, and one hundred and ten men, among them twenty soldiers.

The *Harderwyk*, commanded by *Paul Claesen*, *Peter Bruchart* under factor, carrying thirty six pieces of cannon, one hundred and fifteen men, among them twenty soldiers.

The *Vere*, commanded by *Isaac Dickson Kien*, *Laurence de Marshal* under-factor, carrying thirty pieces of cannon, and one hundred and five men, among them twenty soldiers.

The *Texel*, commanded by captain *Cornelius Leendard Valk*, *Joost van Wielyk* under-factor, carrying twenty four pieces of cannon, and seventy seven men, among them twelve soldiers.

The *Breda*, commanded by *Francis Thyse*, *John Fox* under-factor, carrying twenty four cannon, seventy seven men, and among them twelve soldiers.

The yacht the little *Amsterdam*, *Jacob Jacobson Struck* commander, carrying eight guns, and twenty five men.

The little *Enchuysen* yacht, commanded by captain *Reynier*, carrying two brass and six iron guns, and twenty men.

The *Falcon* yacht, *John Thiissen* captain, *Adrian Helmont* factor, carrying sixteen iron guns, forty men, and among them six soldiers. Baldæus.

The *Dolphin* frigat, commanded by *Peter van der Kamar*, carring six iron guns, and twenty men.

The *Portuguese* squadron consisted of these following ships.

A list of the Portuguese ships.

The *Bon Jesus*, *Don Anthonio Telles de Meneses* admiral, carrying seventy six brass guns, and four hundred men, among whom were three hundred *Portuguese*, the rest negroes.

The *St. Sebastian* vice-admiral, commanded by captain *Anthonio Meneses Bouretie*, carrying fifty brass guns, one hundred and fifty *Portuguese*, and two hundred negroes.

Madre de Deos rear-admiral, commanded by *Lewis Gonsalves*, carrying thirty five iron and brass guns, one hundred and thirty *Portuguese*, and one hundred and twenty negroes.

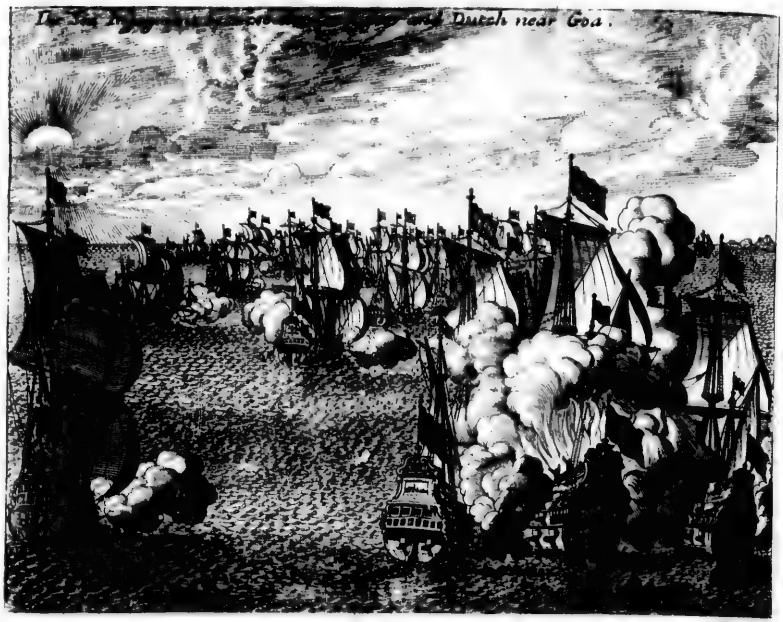
The *St. Bartholomew*, *Lewis de Castelbranco* commander, carrying twenty six iron and brass guns, one hundred and forty *Portuguese*, and one hundred and sixty negroes.

The *St. Francis*, captain *Domingo Fereira* commander, carrying twenty six guns, one hundred *Portuguese*, and one hundred negroes.

The *St. Philip*, commanded by *Don Diego de Vaes* carrying twenty four guns, one hundred *Portuguese*, and one hundred negroes.

With these six galleons, and twenty small frigats, the *Portuguese* set sail out of the road of *Goa*, *Jan.* 4. 1638. in sight of the *Dutch*, who no sooner got sight of them, but they weighed their anchors, and in form of a crescent sailed with a land-wind and low water out into the main. The *Portuguese*, divided into two squadrons, followed them with all the sails they could make, their admiral making up towards the *Dutch* admiral, as their vice admiral (though not so good a sailor as the rest) did to the ships the *Rotterdam*, the *Vere*, and the *Falcon* yacht. In the morning about nine a clock both fleets began to come within cannon-shot, about three leagues from the road of *Goa*, where the engagement began betwixt the two admirals, who plentifully exchanged their broad-sides for three hours successively, as did three others of the *Portuguese* ships with the *Dutch* fleet, the rest of their galleons not being able to come up immediately for want of a wind. The *Portuguese* vice-admiral coming at last up with the rest, was briskly saluted by our ships the *Rotterdam* and the *Vere*, whilst the rest of the

Sea engagement betwixt the Portuguese and Dutch.



Baldæus. the *Dutch* veſſels did what they could to advance cloſer to the enemy; and at laſt having got the advantage of the ſea wind, they were for boarding the *Portugueſe* ſhips, having ſent the *Texel* and *Dolphin* frigats, two fire-ſhips, to get in among them; but theſe ſetting it before the wind, avoided that danger. The *Dutch* admiral *Weſterwold*, did his utmoſt in his ſhip the *Utrecht* to board the *Portugueſe* admiral; which he perceiving, retreated towards his ſquadron, which made the *Dutch* admiral ſet it with all the ſail he could make upon their vice-admiral, which he did with ſuch ſucceſs, that the *Portugueſe* was forced to cut his ſails and cables to get rid of his enemy, whilſt the whole *Portugueſe* ſquadron plied the *Dutch* admiral with their cannon, who thereby received conſiderable damage, eſpecially in his rigging. Our ſhip the *Vere* would have boarded the *St. Bartholomew*, but they got clear of one another; yet not without receiving a good broad-ſide from the ſhip the *Hague*; and the *Fliſſingen* finding the *Portugueſe* admiral engaged with theſe two ſhips, ſhe laid the *Bartholomew* aboard, and with the aſſiſtance of the *Hague* plied her ſo warmly, that ſhe was ſet on fire, the reſt of the *Portugueſe* ſhips retreating in the mean while towards the ſhore. Such was the violence of the flames, that notwithſtanding all the endeavours that were uſed, *Baldæus.* the *Hague* was alſo ſet on fire, and ſoon after the *Fliſſingen*, and were all three conſumed by the flames.

A Portugueſe ſhip with two Dutch veſſels ſet on fire.

The *Portugueſe* in the mean while taking the advantage of the confuſion, made the beſt of their way towards the road of *Goa*, being purſued for one league and an half by the *Rotterdam*, *Vere*, and *Texel*, cloſe under their forts; the reſt of our ſhips being buſied in ſaving the men from the danger of the fire, and in repairing their maſts and rigging; ſo that the victory remained on our ſide, which would have been very conſiderable, had the ſame been not allay'd by the burning of the two before-mentioned ſhips.

The loſs of the *Dutch* amounted to thirty five men, among whom were captain *Herman Wolters Baak*; beſides fifty wounded, among whom was the factor *James Nolpe*. The loſs on the *Portugueſe* ſide amounted to ſeventy eight *Portugueſe*, and one hundred and fifty *Miſtices* and negroes. Don *Lewis de Caſtelbranco*, and father *Laurence de Merinda*, a jeſuit, were taken priſoners, with ninety *Portugueſe*, and forty nine *Miſtices* and negroes, being ſaved by the ſame boats that came to ſave their own men, and exchanged afterwards for a captain and a factor, and eight other *Dutch-*

Loſs on both ſides.

Baldæus. *Dutchmen* belonging to the *Wieringen* yacht, (burnt near *Mallacca*,) beſides a ſum of two thouſand crowns paid to *Don Pedro de Silva* viceroy of the *Indies*. The 1ſt of *March* a *Portugueſe* carrack, half loaden with pepper and cinnamon, and bound for *Portugal*, immediately after the departure of the *Dutch* fleet was burnt by accident; and the galleon the *Madre de Deos*, underwent the ſame fate in *April* following, to the great detriment of the *Portugueſe*, whoſe naval force in the *Indies* was not a little impaired by the loſs of theſe three great ſhips.

The emperor of *Ceylon*'s deputies, who were preſent in the engagement, were ſurpriz'd at the bravery of the *Hollanders*, who with their ſmall ſhips durſt board the *Portugueſe*, ſo much ſtronger both in men and cannon. After the engagement the *Dutch* fleet came to an anchor near the iſlands on the ſouth-ſide of *Goa*, to refit their ſhips, and to venture a ſecond engagement. Soon after the *Hertogenboſch*, a brave veſſel, commanded by *William Jacob Koſter*, joined our fleet, coming lately from *Suratte* with a rich cargo of the beſt *Indian* ſtuffs, indigo, ſalt-peter, and other *Indian* commodities, valued at four hundred and twelve thouſand gilders at the firſt hand, which for meer ſafety ſake were diſperſed among the other veſſels. The 12th of *January* arrived likewiſe the ſhip *Henrietta Louiſa* from *Batavia*, having on board ſeventy ſix thouſand crowns, beſides other merchandizes for our factory of *Suratte*, and was ſent thither in company of the *Breda* and *Enchuyſen* yachts.

Baldæus. *The* Dutch *refit near the South iſles of* Goa. *Are reinforced with two ſhips.*

CHAP. XXI.

William Jacob Koſter *ſent to* Ceylon *by Admiral* Weſterwold. *The* Portugueſe *march to* Candy; *are totally routed by the Emperor. The* Dutch *beſiege* Batecalo.

A Dutch ſquadron ſent to Ceylon.

THE 23d of *January*, 1638. the *Falcon* yacht being likewiſe diſpatched to *Batavia*, with advice of the late engagement, and ſome merchandizes, as alſo the ſick and wounded to be diſpoſed in the hoſpital there, our ſquadron conſiſted only of ſeven capital ſhips and two yachts. But the *Dutch* admiral perceiving the *Portugueſe* to make not the leaſt preparations of attacking them a ſecond time, it was reſolved in a council of war, to ſend Mr. *William Jacob Koſter* commodore, with the *Texel*, the *Amſterdam*, and *Dolphin*, mann'd with one hundred and eighty men and ſeventy ſoldiers, to the iſle of *Ceylon*, to give notice to the emperor of the intended ſuccours againſt *May*, and in the mean while to offer his aſſiſtance in the ſiege of ſome fort, or other, belonging to the *Portugueſe*; for which purpoſe the admiral writ the following letter to his imperial majeſty.

Adam van Weſterwold, *counſellor extraordinary of the* Indies, *and admiral of the* Dutch *fleet, wiſhes the moſt potent emperor of* Ceylon, *king of* Candy, &c. *all happineſs and proſperity, with the utmoſt offer of his ſervice, for the throwing off the intolerable yoke of the* Portugueſe.

Moſt potent Emperor!

The Dutch *admiral's letter to the emperor of* Ceylon.

WHILST the illuſtrious general and council of the *Indies*, under the juriſdiction of the *United Provinces*, were employ'd in equipping a ſquadron of ſixteen ſhips, to be ſent from *Batavia* before *Goa*, in order to annoy our common enemies the *Portugueſe*, and to prevent their ſending any carracks or galleons, during the late northern *Mouſſon* to *Portugal*, the ſhip the *Huſduynen* arrived at *Batavia* from the coaſt of *Coromandel*, with letters from the governor of that coaſt; wherein was incloſed your majeſty's letter, dated at *Candy*, *Sept.* 9. 1636. The ſaid general and council of the *Indies*, having underſtood by theſe letters, the many treacheries and outrages committed by the *Portugueſe* in your majeſty's dominions; and that you were pleaſed to crave their aſſiſtance for the defence of your country, and rooting out our common enemies, offering for that purpoſe to have either *Batecalo* or *Cotiar* (which of the two we ſhould pitch upon) fortified at your own charge for our uſe, as likewiſe to give ſatisfaction for all the charge we ſhould be at in the equipment of ſuch ſhips as ſhould be ſent to your aſſiſtance: theſe propoſitions having been well weighed by the general and council of the *Indies*, it was reſolved by them, purſuant to the good inclinations they have to your majeſty, to comply with your deſires. And it appearing by your majeſty's letter, dated *November* 21. 1637. and ſent to me by the *Falcon* yacht, that you ſtill perſiſt in the ſame laudable ſentiments, I took immediate

Baldæus. "mediate care to ſend a veſſel and two "yachts, to advertiſe your majeſty of "our coming under the commodore *William Jacob Koſter*, the ſecond member "of my council, who is to treat with "your majeſty concerning our intended "deſign, and to concert meaſures which of "the *Portugueſe* forts may be moſt conve-"niently attacked at our arrival, and where "your majeſty's forces are to rendezvous, in "order to aſſiſt in the taking of the ſaid "forts; for which purpoſe a certain quantity "of ladders of bamboes, beſides ſome other "materials, muſt be got ready. Your ma-"jeſty's deputies who come with theſe ſhips, "will be able to give you a more compleat "account by word of mouth, concerning "our intentions. If the blockade of *Goa* "be raiſed by the end of *April*, I intend "(purſuant to the orders received from the "general and council of the *Indies*) to ſet "ſail in perſon with three of my biggeſt "ſhips well provided with men and am-"munition for *Ceylon*, to confer and treat "more amply with your majeſty concern-"ing our projected deſign. I hope your "majeſty will according to your promiſe, "order two ſhips cargoes of cinnamon "to be got ready againſt our arrival. I "wiſh your majeſty a long life, and vic-"tory againſt your enemies."

Commodore Koſter arrives in Ceylon.

The before-mentioned commodore *Koſter* having ſet ſail accordingly, *March* 17. from *Goa*, with the three ſhips, the *Texel*, *Little Amſterdam*, and *Dolphin*, came to an anchor the 2d of *April* following, near *Trinquenemale*, a harbour on the north ſide of the iſle of *Ceylon*, where the emperor's deputies being ſet aſhore, in order to deliver the admiral's letter at *Candy*, and give notice of the arrival of the *Dutch* ſhips, they underſtood, that the emperor immediately after the departure of the *Falcon* yacht, had cauſed a good quantity of cinnamon, wax, and pepper, to be laid up for our uſe. The *Portugueſe* had no ſooner notice thereof, but they ſent a letter to his majeſty, asking the reaſon, *Why he had ordered ſuch a quantity of merchandizes to be laid up, which, purſuant to the contract ſtipulated betwixt them, belonged only to them?* The emperor returned them no other anſwer, than *That he having promiſed the ſame to his friends the* Hollanders, *he would try who ſhould dare to oppoſe it.*

The Portugueſe put to a great nonplus.

This reſolute anſwer ſo nettled the *Portugueſe* at *Columbo*, that being now fully convinced of the confederacy betwixt the emperor and the *Dutch*; and that they muſt ſoon expect to be attacked at *Batecalo*, they were put to the greateſt nonplus, what reſolution to take in this preſent exigency of affairs. Some conſidering, that having *Baldæus.* ſcarce been able to cope with the emperor alone, they would not be able to reſiſt his efforts when ſuſtained by the *Dutch*, were of opinion to embark all their treaſure, men, and artillery, to demoliſh the fort, and ſet ſail for *Goa*.

But the braver ſort rejecting this propoſition as baſe, and inconſiſtent with their king's honour, reſolved, rather than thus to quit an iſle, which they had fixed themſelves in with the loſs of ſo much blood and treaſure, to venture the utmoſt, and die in the attempt. *Damijao Bottado*, who had laid the firſt foundation of the fortreſs of *Batecalo*, propoſed, among the reſt, That they ought to gather all their forces, and march up to *Candy*, before *Raja Singa* could be joined by the *Dutch*.

They march towards Candy.

This advice being approved of, they marched in *March* 1638. under the command of their general *Diego de Melo*, the before-mentioned *Damijao Bottado*, and the major-general *Sorde*, towards *Candy*.

Take and burn it.

The emperor having got notice of their march, retired from thence with all his people, leaving the city to their mercy, which they took without any oppoſition; and having plundered and burnt the ſame, directed their march to the mountains of *Gannor*, or *Gannero*, where they pitched their tents, their whole force conſiſting of two thouſand three hundred *Portugueſe* and *Miſtices*, and ſix thouſand negroes.

Are deſerted by the Cingalefe.

This it was that the emperor had ſo long looked for, who immediately ordered the road to *Walane*, and all other places through which they were to paſs, to be ſtopped, by laying great trees croſs the roads. The enemies finding themſelves reduced to theſe ſtraits, the *Cingaleſe* unanimouſly revolted to the emperor; ſo that the *Portugueſe* ſeeing not the leaſt hopes of eſcaping by force of arms, had recourſe to two friers, one a *Franciſcan*, and the other an *Auſtin* monk, who were ſent to endeavour to obtain them a free paſſage from the emperor to *Columbo*. But the emperor gave them ſuch an anſwer, that the friers thought it their ſafeſt way not to return to their camp; ſo that the *Portugueſe* finding themſelves paſt all reprieve, the general *de Melo* asked *Bottado* what was to be done, and which way they ſhould eſcape the danger into which they were drawn by his raſh advice, who gave him no other anſwer, than that they muſt die together.

The emperor *Raja Singa* in the mean while kept cloſe in his camp, watching all the opportunities of attacking them with the utmoſt advantage, which ſoon happened; for a violent ſtorm of rain (which he knew would render the *Portugueſe*

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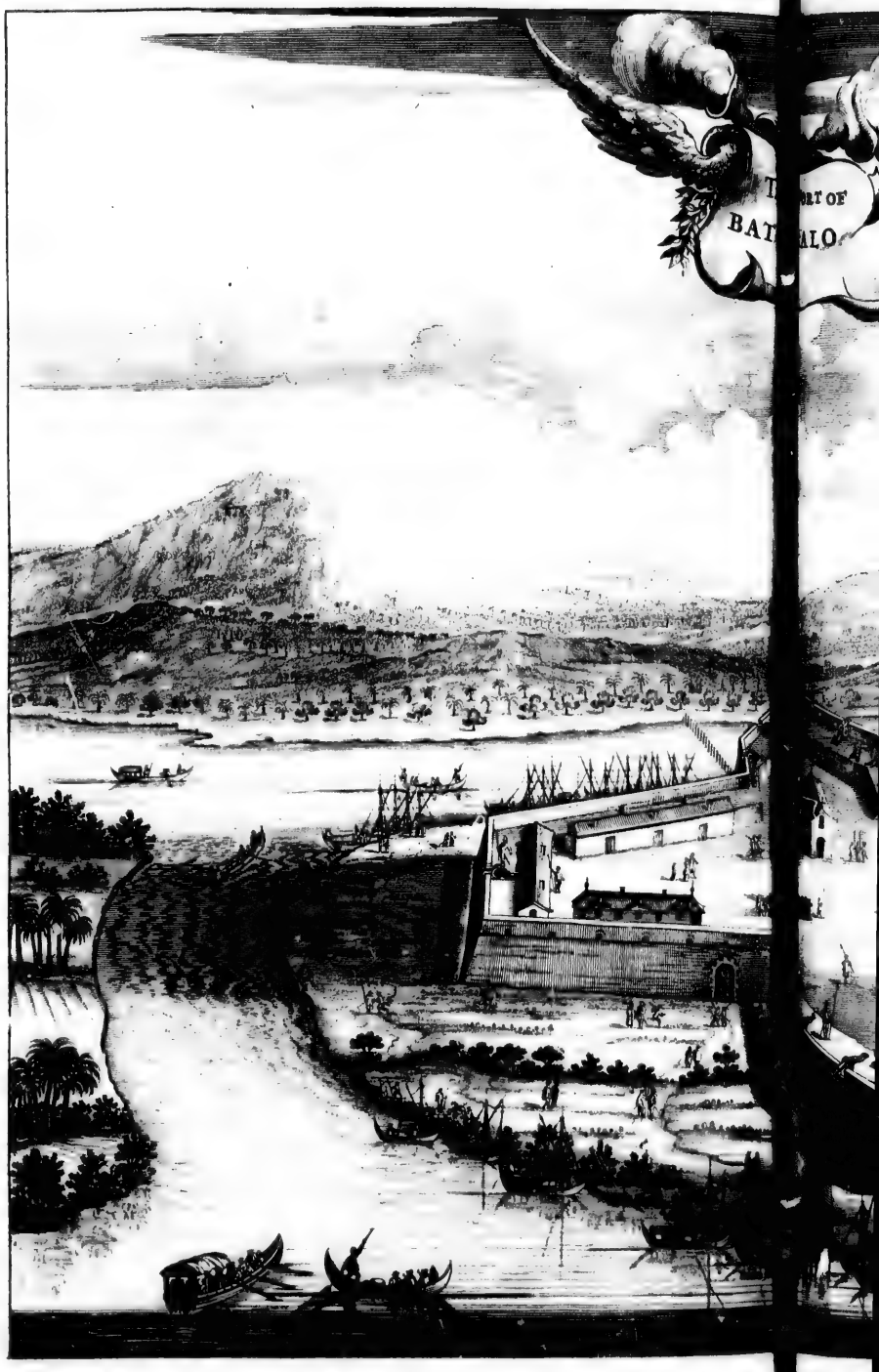
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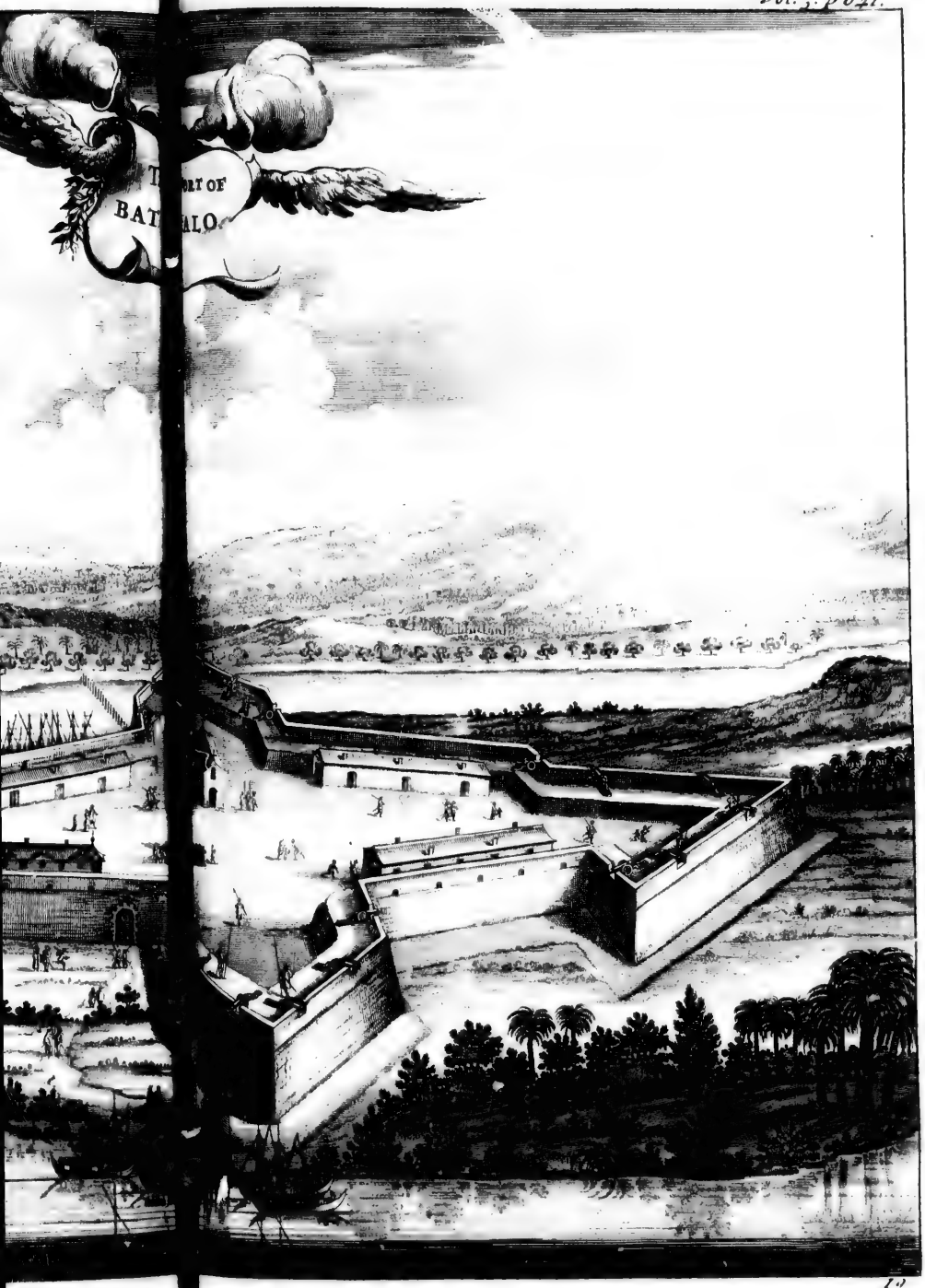
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Baldæus. *gueſe* firelocks in ſome manner uſeleſs) made him draw out his troops againſt the enemy; and putting the muſqueteers in front, he ordered them after the firſt diſcharge to retire, and give way to five thouſand bowmen of *Mangel-Corle*, who being ſuſtained by as many pikes, did break in with ſuch fury among the *Portugueſe*, that they ſoon put them into diſorder, and immediately after to the rout, with the ſlaughter of all the *Portugueſe*, except a very few who obtained mercy at the conqueror's hands, amounting in all not to above ſeventy perſons.

And put to the rout.

The emperor was a ſpectator of this engagement from a tree near the bank of a river, which ran betwixt him and the mountain of *Gannoor*, whither they brought the heads of the *Portugueſe* ſlain in the battle, which were heaped up in form of a pyramid before him. All the great officers of the *Portugueſe* loſt their lives near the mountain of *Gannoor*; and among them their general *de Melo*, whoſe ſword was afterwards preſented by the emperor to the admiral *Weſterwold*.

A pyramid of heads.

Baldæus.

In the mean while matters having been concerted with the *Modeliar*, or governor of *Mattaclape*, concerning the *Portugueſe* fortreſs of *Batecalo*, they ſet ſail thither; and having landed one hundred ſoldiers, and as many ſeamen in two troops, they ſoon raiſed two batteries with the aſſiſtance of the natives, one on the eaſt, the other on the ſouth-ſide of the fort, upon each of which were mounted four braſs demi-culverines; and the emperor having left the groſs of his army under the command of his brother the prince of *Mateli* to inveſt *Columbo*, joined our forces before *Batecalo*, *April* 14. in perſon, with a detachment of two thouſand men. Commodore *Koſter* being received by his imperial majeſty with all poſſible marks of honour, they immediately entered upon a debate, how to attack the fortreſs with the utmoſt vigour upon the arrival of the reſt of our ſhips.

Siege of Batecalo.

CHAP. XXII.

Adam Weſterwold's *Arrival in* Ceylon. Batecalo *taken.* *A Treaty betwixt the Emperor and Mr.* Weſterwold.

Weſterwold comes before Batecalo.

THE admiral *Weſterwold* having ſet ſail the 22d of *April* from before *Goa*, arrived at *Batecalo* the 10th of *May* with the ſhips the *Maeſtricht*, *Harderwick*, *Rotterdam*, *Vere*, and the *Enchuyſen* yacht, having on board eight hundred and forty men, officers, ſoldiers, and mariners. The next following day having landed his men, with ſix great pieces for battery, the ſame were mounted immediately, in order to facilitate the paſſage of their forces into the iſle upon which the fort was built: this being executed accordingly the 18th, and five hundred men brought over under favour of the cannon, which play'd inceſſantly for four hours upon the *Portugueſe*, they put out the white flag immediately, and ſent two deputies to capitulate with the *Dutch* admiral, which was ſoon done upon the following conditions: That they ſhould ſurrender the fort immediately, and be permitted to march out without arms or baggage. The *Portugueſe* and *Miſtices*, to the number of one hundred and eight, with their wives and children, to be tranſported in a *Dutch* veſſel to *Negapatan*, but the natives to be delivered up to the emperor; which was executed accordingly, fifty of them (who had murdered one of his majeſty's gentlemen) being empaled alive, and the reſt ſold for ſlaves with their wives and children.

Batecalo ſurrendered upon articles.

Severe puniſhment of the Cingalaſe.

The fort of *Batecalo* is ſeated in an iſle of about two *Dutch* leagues in compaſs, three leagues within the mouth of the river of *Batecalo*, which has given it its name. It was fortified with high ſtone walls and three paſſable baſtions, upon which were mounted eleven iron and braſs cannons, beſides ſome leſſer ones, with a ſuitable proportion of ammunition. We found in it rice ſufficient for two months; but their freſh-water being about a muſket-ſhot without the fortreſs, the dutch had made themſelves maſters of that ſpring. Commodore *Koſter* was made governor of the fort, with a garriſon of one hundred *Dutch* ſoldiers.

A deſcription of Batecalo.

After the taking of this fortreſs, the admiral *Weſterwold* made an alliance with the emperor of *Ceylon* in the name of their high and mightineſſes the ſtates-general of the *United Provinces*, his highneſs *Frederick* prince of *Orange*, and of the honourable *Eaſt-India* company, with the approbation of the general and council of the *Indies*, upon the following conditions:

I. A Firm and ſtedfaſt amity ſhall be maintained betwixt his majeſty and his ſubjects and the *Dutch* nation and their *Eaſt India* company, who ſhall aſſiſt his majeſty upon all occaſions againſt the *Portugueſe*.

Alliance betwixt the emperor of Ceylon and the Dutch.

The Impaling of Some rebells.

Baldæus. II. As often as any place or fort is taken by the *Dutch*, with the aſſiſtance of his majeſty, from the common enemy, the booty to be divided ſhare and ſhare alike. *Baldæus.*

III. After the taking of any forts, the *Dutch* ſhall provide the ſame with neceſſary garriſons and ammunition; and if any thing be wanting to compleat the fortifications, the ſame ſhall be done at the charge of his majeſty, as it ſhall be thought requiſite by the *Dutch*.

IV. His majeſty obliges himſelf to pay punctually every month their ſoldiers and officers.

V. As alſo to build in the conquered places or forts (where no houſes are before) a houſe of ſtone, (as the *Dutch* ſhall think fit,) to be uſed for a warehouſe, as alſo a magazine for their arms and naval ſtores.

VI. In caſe his majeſty deſigns any thing againſt the common enemy, the ſame is to be conſulted with our chief officers.

VII. For the ſecurity of the rivers, his majeſty is to furniſh a certain number of galleys and galley-ſlaves, which are to be provided with ſoldiers and ammunition by the *Dutch*.

VIII. His majeſty and his ſubjects oblige themſelves to make full reparation of the charges the *Dutch* have been at in equipping the preſent fleet, yachts, veſſels, &c. and furniſhing them with men, ſoldiers, officers, ammunition, proviſions, &c. or of ſuch other ſhips as the general and council ſhall for the future ſend to his majeſty's aſſiſtance into *Ceylon*, with their neceſſary men, ammunition, proviſions, &c. the charges whereof ſhall be reimburſed in cinnamon, pepper, cardamum, indigo, wax, rice, and ſuch other commodities as are of the product of his majeſty's dominions, except the *Mata* or *Wild cinnamon*. *Baldæus.*

IX. His majeſty, in reſpect of his friendſhip and good inclinations to the *Dutch* nation, allows them free paſſage and traffick in all his dominions, in the iſle of *Ceylon*, in all his cities, towns, villages, ſeaports, roads, bays, rivers, &c. with their veſſels, yachts, boats, &c. to buy, ſell, or exchange, import or export, without the leaſt moleſtation, or paying any cuſtoms under any pretence whatever. His majeſty's ſubjects ſhall not be permitted to ſell the *Dutch* any cinnamon, pepper, wax, and elephants teeth, except what is ſold by the emperor's order; who engages himſelf, that in caſe he ſhould have occaſion to ſell four, ten, twenty, or more elephants, he will procure them the like number at the ſame rate as they were ſold.

X. His majeſty, and all the great men of the empire promiſe not to allow their ſubjects

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Baldæus. ſubjects to traffick either with any *European* or *Eaſtern* nation, either by ſale or exchange, in ſuch commodities as are of the product of *Ceylon*, much leſs to permit the ſhips of theſe nations to tarry in the harbours of *Ceylon*, but to oblige them to depart forthwith. However the neighbouring nations of *Daucy* and *Tanjouwer* may paſs and repaſs freely with their veſſels to and from *Ceylon*.

XI. His majeſty obliges himſelf to ſend yearly to *Batavia* one or two ſhip-loads of cinnamon, pepper, cardamum, indigo, wax, &c. as a reimburſement of the charge beſtowed in the equipment of the veſſels ſent to his aſſiſtance; and in caſe the ſaid cargo ſhould amount to more than the charges, the ſurplus to be paid to his majeſty, either in ready money, or ſuch commodities as his majeſty ſhall think fit.

XII. His majeſty having granted full liberty for the *Dutch* merchants, to travel, traffick, buy, and ſell, the inhabitants ſhall be obliged to furniſh them with beaſts fit for carriage, for the carrying of ſuch goods as they have bought either to their warehouſes, or aboard their veſſels. Furthermore, the ſaid merchants or other *Hollanders* ſhall remain under the juriſdiction of the reſpective commanders or heads of their own nation, as the natives of *Ceylon* ſtand under the ſubjection of the emperor.

XIII. No body, without exception, that trades with the *Dutch* here, ſhall have freedom to ſell any ſuch commodities bought from them to others, before the *Dutch* have fully received their quota; and in caſe of contravention, the *Dutch* ſhall have a power to ſeize his perſon, and to compel him to produce the ſaid goods. Furthermore, in caſe any of the natives ſtand indebted to the *Dutch* for a conſiderable ſum, they ſhall be ſubject to the ſame treatment; with this proviſo nevertheleſs, that in caſe any of his majeſty's ſubjects be taken into cuſtody by the *Dutch*, notice ſhall be given thereof to the emperor or his governor.

XIV. No body, of what quality whatever, ſhall pretend to raiſe or diminiſh the coin, otherwiſe than has been agreed betwixt his majeſty and the *Dutch*; and ſuch as contravene this article on either ſide, ſhall without mercy be puniſhed with death and confiſcation of their eſtates to his majeſty's uſe.

XV. In caſe a *Hollander* ſhould fly into his majeſty's dominions, the ſame ſhall be delivered up; as on the other hand the ſame ſhall be done on our ſide, in caſe any of his majeſty's ſubjects ſhelter themſelves in our dominions.

XVI. After the concluſion of this treaty, neither his majeſty, nor any of his ſubjects, ſhall maintain any ſecret or publick commerce or correſpondence with the *Portugueſe*, *Baldæus.* our common enemies, much leſs to traffick with them under any pretence whatever, but look upon them as their conſtant declared enemies: and in caſe any of his majeſty's ſubjects ſhall be diſcovered to have ſold them any commodities, the tranſgreſſors ſhall be puniſhed with death.

XVII. His majeſty ſhall not ſuffer any prieſts, friers, or clergymen to dwell in his dominions, but oblige them to depart as the authors of all rebellions, and the ruin of governments.

XVIII. In caſe any *Dutch* ſhips employed in his majeſty's ſervice ſhall take any prizes from the enemies, the ſame ſhall belong to the *Eaſt-India* company, with this proviſo however, That the ſaid company ſhall alone bear all the damages ſuſtained by the ſaid ſhips in any of theſe engagements.

XIX. In caſe the *Dutch* furniſh any great cannon for the fortreſſes, or otherwiſe for his majeſty's ſervice, the ſame may be freely taken back, if occaſion requires, without any hindrance, and be brought aboard of ſhip, or otherwiſe, where it ſhall be thought moſt convenient.

XX. Tranſacted and concluded thus, in the preſence of his imperial majeſty of *Ceylon*, and of *Adam Weſterwold* member of the council of the *Indies*, and commodore of the ſquadron of ſhips on the coaſt of *Ceylon*; as alſo of *William Jacob Koſter*, vice-commodore of the ſaid ſquadron, at the royal palace, in the country of *Batecalo*, *May* 23. 1638.

Additional Article.

The *Dutch* oblige themſelves to ſhew all poſſible favour and aſſiſtance to ſuch veſſels, as ſhall go from hence with his majeſty's, or any of his governors paſſports to other harbours.

Signed,

Raja Singa Imperador,
Adam Weſterwold,
William Jacob Koſter.

Sealed with his majeſty's and Mr. *Weſterwold*'s ſeals.

Purſuant to this agreement his majeſty ordered four hundred balls of cinnamon, eighty ſeven quintals of wax, and three thouſand and fifty nine pounds of pepper, to be delivered to Mr. *Weſterwold*, in part of the reimburſement of charges they had been at, promiſing to deliver the reſt, as ſoon as it could be brought together at the ſeaport of *Samature*; and to haſten the ratification of the ſaid alliance, his majeſty ſent two ambaſſadors to *Batavia*, in company of *Ratification of the ſaid alliance.*

Baldæus. of Mr. *Weſterwold*, with ſome preſents to the general and council of the *Indies*; who being honourably received and treated there, were afterwards ſent back with letters and preſents for his majeſty, with the yachts the *Griipskerk*, *Faulcon*, and *Venlo*, bound for the coaſt of *Coromandel*.

The emperor's army, in the mean while, being about twenty thouſand ſtrong, continued before *Columbo*; and the *Portugueſe* having been very unſucceſsful in divers ſallies, it was more than probable that this place (though the capital city of the *Portugueſe* in this iſle) would be forced to ſurrender upon the arrival of the expected *Dutch* fleet under the admiral *Anthony de Caan*. *Baldæus.* *Columbo beſieged.*

CHAP. XXIII.

Puntegala *taken by Storm by* William Jacob Koſter. Caleture *beſieged.*

Puntegale beſieged. THE 8th of *March*, commodore *Koſter* being come to an anchor about noon in the bay of *Puntegale*, under the enemies cannon, he landed his men before night on the north-ſide without any reſiſtance. Intelligence was brought by ſome negroes, that they expected a reinforcement in the city of two hundred and fifty *Portugueſe* from *Columbo*; notwithſtanding which the *Dutch* divided their forces into three bodies, and advanced cloſe under the fort: the 9th early in the morning, they were attacked by the ſaid *Portugueſe*, whom they repulſed, though not without ſome loſs. Nevertheleſs they kept our forces in conſtant alarm, thoſe of *Candy* being the 11th of *March* advanced no further than *Billigamme*, ſix leagues from *Gale*; but (through God's ſingular mercy) three of our ſhips, *viz.* the *Harlem*, *Middleburgh*, and *Breda*, coming on the ſame day to anchor in the bay, and landed four hundred men, as well ſoldiers as ſeamen, we were ſoon exempted from all fear.

The 12th finding they had made a ſufficient breach in the baſtion of *St. Jago*, they began to make all neceſſary preparations for the ſtorming of the place, which

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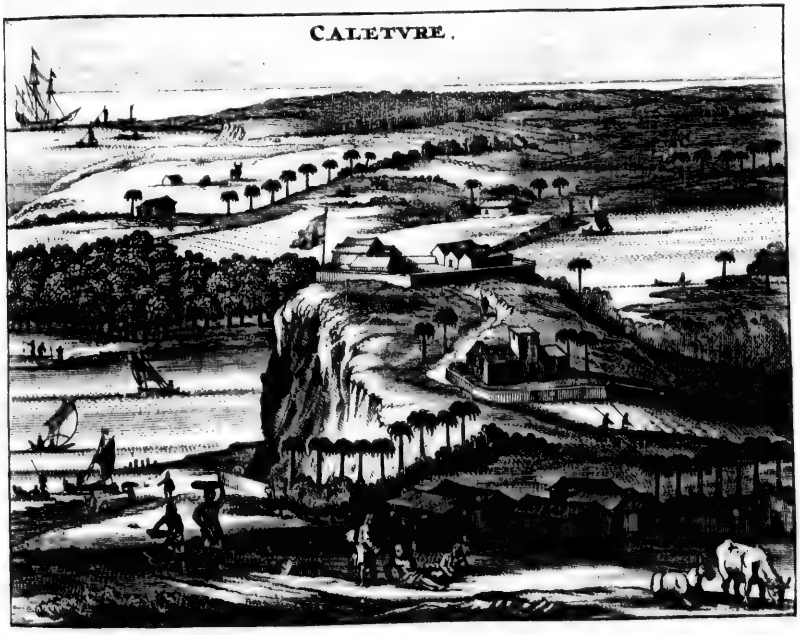
The City of Galle

Baldæus. was done accordingly the 13th with ſuch undaunted bravery, that, after an hour and half's ſtout reſiſtance, it was taken by aſſault. This city was afterwards, *viz.* 1663, and 1664. rendered almoſt impregnable by the *Dutch* by ſeveral additional fortifications; and this day is ever ſince celebrated yearly by a ſolemn thankſgiving.

Mr. *Koſter* (who was treacherouſly murdered by the *Cingaleſe*, as *Sebald de Weert* was by his own imprudence) was ſucceeded by *John Thiiſſen*, who is yet living, and has rendered himſelf famous for his many ſervices done to the company in thoſe parts. In his ſtead came *John Maatzuyker*, ſince governor of the *Indies*, who has ſerved in that ſtation fifteen years. He was ſucceeded by *Jacob van Kittenſtein*, in the preſidentſhip of *Gale*; (the affairs of the company hitherto not admitting of the quality of a governor here) who died afterwards at *Batavia*, and was ſucceeded by *Adrian van der Meyden*, in whoſe time *Caleture*, *Columbo*, *Manaar*, and *Jafnapatnam*, were taken. He was ſucceeded by *Rylof van Goens* and *Jacob Huſtart*; by which time the company having conſiderably enlarged their limits in this iſle, a governor was conſtituted at *Columbo*, the city of *Gale* being left to the management of a commander in chief, the firſt in that ſtation being one *Ybrand Gotsken*, a native of the *Hague*, a brave ſoldier, ſufficiently known for his ſignal ſervices done at the ſieges of *Columbo*, *Manaar*, *Jafnapatnam*, and *Cochin*, whereof he was governor afterwards, and ſince chief director in *Perſia*. *Adrian Roothaas* his ſucceſſor is a perſon who has rendered his name famous by ſea, eſpecially in the *Levant* and before *Goa*, as the former had done by land. *Baldæus.*

Gale has a commodious bay, fit for anchorage, except that with a ſouth-weſt wind the ſea runs very hollow there. At the very entrance of the harbour lies a dangerous rock, near to which all ſhips muſt paſs, and againſt which the *Hercules*, one of our ſhips was ſtav'd to pieces. There is no coming into the bay, unleſs you paſs by the water-fort, which is well provided with cannon for the ſecurity of the harbour. The fortifications of the city it ſelf conſiſt only in three baſtions, the reſt being ſo incloſed with the ſea and rocks, that there is no approaching to it, even with the ſmalleſt boats. On the top of a rock, which jets out into the ſea, is a lanthorn, and an iron cannon, wherewith they give warning to the ſhips; and near it you ſee the company's flag diſplayed. The city is well built of ſtone, very high, with goodly houſes, a ſtately church, pleaſant gardens, and moſt delicious ſprings; the mountains which ſurround it, affording a pleaſant proſpect; *A deſcription of Gale.*

CALETVRE.



Baldæus. over which you paſs through roads cut out of the rocks, called by them *Gravettes*.

Caleture.

About a days journey from *Gale* ſtands the fort of *Caleture*, in a moſt delightful country, near the entrance of a large and broad river, on the ſea-ſhore, ſurrounded by a double ſtrong wall of earth. It was reduced by the director-general *Gerard Hulſt*, *Oct.* 15. 1655. in the following manner.

It inveſted by the Dutch.

Having rendezvouſed his forces, conſiſting of five hundred ninety three men near *Bentotte*, and being joined the 28th of *September* by ſome more troops under *Chriſtopher Egger*, *Leonard Wiltſchut*, and *Melchior van Schoonbeek*, they directed their march towards *Caleture*. But being informed that the enemy were reſolved to make a vigorous defence, and our artillery being not yet come up, it was thought adviſable to detach captain *Abraham Cous* and *Jurian Gevels* with five companies, to ſecure the paſs of *Oucatte* over the river, thereby to prevent the enemy from receiving any ſupplies, till the arrival of our ſhips, that were expected every day with more forces.

The 29th we took a view of all the avenues leading to the place; and guards being placed in all convenient poſts, the factor *Renier Serooskerken* and Mr. *Ybrand Godsken* were diſpatched to our ſhips, to ſend us the neceſſary artillery and ammunition.

The 5th of *October* advice was brought by two of the natives, that the gariſon, conſiſting of three hundred men, was but ſlenderly provided with proviſions, their whole ſtore conſiſting only in 50 * *Parras*, and two ſmall packs of dried fiſh; and that they were forced to live upon *Canjies*, or water and rice.

* *Each* Parra *is forty pound.*

The 6th of *October* after we had mounted ſome great guns upon our batteries, a certain † *Topas*, who had been ſecretary to captain *Marcello Fialho*, came over to us, who diſcovered to the general *Hulſt* the whole ſtrength of the enemy, and the names of their officers; adding, that four or five days before his departur, there were about 210 *Parras* of rice in the ſtore-houſe, whereof they diſtributed a certain quantity to each ſoldier every day, and to the king's negroes, called * *Caffers*, a quart a piece: That they had no *Laſcaryns* in the place, and, as he believed, could not hold it above ten days, though they ſeemed reſolved to defend it to the laſt extremity, in hopes of being relieved the next week by *Caſpar Figeiro*.

† *A* Topas *is the ſon of a* Portugueſe *and an* Indian *woman.*

* Caffers *are* Negroes *like thoſe of* Angola.

The ſame day major *John van der Laan* brought word, That all was well ſecured on his attack; and captain *James Swart*, and the factor *Abraham Hartman* brought up, with ſixty ſeamen, the two great cannons that were left behind. Captain *Dianteiro* was alſo detached with forty *Dutch* ſoldiers, and a good number of *Laſcaryns*, to the paſs of *Wellikande*, and the general *Gerard Hulſt*, with Mr. *Adrian van der Meyden*, having taken a view of our batteries, did go to take a view of the paſs near *Palletotte*, where, as well as on the other ſide, they found every thing to their ſatisfaction, ſeven hundred fifty ſix men being imployed on that ſide. *Baldæus.*

The 7th of *October* they went up the river as far as *Wellikande*, to ſee whether the enemy could receive any ſupplies of proviſions by the brook, or from above by the way of *Anguratotte* and *Tiboene*; but found it not feaſible, by reaſon of the ſhallowneſs of the water. However, five ferry-boats were ſhewed them in the narroweſt places of the river, where, having placed ſome *Laſcaryns*, they committed the management thereof to Mr. *John van der Laan*. The 11th of *October*, a mortar of a large ſize, and a twelve pounder, were mounted on the battery; and Mr. *John van der Laan* came to tell the general, that the ſecond battery would be ready to play on his ſide the ſame night.

The 14th, in the morning, we ſaw a *Portugueſe* lieutenant and drummer, with a white flag, coming out of the fort, ſent by *Anthonio Mendes d'Aranha*, their commander in chief, with the following letter.

"HAving for ſeveral days paſt diſcharged our truſt as a captain ought to do, and finding you not ſo furiouſly imployed to day, I thought fit to take this opportunity, to try whether you would treat with me according to the cuſtom of war; for which purpoſe, I have ſent you a truſty perſon. In the mean while all hoſtilities ſhall ceaſe on our ſide, hoping the ſame from you. We recommend you to God's protection. *Caleture*, Oct. 14. 1655."

They offer to capitulate.

Anthonio Mendes d'Aranha.

A ceſſation of arms being agreed upon, *Martin Sholtes*, an enſign, was ſent back with the *Portugueſe* officer, to treat about the conditions, whilſt a meſſenger was diſpatched with a letter to the *Diſſave* (or deputy-governor) of *Saffra Gamme*, to deſire him to have it rumour'd abroad, that the *Portugueſe* in *Caleture*, had lately been ſupplied with proviſions; in hopes thereby to amuſe *Caſpar Figeiro*, (who ſtood with his forces near *Moutapelle*,) not to haſten to their relief.

The capitulation was ſoon after concluded upon the following terms:

"THE ſoldiers to march out with their matches not lighted, balls in the mouth, and enſigns diſplay'd; the officers

Articles of the capitulation.

Baldæus. "cers with their ſcarfs, which they ſhall lay down rolled up before the ſtandard of the company. All the great officers, to the captains inclusive, to be tranſported during this *Mouſſon* to *Goa*; the reſt of the officers and ſoldiers to *Batavia*, and from thence to *Portugal*, at the charge of the company. All the officers and ſoldiers ſhall be allowed to carry their baggage along with them; but their ſervants ſhall be left to the diſcretion of the *Dutch* general. All church ornaments ſhall be removed. All ſuch as have married *Portugueſe* women and the *Miſtices* ſhall be conducted to *Columbo*, or wherever elſe they think fit. But the *Laſcaryns* and *Negros*, whether married or unmarried, ſhall remain priſoners of war. The fathers and clergymen ſhall enjoy the ſame liberty as the higheſt officers, and ſhall be tranſported from *Caleture* on the ſame day. Theſe articles are to be ratified to morrow morning by ſun-riſing. All the ſuperior officers, including the captains, ſhall have liberty to take their ſwords along with them. It was ſigned,

Anthonio Mendes d'Aranha.
John Alonzo.

"After the ratification, it was thus ſubſcribed by both parties.

Gerard Hulſt.
Adrian van der Meyden.
John van der Laan.
Anthonio Mendes d'Aranha.
John Alonzo.

They march out. The 15th, early in the morning, the *Portugueſe* officer returned with the articles; towards noon the garriſon, conſiſting in nine companies, making in all, two hundred and fifty five men, marched out of the fort, and having paid their reverence with their enſigns as uſual, the ſoldiers were diſarmed. The companies were the following: The royal company, commanded by the captain-major *Marcello Fialbo*, conſiſted of thirty one *Portugueſe*; that of *John Anthonio Felhaon* of twenty ſeven; that of *Pedro de Barbos* of twenty eight; that of *Manuel Rodrigos* of twenty eight; that of *Diego Frois* of thirty ſix; that of *Jacomo Padraon* of twenty eight; that of *Manuel Mendes* of twenty ſeven; that of *Lewis Alvres Periero* of twenty four; and that of *Leonardo de Silva* of twenty ſix: in all two hundred fifty five. Baldæus.

Beſides the perſons of note living in the place, with their families, that were conducted to *Callamoende*, and fifty more that were with the governor *Anthonio Mendes d'Aranha*, (afterwards our priſoners at *Jafnapatnam*,) that were carried to *Gale*, the other ſuperior officers were ſent to *Macoene*, and the reſt kept under a good guard in the fort.

Immediately notice of this victory having been given to the emperor *Raja Singa*, general *Hulſt* and Mr. *Adrian van der Meyden* took a view of the fortifications of the place, whereat they were not a little ſurprized, and found therein, ten enſigns, five great guns, four braſs ones, ten eight and five pounders, and one iron eight pounder, forty barrels of gunpowder, two hundred and four bamboe canes filled, ſeven hundred and ten bullets, one hundred and eighty muskets, ſixty two pikes, ſeven cheſts with musket balls, another barrel with larger bullets, fit for muſquetoons, one hundred and ſixteen ammunition pouches, five muſquetoons, ſome fiery bullets; ſixty ſpades, and eight hatchets.

CHAP. XXIV.

Engagements near Paneture, *and near* Montual; *both to the Diſadvantage of the* Portugueſe.

Yabrand Godskens made governor of Caleture. YABRAND GODSKENS being conſtituted governour of *Caleture*, with a company to keep garriſon there major *John van der Laan* marched the 16th from the other ſide of the river, towards *Paneture*, being followed by the general and Mr. *Van der Meyden* with the reſt of the forces. In the duſk of the evening, we came up with the *Portugueſe*, whom we ſaluted ſo briskly with our firelocks, that they thought fit to retreat, leaving ſeventeen dead, and all their ammunition, with their ſtandard, behind them. On our ſide, we had fifteen wounded, beſides *Arent Janſz van Norden*, an enſign. According to the report of one of their captains, who was taken priſoner, they conſiſted of ſix companies, commanded by *Dominges Sermento*, captain-major of *Montual*, detached towards *Caleture* to ſecure this paſs till to morrow for *Caſpar Figeiro*, who was on his march at the head of ſix hundred men, to attempt the relief of that place. Whereupon it was thought convenient to make a halt betwixt *Paneture* and *Galkiſſe*, near a good ſpring, and there to expect the coming up of the reſt of their forces.

The

Baldæus. The same night, the moon shining very bright, a prisoner was brought into our camp, who being a native of *Antorf*, and well versed in the *Dutch* tongue, told the general, That he had served the king of *Portugal* eleven years; and that *Figeiro* would doubtless be with them by day-light.

An engagement betwixt the Dutch and Portuguese. The 17th, being *Sunday*, word being brought that the *Portuguese* were at hand, major *John van der Laan* and captain *Kous* were posted with five companies, and two field-pieces, on a convenient place, to receive the first shock of the enemy; whom, after a general discharge of their fire-arms and cannon, they received so warmly with sword-in-hand, that they were soon brought into confusion, and pursued as far as to the church, called *Nossa Senhora de Milagres*, i. e. *That of our Lady of Miracles*, with a slaughter of one hundred and fifty on the enemies side. Among our troops major *Van der Laan* was wounded in the cheek; and a gunner, two common soldiers, and a serjeant killed.

A second engagement. The 18th of *October* happened another engagement betwixt us and the *Portuguese*, near *Montual*. Our forces attacked them in their entrenchments, from whence they fired furiously upon them; but no sooner had they broke through their works, but they threw down their arms, and made the best of their way to *Columbo*, leaving all their ammunition behind them, and twenty two killed upon the spot; whereas we had not so much as one wounded on our side. We left two companies as a guard of the church of *St. Sebastian*; and advancing nearer towards *Columbo*, a body of *Portuguese* retreated in boats from *Montual* to *Columbo*, leaving the pass open to us, where we found three iron guns, and some cinnamon, and put a guard of sixteen soldiers in it under a serjeant.

Here we received intelligence, That of the whole body commanded by *Caspar Figeiro*, consisting of six hundred *Portuguese*, and sent from *Columbo* to the relief of *Caleture*, not above one hundred and sixty were returned to that city.

The 19th, before noon, some *Portuguese* being got into a coco-garden, some of our soldiers forced them to retire; but those of the city firing upon them, killed one of our serjeants, and wounded *Hans Christophers*, a lieutenant, and two common soldiers. The same day the general was certified, by letters from captain *Kous* and lieutenant *Wilstein*, that they had already told above three hundred slain of the *Portuguese* upon the roads; and that daily more heads and prisoners were brought in. They sent at the same time a waistcoat of *Caspar Figeiro*, wherein was the following letter:

Baldæus. Instructions to Caspar Figeiro.

"YOU are not ignorant of the resolution taken the 12th of *October* concerning your endeavours to relieve the fort of *Caleture*. All the forces we have been able to gather for this expedition consist in four hundred and twenty men, which we hope will prove sufficient, through the blessing of God and your good fortune and conduct, to make you return victorious. We leave the management of that affair to your approved experience, it being impossible for us to foresee all the circumstances and accidents that may attend a business of this nature. It must be your care to get frequent intelligence of the posture of the enemy, and how to bring the provisions laid up for the relief of the place at *Belantotte* into the fort; the success whereof you shall notify to us with the first opportunity, that we may send fresh supplies of rice both for your use, and of the garrison in the fort. If you can meet with any provisions in the country, you will not fail to seize them for your conveniency.

"In case you should prove successful in the relief of *Caleture*, you must join your forces, and the captain-major of the place must submit to your command. We do not question but you will not be wanting in your duty in a business of such vast moment, whereon depends the preservation and welfare not only of this city, but also of the whole isle.

"If after the relief of *Caleture* you find, that for want of provisions, or for other weighty reasons, the fort is not to be maintained, you shall agree among yourselves what is fittest to be done for his majesty's interest, whether it be not the best way to bring the fortifications into a narrower compass, and leaving only one hundred and fifty men for the defence thereof, to join the rest with your body.

"If you find it impracticable to bring any supplies into the fort, you shall entrench yourself at a convenient distance, and from thence give notice to *Anthonio Mendes d'Aranha* the governor, that he shall nail up all the cannon, destroy all the ammunition, and make the best of his way to your camp, thereby to preserve such brave troops, on whom, in some measure, depends the defence of this city."

Columbo, Oct. 13. 1655. Signed,

Antonio de Souza Coutinho.

And

Baldæus.

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Baldæus.

And lower.

" Juſt upon the concluſion of theſe preſents we have received the expected ſuccours from the *Indian* coaſt, which conſiſting of two hundred men, is to be joined with your troops. We recommend you to God's protection."

Baldæus.

Columbo, Oct. 15. 1655.

CHAP. XXV.

A famous Highwayman taken. The Beginning of the Siege of Columbo. *The Emperor offers the* Dutch *his Aſſiſtance: His Letter to the* Dutch *General.*

ABOUT the ſame time arrived three *Apahamies*,* and as many *Haraties*,† with ſome *Laſcaryns*,‖ from the imperial court; and the *Diſſave** of *Saffragamme*, with letters from Mr. *Joris Hervendonk* our reſident at *Candy*, intimating that he had been commanded by his majeſty to notify his being ill of an ague; and that he hoped before long to be with all his nobility at *Columbo*. In return of which, another letter was ſent to his majeſty, to notify our victory over the enemy.

*Apahamie is an officer of note. †Haratie is a ſervant. ‖Laſcaryn a common ſoldier. *Diſſave a governor.

A famous robber taken.

The ſame day advice was brought that the famous highwayman, *Franciſco Anthunes*, was fallen into the hands of ſome of our *Laſcaryns*; wherefore a detachment was ordered to bring him into the camp; but either through the cold and inconveniencies of the journey, or rather out of fear, he died by the way, and was buried.

A thankſgiving day.

About the ſame day a thankſgiving-day was alſo appointed to be held the 28th of *October*, to return thanks to God for having bleſſed our arms with ſucceſs, and begging his mercy for the future.

The 21ſt the general, with ſome other officers of note, having taken a view of the ſituation of the city of *Columbo* at *Quia de Lobo*, ordered all ſorts of materials to be brought thither from *Montual*, for the raiſing of a battery, and hired fifty pioneers for that purpoſe.

The 22d the *Diſſave* of *Saffragamme* appeared in perſon in a houſe formerly belonging to *Diego Melo de Caſtro*, governor of *Columbo*, offering certain ſupplies of men from his majeſty, which was thankfully received by the general.

The 23d another battery was erected near the church of *St. Sebaſtian*.

Two days after came into the camp the emperor's *Diſſave* of the four *Corles* at the head of ſeven hundred men; and the ſame evening the general received a letter, writ with his majeſty's own hand, and brought by one of his own poſt-men. It was curiouſly perfumed with all ſorts of ſpices, and on each ſide you ſaw the figure of a woman, with her hands folded, lifting her eyes up to heaven, being an anſwer to Mr. *Adrian van der Meyden*'s letter writ to his majeſty from *Batecalo*. The king ſeemed not well ſatisfied, that the ſaid letter had not been wrapped in white linnen as uſual; and that ſome of his titles had not been inſerted; yet he teſtified his ſatisfaction about the arrival of the *Dutch* fleet, alledging for the reſt, " That purſuant to the promiſe made him " by Mr. *Jacob Kittenſtein*, and the agree- " ment with him and *Adrian van der Mey-* " *den*, the city was to be delivered into " his hands: but that as he made no great " account thereof, he was ſatisfied, provid- " ed they would allow him the honour of " the conqueſt, which he would acknow- " ledge upon all occaſions." In the concluſion of the letter he told them, " That he " had ordered lodgings to be prepared for " them in all the places through which they " were to paſs."

The 26th we were buſy in mounting the cannon upon a battery, and had four men wounded, and one killed. The ſame day we received a ſupply of ammunition and proviſion, brought aboard the *Lion* yacht to *Puntegale*. *Sunday* the 28th, after ſermon, a deſerter with a negro came into the camp from the city, who having made his eſcape through the fens, told the general, That *Caſpar Figeiro* was by the governor of *Columbo* welcomed with theſe words: *You deſerve to be hanged*; and that he had alledged many falſhoods in his defence, and among the reſt, *That he could not attack us, becauſe we were ſo deeply entrenched near the ſea-ſhore.*

Welcome Figeiro at Columbo.

The ſame day the emperor's *Diſſave* of the ſeven *Corles* arrived in the camp with five hundred men, who, together with the other *Laſcaryns*, were employ'd in carrying ammunition.

The 29th a deſerter came over to us from the city: his name was *Herman Lucas*, a native of *Hertogenbuſh*; who having formerly deſerted our ſervice at *Gale*, in company of one named *Walraven*, had obtained the name of *John de Roſa* among the *Portugueſe*; but having had the misfortune of killing

A noted deſerter gives an account of the condition at Columbo.

Baldæus. another at *Columbo*, was ſled to *Candy*, where he pretended to have been ſent by the governor, to view the outworks of the place. He gave the general an account of divers remarkable paſſages, and among the reſt, that he had been preſent in the engagement which happened the 17th; and that of that whole body, not above one hundred and fifty *Portugueſe* returned to *Columbo*, where there were as yet nine companies, amounting in all, with the citizens able to bear arms, to eight hundred men; that the governor was highly concerned at the loſs of theſe troops, and the enſuing ſiege, eſpecially ſince ſome of the citizens ſhewed no great inclination to fight. We play'd the ſame day very furiouſly upon the city, and the battery raiſed againſt *St. Sebaſtian* was likewiſe brought to perfection.

Columbo furiouſly plied with great cannon.

The next following day a certain *Portugueſe* priſoner was brought into the camp; he was ſent from *Milagre*, and had lived fourteen days upon graſs and herbs in the woods. The 3d of *November* a carpenter and cannoneer were killed by a cannon-ſhot upon the battery raiſed at *Quia de Lobo*; and the ſame afternoon the ſloop, called the *Delft*, arrived from *Caleture* with powder. About the ſame time a deſerter came to us out of the city; but being lately come from *Goa*, he could tell no great matter. The ſame evening the ſhip, called the *Brownfiſh*, arrived with letters from *Laurence Pit*, governor of the coaſt of *Coromandel*, having on board forty four thouſand five hundred and forty four pounds of gun-powder: ſhe brought alſo advice, that the yacht the *Popkensburg* was ſafely arrived at *Gale*, but that they had no news of the ſhip called the *Haddock*. The ſame night we were buſy in raiſing a battery near the ſea-ſhore.

The 4th of *November*, early in the morning, news was brought to the general from *Negumbo*, That, according to the report of certain inhabitants of *Annarolundane*, twelve ſail of ſhips were diſcovered off of *Chilaon*; whereupon immediate orders were given to the commodore *Edward Hauw*, to uſe all poſſible endeavours to get intelligence thereof: the ſame was alſo recommended to the head-factor of *Gale*, *John Kroon*, and to be upon his guard. The ſame afternoon, a cannon bullet from the baſtion of *St. Stephen*, paſſing through a gallery of the church of *Quia de Lobo*, whilſt the ſurgeons were dreſſing ſome wounded ſoldiers, a ſoldier was killed, two others had their arms ſhot off, and three more were dangerouſly wounded.

News of twelve ſail being diſcovered.

About the ſame time *Tenecon Apubamy*, came in the quality of the emperor's meſſenger, with a breaſt ſhield of gold, beſet with precious ſtones, and faſtened to a gold chain, and brought the following letter from his majeſty to the general. *Baldæus.*

The emperor's letter to general Hulſt.

" RAJA *Singa*, the greateſt monarch and moſt potent emperor of the empire of *Ceylon*, wiſhes health to *Gerard Hulſt*, admiral of the fleet, belonging to the moſt faithful nation of the *Dutch*.

" By the letters ſent to me from the governor of our fortreſs of *Gale*, I have underſtood, that immediately after your arrival with the *Dutch* fleet there, you have made yourſelf maſter of the fort of *Caleture*; and that one half of the *Portugueſe* priſoners were ſent aboard a ſhip, the reſt being reſerved for our ſervice. The news of your ſucceſs in the engagement betwixt *Caleture* and *Columbo*, without any conſiderable loſs on the ſide of our faithful *Hollanders*, being likewiſe received by me with ſingular ſatisfaction, I ſent immediate orders to all my *Diſſaves* (governors) and chief commanders to bring into the field all the forces of our empire. In the mean while I received an *Ola* (letter) from the *Diſſave* of *Saffragamme*, dated *Oct.* 23. wherein he informs me, That having been ſent for by your excellency, you enquired after my health, telling him at the ſame time that you were come to no other end, than to deliver the cities of *Columbo*, *Manaar*, and *Jafnapatnam* into our hands; which done, you would in perſon appear in our imperial majeſty's preſence. I have been very ill for many days paſt, which however has not prevented my taking the neceſſary meaſures for the raiſing of the forces of the empire. No ſooner had I received the welcome news of your excellency, but I was in a manner immediately reſtored to my former health, being now twice as ſtrong as before, and able (through God's mercy) to aſſiſt in perſon in the intended expedition, which I intend to begin the 2d of *November*. I have ſent with this letter one of the officers of our court, to enquire after your excellency's health, and to bring you a preſent from me; which I hope your excellency will value, not ſo much in regard of its value, as in reſpect of the love and good inclination of the giver."

Dated at our imperial court in the city of Candy, *Oct.* 29. 1655.

Raja Singa Raju, *moſt potent emperor of* Ceylon.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

Resolutions and Instructions concerning the intended General Assault upon the City of Columbo.

Baldæus. THE 9th of *November* a new battery, with four great brass cannon, having began to play against *St. Stephen's* bastion, a general council of war was called of all the chief officers, in order to consult, (after having implored the divine assistance,) Whether it were convenient to venture a general assault upon *Columbo:* the general having openly declared, that every one there present should be at his full liberty to discover his real sentiments concerning this great undertaking; it was agreed by unanimous consent, that seeing the alacrity of the soldiers, it was convenient to attempt a general assault.

A general assault is agreed upon by general voices.

Soon after the general dispatched a trumpeter, bearing a flag of truce in his hand, to the *Portuguese* governor, *Anthony de de Souza Coutinho*, with the following letter:

The Dutch general's letter to the governor of Columbo.

" THE success that has attended our
" arms in the taking of *Caleture*, and
" the defeat of the troops under *Caspar Fi-*
" *geiro*, near the shore of *Panature*, together
" with the advantages obtained already
" in the siege of *Columbo*, may, as I sup-
" pose, sufficiently entitle me to demand,
" without vanity, the delivering up of the
" city, in the name of his imperial majesty
" *RajaSinga*, and the most noble *Dutch East-*
" *India* company. I hope your excellency
" will not put a wrong interpretation upon
" this demand, when you consider, that
" pursuant to the tenor of your own letters
" sent to *Don Anthonio Mendes d'Aranha*,
" and *Caspar Figeiro*, the first dated *Sep-*
" *tember* 30. and the second the 13th and
" 15th of *October*, (both which are fallen
" into our hands,) you were then sufficiently
" sensible, that the defence of *Columbo* de-
" pended on the preservation of the forces
" in *Caleture*, and those under the com-
" mand of *Caspar Figeiro*. It is upon this
" score that I am of opinion, I do not put
" the least blemish upon your courage,
" since being bereaved of these means, you
" have nevertheless given such ample proofs
" of your zeal and bravery in the defence
" of this place. My request is only founded
" upon this, To avoid the effusion of inno-
" cent blood, the almost necessary conse-
" quence and and unavoidable fate of all
" places taken by assault, it being sufficient-
" ly known, that the fury of the con-
" quering soldiers is not easily stopped upon
" those occasions.

Baldæus.

Nov. 9. *Gerard Hulst.*

The trumpeter returning a little while after, told, That coming near to *St. John's* bastion, the letter was taken from him by a *Portuguese* officer; who assured him that the governor should return an answer the next day: hereupon the cannon being ordered to play as before, three companies under the lieutenants *William de Wit*, *Henry Gerritsz*, and *Christopher Egger*, were sent to *Montual*, in order to be put on board the two yachts, the *Ter Goes* and the *Erasmus*.

The 10th of *November* an answer was sent to the general upon his letter.

The governor's answer.

" AS God Almighty disposes the
" chances of war according to his
" pleasure, so he may as well declare now
" for our side, as he has done for you before:
" the place you require belongs to the
" king of *Portugal*, my master, who ha-
" ving entrusted me with the same, I must
" be accountable to him for it. The rea-
" sons alledged by your excellency are not
" sufficient to move me to lay aside the
" defence of this city; not questioning, but
" that time and experience will convince
" you, that our condition at present is much
" beyond what you imagine. I recom-
" mend you to God's protection.

Nov. 9. *Antonio de Souza Coutinho.*

After the receipt of this resolute answer, the general thought fit to give the following instructions for the intended general assault.

Instructions for the general assault.

" The yachts, *viz.* the *Maid of Enchuy-*
" *sen*, commanded by *Volkert Adrian Shram*,
" (who afterwards rendered himself so fa-
" mous in the north, during the *English* fault.
" war,) and the *Workum*, *Arent Groenfield*
" commander, shall approach into the bay,
" as near to the water-fort as possibly they
" can; for which purpose they shall be pro-
" vided with one hundred and ten chosen
" seamen, five thousand pounds of gun-
" powder, and with shot in proportion.

" The yachts shall anchor in any part
" of the bay, where they can best annoy
" the water-fort, and under favour of their
cannon

Baldæus. " cannon land their men. For this purpose " the yachts the *Ter Goes* and *Erasmus*, shall " keep within cannon-shot of the other two " yachts, and have aboard, besides their " ship's crew, one hundred landmen each, " *viz.* the companies of *William de Wit*, *Henry* " *Gerritsz*, and *Christopher Egger*, in order " to land, in conjunction with the men of " the other yachts. The boats, tenders, " and other small vessels, shall keep near the " before-mentioned ships, viz. the tender " the *Amsterdam* with her sloop, near the " *Ter Goes*, and the sloop the *Wesel* the " boat of the *Marygoldflower*, with her " sloop the *Delft*, and the tender the *Naar-* " *den* with the rest. The tenders the *Hair* " and *Brownfish* shall keep near the shore, " to be ready upon all occasions to carry " advice where it shall be thought necessa- " ry. In short, all the boats shall attend " the vessels that are engaged against the " fort, in order to save their men, in case " any of them should be sunk or disabled. " When the companies standard is fixed " above the red flag, this shall be the signal " of landing: if the said standard is set up " on the mainmast-yard's arm, it shall be " the signal for the boats to come to succour " the ship, she being in danger of sinking.

" When the prince's standard is set up on " the ramparts, it is a sign that we are " masters of that part of the fortifications, " when the attack, either upon the castle or " fort may cease, till the said standard be " set up in captain *Kuylenburgh*'s quarters, " near the sea-shore; this being intended " for a signal, that we are also masters of " the town on the land-side, when the of- " ficers in their respective attacks may either " stop or go forward, according as it shall " be thought convenient by the majority of " voices.

" Whilst the ships the *Maid of Enchuysen* " and *Workum* are under sail to enter the " bay, all the rest of the ships shall weigh " their anchors, and put up the red flag, " as if they would enter the bay, but keep " without cannon-shot. So soon as the " forces are landed, all the officers, soldiers, " and seamen, shall obey Mr. *Adrian Roo-* " *thaus*, as their supreme commander.

" Whilst the ships and men are engaged " against the water-fort, the city is to be " assaulted at the same time, near the sea- " shore, at the bastion of *St. John*, and on Baldæus. " the land-side near the gate of *Rajuha*: " the attack upon the bastion of *St. John* " shall be commanded by captain *Kous*, and " the other by captain *Kuylenburgh*, either " of them to be seconded, as occasion re- " quires, by Mr. *John van der Laan*, the " companies of *Kuylenburgh*, *Govert Quar-* " *tel*, *Jurian Gevel*, *Andrew Steckens*, *Lam-* " *bert Steenhagen*, *Hans Christopher*, *Joa-* " *chim Block*, *Melchior van Schonenbeck*, " and *John Moll*, with thirty six *Javanese*, " and half a company of *Bandanese*, to be " employ'd in the assault of the first bastion: " the scaling-ladders shall be carried and " fixed by the *Bandanese*, *Javanese*, and " *Mardykers*, mixed with some *Dutch* " seamen, armed with hand-granadoes, " pikes, and hangers. The bastions of " *Clergos* and *St. Philippo*, near that of *St.* " *Sebastian*, (at the gate of *Rajuha*,) shall " be attacked by the companies of captain " *Westrenen*, lieutenant *Wildschut*, *John* " *Hartman*, *John Cooper*, *Hardenbergh* " *Roggenkamp*, *James Alenbier*, *Diedelof* " *van der Beek*, *Henry Broekhuysen*, *John* " *Coertsen*, with the *Javanese*, half a com- " pany of *Bandanese*, and the company com- " manded by captain *Ruysch*.

" Captain *Westrenen* shall command the " attack against the bastion of *Clergos*, and " captain *Ruysch* that of *St. Philippo* to be " seconded by fresh forces, as occasion re- " quires. The *Bandanese*, *Javanese*, and " *Mardykers*, in conjunction with the *Dutch* " seamen, shall fix the scaling-ladders, and " the *Lascaryns* of *Ceylon* be employed in " carrying off the slain."

About the same time we received intelli- gence, that the *Portuguese* succours were ar- rived at *Goa*; and that they intended to come to the relief of *Columbo*: word whereof was sent immediately to *Gale* to be upon their guard, for fear of a surprize. The 11th of *November*, (the day appointed for the general assault,) it being calm, so that the ships could not enter the bay, the same was deferred till the next day, though we did not cease in the mean time to play more furiously with our cannon than ever before; and we observed that the enemy had taken in their red flag upon the bastion of *St. Crus*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

A General Assault both by Sea and Land made upon Columbo; *but without Success. Letters from* Raja Singa *to the General.* Dutch *Prisoners come out of* Columbo.

Baldæus. THE 12th, by break of day, the *Maid of Enchuysen*, and soon after the *Workum*, being followed by the *Ter Goes* and the *Erasmus*, thundered most furiously against the water-fort, from whence they answered them very briskly. Immediately after the assault was begun on the land-side in three several places: the general in person with ten companies attacked the gate of *Rajuba*, and the bastions of *St. Philippo* and *Clergos*; and major *John van der Laan* with nine companies, those of *St. John* and *Couras*; whilst *James Lippens* with two companies of soldiers, and some seamen, passed the fens in seven *Chinese Champans*, or boats, in order to attack the city where it was least fortify'd.

The water-fort battered by the fleet.

Columbo assaulted by sea and land.

But the besieged fired so furiously upon our men, especially with their firelocks, that the seamen could not be brought forward to fix the scaling-ladders; which the general perceiving, he advanced in person with some of the bravest officers, and fixed the scaling-ladders to the cortin: but having received a wound in his left thigh, he was forced to be carried off. In the mean while news being brought that they had entered the breach on major *Van der Laan*'s attack, he returned to his station (before his wound was dressed,) but found things in such a confusion, that he was forced to retreat, the major and his forces not being able to maintain themselves in the breach, retreating at the same time, after they had in vain attempted three times to recover it. Lieutenant *Melchior van Schoonbeek*, a *High-German* by birth, and of a noble family, was the only person who got upon the bastion of *St. John*; but for want of being seconded, lost his life there like a brave soldier, his head being afterwards stuck upon a pike by the *Portuguese* upon the same bastion.

With ill success.

The forces under captain *Lippens*, having not without some resistance from four *Manchous*, or boats, passed the fens, got into the city; but the captain being sorely wounded, made shift to retreat with some few, the rest for want of timely succours being all made prisoners of war. The yacht the *Maid of Enchuysen* was so sorely battered from the fort, that being ready to sink, her crew was carried off by the sloop the *Langerack*; but the *Workum* cut her cables, and got out of the bay without any considerable loss. The number of the slain on our side amounted to two hundred, and three hundred and fifty wounded, not including the two companies of *John van Hardenburg* and *Roggenkamp*, and the seamen commanded by *John Lippens*, that were made prisoners in the city. The ships the *Ter Goes* and *Erasmus*, who had aboard the soldiers that were to assault the water-fort, not being able to get near enough by reason of the wind, soon got out of the bay.

Number of the slain and wounded.

Baldæus.

"ON this unfortunate day the general received a letter from his imperial majesty, testifying his good opinion of his excellency, not questioning but that after the taking of *Columbo* he would deliver the said city into his hands, pursuant to the agreement made with Mr. *Westerwold*. That he desired to have such of his rebellious subjects, as should fall into our hands, delivered up to his *dissaves*, either alive or dead, in order to punish them with the same severity, as he had done those at *Batecalo*; and that he had ordered his governors to ravage and destroy all the villages in the *Low Lands*."

Letter from the emperor to the general.

[He sent at the same time enclosed a letter from the *Portuguese* governor, *Antonio de Souza Coutinho*, dated *October* 27. at *Columbo*, to the emperor, the chief contents whereof were,] "That he could not forbear to put "his majesty in mind of the ancient friend-"ship betwixt him and the *Portuguese*, "which he was sorry to have been interrupted by the *Dutch* making themselves "masters of *Caleture*, and having routed "their forces near *Paneture*, by laying so "close and vigorous a siege to the city of "*Columbo*, that they were in great danger "of being forced to surrender. Wherefore they craved his majesty's assistance "against the *Hollanders*, who, after they "were masters of the city, would certainly "not deliver up the same to his majesty, "but lord it over his subjects; which his "majesty, according to his wisdom, might easily see how much it would tend to his "dishonour; whereas if he joined with the "*Portuguese* against them, he might promise himself all the advantages due to so "great a monarch."

The 13th of *November* was spent in carrying the wounded soldiers to *Negumbo*, and sent to *Gale*, and *Montual*: the same day the enemy

The wounded sent away.

Baldæus. enemy, in a bravado, put two of our ensigns upon the bastions of *St. John* and *St. Philippo*. At the same time advice was brought, that the ships the *Avenborn* and *Campen*, richly laden from *Persia*, were arrived at *Gale* in their voyage to *Batavia*. For which reason the yacht the *Brownfish* was dispatched to *Gale*, to carry some letters thither, to be sent further to *Batavia*, as likewise a letter to be sent by land to the emperor *Raja Singa*. The yacht the *Popkensburg* arrived also with gunpowder, and other necessaries for our camp.

The 19th, a letter from the emperor *Raja Singa* was delivered by his slaves to the general, wherein he condoled him about his wound, and the ill success of the late assault, telling him, That he was employed day and night in making preparations to join him with his forces, and desiring not to venture a second assault before his arrival. A letter of thanks being ordered to be written to his majesty, the yachts the *Workum* and *Popkensburg*, with a frigate, were dispatched to *Negumbo*, to cruise to the north of that harbour, to get timely intelligence of the enemies approach.

Some Ships sent a cruising.

The 26th some cannon-shot being heard at a good distance it was generally believed to be the signal from the fortress of *Negumbo*, to advertise the arrival of the *Portuguese* fleet. Whereupon Mr. *Adrian van der Meyden* took two companies of soldiers and as many seamen out of the church of *Quia de Lobo*, (where they had their post,) and marched directly to *Montual*, in order to embark them there, to prevent the enemies landing. The general, notwithstanding his wound, followed thither in person, and found them ready to embark, which was however deferred for that time, till they should receive more certain intelligence. Only the yachts the *Mars* and the *Flissingen*, with some officers aboard them, were commanded to cruize off the northern point of *Montual*.

Baldæus.

Much about the same time arrived the *Roman* yacht from *Suratte*, with sixteen loads of wheat. The officers reported, That a *Portuguese* fleet, consisting of thirty frigats was entirely destroy'd by a tempest near *Wingurla*; but that no body knew from whence they came, or whither they were bound; and that the cannon we heard some days before, was discharged by them as a signal of their distress to the *Workum* and *Popkensburg*.

A whole fleet of Portugueſe loſt.

The 29th captain *Kuylenburgh*, who died of the wounds he received in the late assault, being honourably interred, the 1st of *December* two serjeants came into our camp, who being formerly taken prisoners at *Anguratotte* by the *Portuguese*, had taken the opportunity, as these were flying from *Manaar* to *Tutecoryn*, to desert and hide themselves among the *Moors* of *Kilicare*, from whence they were brought in one of our vessels hither. On the other hand a certain seaman, named *Claas Claasz*, did swim cross part of the bay into the city.

The same night a new trench was opened against the bastion of *St. John*, and carried on with all imaginable diligence. The yacht the *Roman* was sent a cruising to get intelligence, whether any of the enemies ships could be discovered at sea, as the *Flushing* yacht was dispatched to the coast of *Malabar*, and the *Erasmus* sent out in her stead a-cruising.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Want in Columbo. Anthony Amiral de Menezes *taken Prisoner.* *The Continuation of the Siege.*

Want in Columbo.

THE 7th of *December* we got intelligence, that most of the inhabitants of *Columbo*, for want of rice and other provisions, had been forced to list themselves among the regular forces; that in the late assault they had taken seventy or eighty of our prisoners; whereas their whole loss did not amount to above twenty or twenty five *Portuguese*; among whom were, however, two persons of note, *viz. Anthonio Barbosa*, and *Felicio Leesio*, lord of *Marvene*. That they had mounted the cannon taken out of the *Maid of Enchuysen* upon their bastions, and were busy in making divers retrenchments, in hopes of being soon succoured from *Goa*; and that their whole force consisted in seven hundred *Portuguese*.

The 10th of *December Anthonio Amiral de Menezes* (then governor of *Jafnapatnam*, and afterwards, 1658. killed at the taking of *Manaar*) was taken prisoner at *Montual*, as he was going from *Manaar* to *Columbo* with some letters, one whereof being written in characters, was uncyphered by the general's order, and was as follows:

Anthonio Menezes taken with letters.

To the general Antonio de Souza Coutinho.

" BEFORE I had the least intelligence
" of the approach of the enemies ships,
" I writ to your excellency by land, though
" I have

Baldæus. "I have not heard since what is become of "the messenger. The three *Pado's* are "well arrived at *Goa*, and the five mes- "sengers sent thither; the sixth, sent by "*Anthony d'Abreu*, did not stay in the "least in this fort, but tarried two days "at *Negapatan* and brings along with him "full instructions concerning the relief of "*Columbo*. I have not been idle in my "station, both in advising how to raise "men for our service in the *Indies*, and in "contributing all that lay in my power, of "my own accord, which by some others "has not been done without reluctancy; "especially in giving my assistance in "equipping some vessels of bulk, and gal- "leys well-manned, for the relief of the "city. I have hitherto heard no news "from the fleet at cape *Comoryn*, sent for "that purpose. I wish they may reach the "isle of *Manaar*, when we shall have op- "portunity to debate the whole matter "with the commander in chief, how to "contrive matters for the defence of the "place: you may rest assured, that no- "thing shall be wanting on my part, that "may tend towards the accomplishment of "its relief, which I heartily wish may take "effect, it being my opinion, that a good "fleet is the very means now to preserve "that place, till we receive our supplies "from *Goa*. Perhaps it may please God "to destroy the hereticks in this siege, and "to abate their haughtiness, occasioned by "their late success, caused by our neglect; "it being certain, that the same might "have been foreseen a considerable time "ago. Orders are given to have a good "quantity of matches made, which shall "be brought by the first pado that goes "from hence; the other two shall follow "soon after, one of them being to be arm- "ed for the defence of the other: their "approach you will know by the signals "agreed upon. Perhaps the governor of "*Manaar* may have got intelligence of our "fleet, and has given you intelligence "thereof. God preserve and deliver your "excellency from all danger."

Jafnapatnam, Nov. 11. 1655. *Anthonio Amiral de Menezes.*

The Contents of another Letter were as follows:

"I Writ to your excellency under covert "of *Sebastian Martino* with the galliots "of *September*, when I little dreamed of "what we heard afterwards at *Cochin*, "and on the cape *Comoryn*, concerning the "present danger of the city, and of the loss "of so brave a captain as *Anthonio Mendes* "*d'Aranha*, with a good number of our "choicest men. I have since understood *Baldæus.* "several other things of this nature, which "have cost me many tears. We did all "we could to make the cape *Comoryn*, but "the contrary wind prevented us: however, "though we have failed in this, you may "assure yourself, that the viceroy will not "fail to succour the city of *Columbo*, "with all his forces in the *Indies*. It is "rumoured here, that *Don Manoel Masca- "renhas* intends to leave this place, there "being very bad news brought lately from "*Jafnapatnam*; but we hope, and pray to "God that he will be pleased to preserve "the city till *February*."

Novemb. 11. 1655. *Nicolao d'Oliveira.*

The rest of the letters were very near the same, with this addition only, That the *Portuguese* set sail in *October* with fifteen frigats, but were forced back near the cape *Comoryn*, so near that they had landed some soldiers, who were marched by land to *Jafnapatnam*, with an intention to come to *Columbo*, to give notice there of the equipment of six galleons at *Goa*, intended for the succours of the city; and that in case the *Dutch* should block up that harbour, they would fight their way through them. All these letters were sent to his imperial majesty.

Two hundred negroes make a sally.

The 12th of *December*, two hundred negroes being seen to sally out of the gate of *Mapane*, keeping along the sea-shore, three companies were ordered to attack them; but they no sooner espied our people advancing towards them, than they retreated in haste to the city: however three of them deserted to us, and gave an account, That the reason of their coming out was only to fetch and cut some faggot-wood for the repairing of the bastions of *St. John*, *St. Stephen*, and *St. Philippo*; and that they had made betwixt the two former a retrenchment, in case they should be forced to quit the bastions.

The report of some deserters.

The same day we finished our second redoubt, and the next two *Portuguese* deserters confirmed the report of the negroes, adding, That they much dreaded our mines; that the bastion of *St. John* was guarded by two companies, (of twenty five or thirty men each,) under *Caspar Figeiro*, the gate of *Mapane* with three, and the rest in proportion. At the same time we saw a whole troop of half-starved wretches forced out of the town; but were made to return from whence they came, except a few *Portuguese*, who could give good intelligence about the condition of the place.

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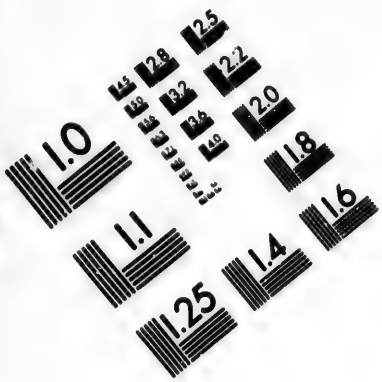

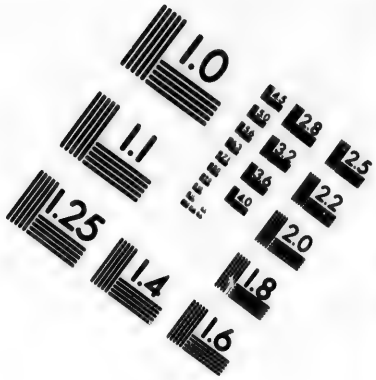

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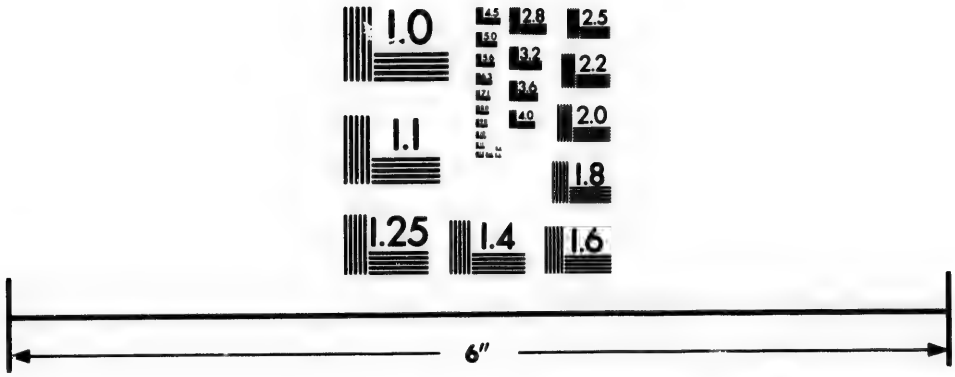

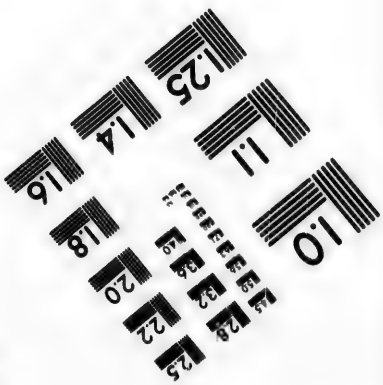

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Baldæus. The 14th, in the morning, ten or twelve boats came out of the town to fetch faggot-wood; but finding us prepare to attack them, they retired with precipitation, after they had wounded three of our men.

The 15th the general agreed with twenty pioneers to work continually (six at a time) in the trenches, at the rate of twenty pence *per diem*, besides a good reward after they had finished the work. In the afternoon a battery of six guns was ordered to be erected.

An unfortunate accident. The 18th a gunner having, out of carelessness, doubly charged a gun upon a battery, killed three of our own pioneers, and wounded seven negroes; and in the evening four great cannon were not without some loss planted upon the before-mentioned battery.

The 19th we played thence most furiously upon the bastions of *St. John* and *Stephen*, and two more cannons were mounted upon it the same evening.

The 20th a new redoubt was begun, the trenches being then carried on within two rods of the counterscarp. In the evening we missed *Simon Lopes*, who was again gone over to the enemy.

The 26th three negro carpenters coming over to us, reported that the *Portuguese* had undermined the bastion of *St. John*, and *Baldæus.* laid five large barrels with gunpowder in five divers places underneath it, having laid the train by the means of certain bomboe-canes, which were to be lighted on the top whilst we were assaulting the said bastion, which was the reason that they had not discharged their cannon from thence these two days past. They added, that the son of *Antbonio de Souza Coutinbo*, the governor of *Columbo*, being busy in encouraging the workmen by his own example, received a wound by a musquet-shot in the head, of which he died soon after. A council of war was called, in which it was resolved to carry on the trenches with all imaginable vigour, to prevent the enemy in perfecting his retrenchments before the breach of the bastion of *St. John*, and to fix our miners there. *Resolution taken in a council of war.*

The 27th the general gave notice to the diffaves of *Saffragam* and the four *Corles*, that he intended to send an envoy to his majesty, to know his inclinations, whether he intended to appear in person in our camp, or not: he desired them to write to him upon the same subject, the time for attempting a second general assault drawing near; and that in case his majesty had the least doubt left of our sincere intentions, he would give him full satisfaction upon that head.

CHAP. XXIX.

The Portuguese *throw Stones out of a Mortar, We make a third Redoubt: Endeavour to lay the Gallery over the Ditch. A Spy hanged: Letters from* Coromandel.

THE 28th of *December* in the evening the *Portuguese* began to throw several stones out of a mortar into our works, which something surprized us at first, but afterwards we guessed that it was *Simon Lopes*, who lately deserted our service, that had put them in the way of it. The next day captain *John Hartman* was sent with letters to the emperor at *Candy*, and we were hard at work to bring the third redoubt near the sea-shore to perfection, where we planted a mortar, and continued our approaches to the counterscarp. *Another redoubt erected.*

A *Chinese* deserter, a native of *Macao*, reported, That they were indifferently well provided with provisions in the city, and that it was true that the governor's son was dead. Letters were at the same time dispatched to Mr. *Laurence Pit*, governor of *Coromandel*, to send us some ammunition, and to order the ships which, upon the arrival of the vessels from *Tajouan*, sail from thence to *Batavia*, to touch at *Gale*, to be employed in thwarting the intended succours of the *Portuguese*, or take aboard part of the *Portuguese* prisoners among us.

The 8th of *January*, finding the enemy busy in planting palisado's in the ditch, some seamen, armed with hand-grenadoes made them soon quit that enterprize. But the next following day finding the enemy to have made some entrenchments there, a hole was ordered to be made in the wall; and captain *Henry Gerard*, the head gunner and ingineer, and carpenter, being ordered to view the work, they reported that the enemy had planted a row of palisado's close to one another, extending to the sea-shore, which made them imagine that they expected the most fierce assault on that side. *Portuguese fortify themselves in the ditch.*

Six expert carpenters having offered their service for perfecting the gallery, a hundred crowns were promised them as a reward; and it being resolved to fix the said gallery the next day under favour

Baldæus. vour of our great cannon and fire-locks, a certain number of musqueteers were ordered to the extremities of the trenches: but the wall being thicker at the bottom than at the top, it was almost evening before they could make a breach in it; when attacking the enemy with their hand-grenadoes, they forced them from the ditch, where they posted twelve fire-locks: but these received so warm a salute from the enemies cannon and fire-locks, both of the bastions of *St. John* and *St. Stephen*, and the palisado-work, that they were forced to retreat, and the fixing of the gallery was thought fit to be delayed till a more convenient time, having lost only one carpenter and two negroes in this enterprize. *John Roothaus* the *Dutch* rear-admiral sent *January* 12. three negro prisoners from the fleet into the camp, who were taken coming with letters from *Manaar*, in order to carry them into *Columbo*; but they were of little moment, except what was contained in the following passage, taken out of *Lorenso Barboza*'s letter, directed to *Don Francisco de Souza*.

The Dutch endeavour a sham to fix their gallery.

Some letters intercepted.

" Your fleet could not make the cape " *Comoryn*, because they came too late, " and were overtaken by a violent tempest; the soldiers aboard were sent by " land to *Tutecoryn*, and from thence by " sea to *Manaar*. That they understood " that great endeavours were used to e- " quip a squadron of great ships and " frigats, to be joined by eight galeons for the relief of *Columbo*; and " that they had certain advice that the " galeons were getting ready for that " purpose: That the rest they would be " informed of by the captain-major's let- " ter to the governor, &c.

The said prisoners reported, That *Anthonio Amiral* had brought a reinforcement of six companies from *Jasnapatnam* to *Manaar*; and that it was reported there, that five galeons and twenty eight frigats were to come from *Goa*, and being joined with some other vessels and forces at *Manaar* were to sail to the relief of *Columbo*: whereupon the general sent his instructions to our squadron to watch the coming of the enemy, but especially to our cruisers, the *Workum*, *Popkensburgh*, *Mars* and *Erasmus* yachts; thirty *Bandanese* soldiers, and as many *Mardykers* were also ordered aboard these vessels; and a negro deserter reported that those come from *Maraar* to *Columbo* were half naked, and had brought no letters; one of them being wounded; but knew nothing further.

Sent instructions to the Dutch fleet.

The 15th of *January* some of our *Lascaryns* brought in a spy, whom they had taken under pretence of going into the city to sell tobacco; but upon the evidence of two *Cingalese* carpenters that he was a spy, he was hanged on a gibbet near the place where he intended to have got into the place. Baldæus.

The 19th letters were brought to the camp, sent by *Laurence Pit*, then governor of *Coromandel*, intimating that we might expect a supply of thirty five thousand pounds weight of gun-powder with the yachts the *Codfish*, *Rabbit*, and *Patience*; that for the rest the company had lost fifty loads of rice, and two hundred fifty *Ammenams* * of *Areek* † by an accidental fire. That several private merchants having lately sent certain ships loaden with all sorts of provisions, we need not fear any thing upon that account. The *Rabbit* alone had a cargo of twenty six thousand eight hundred twenty two pounds weight of gun-powder, fifty packs of *Guinea* linnen cloth, and ten loads of rice, valued altogether at twenty three thousand eight hundred sixty gilders.

Letters from Coromandel

* *A certain measure.*

† Areek *is a certain* Indian *fruit, of which they make strong liquors.*

It was further advised, That in all probability the king of *Golconda* was likely to be embroiled in a war with *Mirza Mula* his general, who had put strong garisons in the fortresses of *Gendecalte*, *Groncowde* and *Goetis*: That the general *Chan Channe* was lately retired with the forces of *Visiapour*, consisting of eight thousand horse, and forty thousand foot, from *Velour* to *Visiapour*; but for what reason was not known. A copy was also sent of a letter, written by *Leonard Johnson* factor, *Decemb.* 8. from *Wingurla* to *Batavia*; whence it appeared, that they were making great preparations at *Goa* for the relief of *Columbo*. " But, added he, the *Portu-* " *guese* viceroy having sufficient intelligence " of our strength before *Columbo*, it seems " to me to be rather a bravado, than a real " design, unless it were (as some affirm) " that the relief of that city was so positively commanded by the king of *Portugal*, that the viceroy would be forced " to attempt it, unless he were prevented " by the *Dutch* blocking up the harbour of " *Goa* before that time: That it was rumoured there that the *Portuguese* soldiers " should be obliged by oath, confirmed " by the blessed sacrament, that in case " they were not able to worst the *Dutch* " fleet, they should set fire to their own " ships: but he hoped that the city would " fall into our hands before they could put " their design in execution. But as it were " not safe to despise one's enemy, so he would " take care to give from time to time in- " telligence of what he could learn to the " director-general *Gerard Hulst* with all

Baldæus. " imaginable speed; for which purpose he " hoped to purchase the diligence of some of " the natives by money." The following list was annexed of such ships as were to be employ'd in the said expedition: two carracks, two large galleons, one lesser one, two carvels, six *Patachо's*, or yachts, twenty light frigats, twenty four more from the coast of *Sipaveneick*, with some galleons and other boats called *Singazeeles*. His further opinion was, That the said squadron might be ready towards the end of *January*; and that the same was to be reinforced by some yachts from *Chaul*; that besides the garrison to be left at *Goa*, two thousand *Europeans*, not reckoning the *Mistices* and negroes, were to be embarked aboard the said fleet. He advised further, That two *English* ships being some days before come to an anchor before *Goa*, the viceroy had offered the captains a considerable sum of money, provided they would sail along with the fleet to *Ceylon*; but that they refused to accept of the same, and were sailed to the northward.

List of the Portuguese ships for the relief of Columbo.

The 21st of *January*, two hours before break of day, the general being got aboard the *Ter Goes*, called a council of war there, wherein it was resolved to send forthwith the ship the *Codfish* to *Negumbo*, in order to unlade her cargo (intended for *Gale*) there, in company of the *Amsterdam* and *Marygold-Flower*; and the *Hare* yacht was ordered to keep as close to the bay as possibly she could, to observe the small vessels that might pass and repass in and out of the city.

The 24th of *January* the *Flushing* yacht coming from *Wingurla*, brought letters from our factor *Leonard Johnson*, dated the 6th of *January*, intimating, That the viceroy of *Goa*, instead of sending the pretended succours to *Ceylon*, had now resolved to send two carracks to *Portugal*, and three yachts to *Mosambique*; and that the design of the relief of *Columbo*, seemed to be laid aside: in confirmation whereof he sent the following translation of a letter written by one of our spies there.

To the Commodore of the Dutch *Squadron near* Wingurla. *Baldæus.*

Letter of a spy from Goa.

" TWO ships, (both arrived this year,) viz. *Bon Jesus*, carrying sixty five " guns, and the *Nossa Senhora da Grazia* " of sixty guns, are intended to be sent " to *Portugal*, being now busy in unloading, and expecting only the return of our " fleet from *Cochin*, and the cape. It is " supposed they will be ready to sail by the " end of the first month of the year. Three " yachts more are ordered from *Mosambique*, being now taking in their cargo, " besides another yacht, designed for *Macassar*. The carvel intended for *China* is " not ready to sail, and it remains uncertain whether she will go thither. But, " if she does, it will not be till next spring. " Hitherto we see no preparations either of " men or ships for *Ceylon*; and they seem " unresolved, whether they had best send " any relief thither, for fear they should " fall into the hands of the *Dutch*. But if " any be sent, it will certainly not be till " after the departure of the ships for *Portugal*, for which the viceroy shews a great " concern being afraid they will be intercepted by the *Dutch* before they can " reach *Portugal*.

Your Excellency's constant Slave.

Dated Jan 6. 1656. URAGAMI SINAY.

Some Dutch ships arrived.

Two Spies hanged.

Hereupon it was agreed in a council of war, to order the ships the *Ter Goes*, *Mars*, the *Arms of Holland*, *Amsterdam*, *Flushing*, *Erasmus*, *Naarden*, *Zierik-see*, *Marygold-Flower*, and the *Hare*, forthwith towards *Goa*, there to expect the coming of the ships from *Trajouan*, in company of those from *Persia* and *Suratte*. And that the yacht the *Workum*, *Popkensburgh*, *Cod-Fish*, and *Rabbit*, with some light frigats and sloops, should be kept for the blockade of the harbour of *Columbo*.

Dutch ships sent to Goa.

CHAP. XXX.

Mr. Hartman's *Present by the Emperor. Some Spies hanged. The Arrival of several Ships. Letters from the Emperor and* Dutch *General.*

ABOUT that time the emperor sent his letter to the *Dutch* general Mr. *Hulst*, in answer to his sent by Mr. *Hartman*, the chief contents of which were,

" THAT he intended to come into " our camp in the night-time, having " been detained hitherto by the advice of the " great men of his court, [*these pagans being very superstitious in chusing their time*;] " but that now he was resolved to speak " with the general in spite of all the pretended obstacles. That he was glad to " understand, that notwithstanding our " loss in the last general assault, we kept " our posts; and that he intended to " dispatch

Baldæus. "diſpatch Mr. *Hartman* the next thurſ-
"day."

It was dated at Ba'ane, January 20. 1656. *and ſubſcribed,*

Raja Singa Rajou, moſt potent emperor of *Ceylon*.

Mr. Hartman's return.

Mr. *Hartman* returned, being preſented with a golden chain and a ring; and reported, That ſome of the emperor's *Diſſaves* having brought him the news, that we had loſt a conſiderable number of men by ſpringing of a mine, he was very glad to hear the contrary afterwards. The 20th of *January*, early in the morning, a letter was delivered from our head-factor at *Gale*, *John Kroon*, That the ſhips the *Patience*, the *Bengale*, the *Black-Bull*, and the *Grey Hound* from *Tajouan* by the way of *Maſulipatan*, loaden with merchandizes from *Perſia*, and the *Vlieland* belonging to thoſe of *Suratte*, were arrived there; and that he had ordered them to ſail for *Columbo*. Two ſpies come lately out of the city, to view the condition of our attacks and batteries, were hanged two days after.

Some Dutch ſhips arrived.

Two Spies hanged.

At the ſame time letters were brought into the camp, dated the laſt of *November*, at *Malacca*, intimating, That the 14th, 15th, and 19th of *November*, 1655. the ſhips the *Vlieland*, *Black-Bull*, *Arnemuyden*, and the *Sweet-Briar*, were arrived there from *Tajouan*, their loading being valued at one million three hundred forty nine thouſand four hundred and thirty ſix gilders at the firſt hand; and that the *Sweet-Briar*, the *Domburg*, and *Lion*, were with a good quantity of tin of *Malacca* ſent to *Bengale*. The cargo of theſe ſhips conſiſts commonly of *Japoneſe* ſilver, bars of copper, allum, gold, *China* tea, and ſugar of *Formoſa*, beſides a conſiderable quantity of tin of *Malacca*. Upon the coaſt of *Malabar*, and in *Ceylon*, (where they commonly arrive at the ſame time,) they load with cinnamon, pepper, and cardamum. They generally make a long voyage; for they ſet ſail from *Batavia* to *Japan* and *Tajouan* in *May*, and come to *Malacca* in *December*: from thence they ſteer their courſe by the *Nicobares* to *Ceylon*, or *Bengale*, or *Coromandel*, (but never from theſe places to *Ceylon*, but ſometimes return from *Bengale* or *Ceylon* to *Malacca* or *Batavia*,) and from thence by *Malabar* to *Suratte* and *Perſia*, and return in *May* to *Ceylon*, (and ſometimes ſtraitways to *Batavia*;) and ſo further with their cargo (they have taken in at *Suratte* or in *Perſia*) to the coaſt of *Coromandel*, where being loaden with linnen cloth, painted callicoes, and other merchandizes, they return to *Batavia* in *June* or *July*. By letters from *John Thiiſſen*, governor of *Malacca*, advice was given, that the tin trade (the chiefeſt of that country) had been but very indifferent that year.

Baldæus. *Advices from Malacca.*

But it is time to return to the ſiege of *Columbo*. The laſt day of *January* two *Portugueſe* deſerters who had made ſhift to let themſelves down by ropes from *St. Stephen's* baſtion, reported, That many of their comrades were willing to deſert for want of pay, but that they were ſtrictly guarded; that the garriſon conſiſted ſtill of ſix hundred and fifty *Europeans*, and they had rice for two months longer; that they ſtill relied upon the promiſed ſuccours of ſix galleons. Soon after we ſaw a whole troop of half-ſtarved wretches coming out of the town; but one hundred and twenty were forced to return without relief. The 12th of *February* about five hundred of them, men, women, and children, being forced to extremity of hunger, came to the general's quarter imploring his mercy; but they were forced back into the town along the ſeaſhore near the baſtion of *St. John*. In the mean while the emperor ſent the following letter to the general:

Two deſerters give an account of the condition of the city.

Raja Singa Rajou.

The emperor's letter to the general.

"OUR imperial majeſty has formerly (through God's mercy) been victorious over our enemies in *Malvane*, where I routed their whole army commanded by *Don Conſtantino*; after which laying ſiege to *Columbo*, I had my head quarters in the garden of *Lewis Gomes Pinto*. It then pleaſed God to afflict me with a diſtemper, which the viceroy having got notice of, he deſired me to return to *Candy*; which I did accordingly, leaving my brother *Carnana Singa*, king of *Ouve*, with the prince of *Vijiapalla*, to command the ſiege, who put no ſmall blemiſh upon our imperial family. Whilſt they were employ'd in that ſiege, the treacherous *Portugueſe*, having at that time forced a multitude of ſtarved wretches out of the city, they had mixed with them certain villains, who ſet all our works on fire. Wherefore I hope your excellency will keep a ſtrict guard; for I cannot forbear, for the love and good inclinations I bear to your excellency, to put you in mind, that the *Portugueſe* are a moſt perfidious nation; and that even my forces are compoſed of divers ſorts of people; ſo that your excellency ought to have a particular regard for your own perſon, which will be a ſingular ſatisfaction to me. For you muſt know, that there being variety of people in the iſle of *Ceylon*, who have ſerved divers princes, and are uſed to ra-

"vages,

Baldæus. "vages and rapines, theſe are generally "treacherous and not to be truſted by "your excellency, though perhaps they "will endeavour to obtain your favour by "flatteries and pretences of friendſhip, they "being ſuch profligate wretches, as to be "induced by the hopes of a ſmall gain to "undertake any baſe and treacherous act. "The letters ſent from this court to your "excellency being generally written in an "unknown tongue, I deſire you, if you "find any defect or inconveniency in them, "to give notice thereof immediately, to "remove all obſtacles and miſunderſtand-"ings on our ſide, it being our reſolution, "that the peace made with you ſhall con-"tinue as long as the ſun and moon furniſh "us with light, as you, on your behalf, "have engaged it ſhall laſt as long as the "world ſtands. I once intended to have "ſent you an anſwer to your letter, dated "*Jan.* 8. but underſtanding that your ex-"cellency had diſpatched to this court a "captain of the guards, I thought fit to "defer it for ſome time. In former times, "whilſt I was very young, I was encamp-"ed with my army in *Malvane*; but that "being many years ago, I did ſend thither "certain perſons to view the place, who "aſſured me, that the place pitched upon "by the diſſave of the four *Corles* was un-"fit for our reception, which was the rea-"ſon I ordered my head quarters to be "ſettled in the fortreſs of *Reygamwatte*. In "conſideration of which, and other miſ-"carriages of the ſaid diſſave, I have put "another in his place, with whom you "may conſult in relation to ſuch matters "as tend to our ſervice. I further iſſued "my orders to the diſſaves, and ſent cer-"tain perſons to prepare my quarters with "the utmoſt expedition; which done, I "intend to be there immediately after.

Dated in the camp and court of Guirambula, *Feb.* 14. 1656.

Subſcribed,

Raja Singa Rajou, moſt potent Emperor of *Ceylon*.

The general being extremely pleaſed with the emperor's approbation concerning the ſending back of the poor ſtarved wretches forced out of *Columbo*, thought fit to ſend the following letter to the governor of *Columbo*.

Dutch general's letter to the governor of Columbo.

"FINDING that you ſuffer the poor "negro citizens, after that you have "received all the ſervices you poſſibly "could from them, to periſh for want of "ſuſtenance; and whereas you prevented "their deſertion formerly by ſtrict watches, "you now permit them to go where they "pleaſe, in order to be rid of them, I "thought it my duty (for the diſcharge of "my conſcience) to deſire you to let the "ſaid negro citizens know, that ſuch as for "the future come out of the city, ſhall be "puniſhed with death. This I thought "fit to let your excellency know, in hopes "of moving you to compaſſion. I remain "for the reſt, your excellency's ſervant."

Dated in the Dutch *camp before* Coumbo, Feb. 15. 1656.

Gerard Huijt.

The 17th of *February* the yacht the *Saphir* came into the road from *Coromandel*, and brought a letter from the governor *Laurence Pit*, dated *January* 29. at *Paliacatta*: her cargo conſiſted in rice and gunpowder, though not ſo much as was expected, the full quantity of brimſtone not being brought from *Tajouan*.

But notwithſtanding the beforeſaid warning given to the negro citizens, many of them coming every day into our camp, one of them was ordered to be hanged, to deter others from doing the like; ſo that afterwards fifteen and more died every day in the city of famine, and a ſcorbutick dropſy began alſo to reign among the *Europeans* there. *Famine in Columbo.* The 19th a *Miſtice* deſerter brought advice, that they had equipped a boat, which lay ready to ſail againſt the next night for *Manaar*; whereupon orders were ſent to commodore *Rootbaus* to intercept her, if poſſibly he could. The 20th Mr. *John Hartman* came with the following letter from the emperor to the general.

Raja Singa Rajou.

The emperor's letter to the general.

"YOUR letter, dated the 8th of *Fe-bruary*, I received the next following day, wherein you teſtify your deſire of being admitted into our royal "preſence, in order to aſſure me in perſon "of the ſincere intentions of the *Dutch* "company, to continue in their confederacy "with our imperial majeſty, made from "the time of your arrival with your fleet "in our empire. It has always been my "hearty wiſh to ſee you in my preſence, "which I hope will be fulfilled with the "arrival of your excellency in our camp "near *Raygamwatte*. You further mention "the misbehaviour of ſome of our laſcaryns "under the diſſaves; ſo ſoon as our imperial "majeſty arrives in the aboveſaid camp, "theſe forces and officers ſhall be relieved "by others, and ſuch as have not done "their duty to the crown be puniſhed, as "is practiſed in the camps of other great "kings and monarchs. Your excellency "did alſo give notice, that you had ſent "away nine ſhips the fifth of this month. "God Almighty, I hope, will bleſs your ex-"cellency's deſigns with ſucceſs, according

Baldæus. "to the utmost of my wishes, there being nothing that can more rejoice our imperial majesty than the welfare and prosperity of the *Hollanders*. And I hope, that after my arrival in the camp, such measures may be taken betwixt us, as may soon reduce the city. The refractory party among my troops you have mentioned, shall be branded with infamy, not only for themselves, but also their generation; so that their names shall be despised hereafter for ever. Whenever I shall see your person, I shall imagine to have the whole state of *Holland* before me; and since, according to our constitutions, matters of this nature are not to be transacted but on fortunate days and hours, your excellency shall be advertised thereof by some person of note. Just as I was leaving *Candy*, the prince my son, given me by God for the welfare of my faithful *Hollanders*, took leave of me, desiring to be remembered to your excellency."

In the camp of Guiramibula, Feb. 18. 1656. *Raja Singa Rajou.*

The said Mr. *Hartman* was presented by the emperor with a tame elephant, and told the general, that the emperor had given him some private hints, that the prince his son would take it as a peculiar obligation if the general would honour him with a small present. *Baldæus.* *Hartman presented with an elephant.*

The emperor's dissaves coming the 21st of *February* to the general, in order to fetch the answer to the emperor's letter, they were told, That the letter was not finished, by reason of many things of moment to be inserted therein: but the general took this opportunity to advise with them what present might be most acceptable to the prince. They answered, They could not tell; but would consider of the matter. In the afternoon they received the desired letter, sealed up under the discharge of the cannon, as is usual upon such occasions, when each of the captains is presented with a piece of sattin, and two of the dissaves with a red *Roan* cap, a thing highly valued by them, (called *ToppyHonday* in their language,) with a *Japonese* buckler, for one of the prince's attendants.

CHAP. XXXI.

The Besieged fire furiously upon the Besiegers. The Emperor's Envoys. Negro *Deserters forced back. Letters intercepted. The Emperor presents the General with an* Elk. *A new Battery erected.*

The besieged fire briskly upon the enemy. THE 22d of *February* the enemy play'd most furiously with their cannon from the bastions of *St. Stephen* and *St. John*, and killed us several men. His majesty being that day come to his camp at *Reygamwatte*, to take a view of the quarters prepared for his reception, perceiving a more than ordinary smoke, sent a messenger to know the truth of the matter. In the evening, about supper-time, word was brought that certain deputies from his majesty were arrived at a farm about two miles from the camp; and that they had sent a messenger to signify, that they were desirous to speak with the general that evening; which being readily granted, an ensign was sent thither with some soldiers to conduct them to the camp, and to make an excuse, that the time of the night had hindered their reception to be suitable to their quality. They told the general, That his majesty had received his letter with a great deal of satisfaction; and that they were sent to tell his excellency, That his majesty was at present at *Walewitty*; and that as soon as his quarters were fitted up, he should be sent for; for which reason they were commanded by his majesty to order the dissave of *Saffragamme* to have the roads leading to *Reygamwatte* repaired. They would willingly have returned the same night; but it being excessive dark, their quarters were assigned them in the camp till next morning.

Deputies sent into the camp from the emperor.

The same day *Edmund Ruysch* sent word, that a great number of poor wretches were coming out of the city: The men, to the number of fifty, were secured at *Milagre*; but the women and children being brought before the general, he ordered them (pursuant to their former resolution) to be whipped back into the town near the bastion of *St. John*; this being looked upon as the most proper means to straiten the enemy, and bring them to our terms. Towards the evening the men with twenty more, who since had joined them, being also brought into the camp, the general took two of them aside, and told them, That they must look upon it as a particular favour, to be sent back once more; but if they returned they must expect nothing but the gallows, unless they would engage with some of the *Aratches* that had deserted our camp, to surprize some bastion or other for our service. They were likewise forced back with a good whipping, and the 24th one hundred and fifty more had the same entertainment. *Deserters whipped back into the city.*

The 26th of *February* the dissave of the four *Corles* came to tell the general, that

Baldæus. r' oſe of *Saffragamme* were ſtill buſy in repairing the roads and bridges, and produced a letter from certain great men of the court, enjoining him to demand ten certain perſons, that had made ſhift to get out of the city with the enemies troops, and ſhelter'd themſelves in the adjacent villages, having deſerted the king's ſervice before. The general was not unwilling to grant his requeſt; but withal told him, That if theſe perſons of quality had been as forward in furthering their king's ſervice as we, there would not have been ſo many deſerters. The ſame day a letter was delivered to the general written by one of our *Aratches* to the *Vidane* of *Paſdun-Corle*, as follows:

An intercepted letter.

"HAngedera Lionayde, ſon-in-law to "Ranatonge Arachie, wiſhes health "to *Vidane*, and the three chieftains of the "three *Pattos* of *Paſdun-Corle*. Imme- "diately upon the receipt of theſe, you "ſhall without fail or delay gather, in the "time of eight days, out of all the circum- "jacent villages, fifty pingues of pullets, "butter, pepper, atchiar, and earthen "veſſels; and with them, in company of "all the heads, or *Majorals*, of the villages "of *Anguratotte*, come towards *Horne*, and "from thence into the imperial camp. "there to pay your obeiſance to his maje "ty. Such as fail in their duty muſt ex "pect to receive condign puniſhment. You "muſt not publiſh my name, what I do in "this reſpect not being by my own autho- "rity; but when you come to court, you "may then declare, that it was *Hangedera* "*Lionayde*, *Ranatonge Rale*'s ſon-in-law, "who gave you this invitation."

The *Aratche*, who had been the author of this letter, being ſeized and examined the ſame evening by Mr. *Adrian van der Meyden*, and major *Van der Laan*, did not diſown his hand, but refuſed to diſcover (though he was threatened with preſent death) by whoſe command he had writ it. The general being of opinion, that there was ſome myſtery hid under this pretence, eſpecially ſince this *Cingaleſe* lived under the company's juriſdiction, and had received ſignal obligations from them, commanded his head to be cut off, and delivered him up for that purpoſe to the provoſt, in hopes of extorting a confeſſion from him by this means; but under-hand ordered him to be ſecured only aboard the ſhip the *Arms of Amſterdam*, for fear, that in caſe he ſhould be executed on a ſudden, they might be bereaved of the opportunity of diſcovering the truth.

Letter ſent to the emperor.

February 27. being ſunday, the general ſent a letter to *Raja Singa*, to advertiſe his majeſty what had paſſed with the *Aratche*, and at the ſame time encloſed the original of the intercepted letter. The ſame day the diſſave of *Saffragamme* coming to the general to tell him, That the roads and bridges were now repaired according to his majeſty's orders; he was commanded by him to employ the ſame people in perfecting the palliſadoes intended for the new redoubt near the gate of *Rajuha*, which he promiſed to do. The general alſo told him what had happened with the *Aratche*; which he approving of, the general further deſired him to provide ſome *Bufflers* for the uſe of the ſeamen, who were ſorely afflicted with the ſcurvy; which he likewiſe agreed to.

Baldæus.

Word being brought that four fiſhermen were coming over to us in a *Tony*, or fiſher-boat, they were forewarned not to come into the camp, under the pain of being hanged, unleſs they could engage all the fiſhermen to come at once. About the ſame time a certain *Mooriſh* veſſel came into the road from *Puntegale*, with a paſſport from *John Kroon* our head-factor there. They brought advice that the lands and villages under the juriſdiction of *Gale* were farmed out at fifteen thouſand eight hundred and forty nine rixdollars, for the next year, to be paid by four quarterly payments; and that

A Mooriſh veſſel brings advice concerning the condition of Gale.

Areek, which the company had taken at ... rate of twenty four laryns the ammenam ... laſt year, was now to be delivered at the rate of ſixteen laryns. Five more ſhips arrived at the ſame time laden with rice.

The laſt day of this month, finding that the enemy worked againſt us, near the gate of *Rajuha*, lieutenant *Alenbier* was ſent with ſix firelocks to ſecure their workmen; but theſe ſaved themſelves by an early flight, and our people returned without receiving any damage. About the ſame time letters were brought by the yacht the *Arnemuyden*, dated the 17th of *February*, on the coaſt of *Coromandel*, others being alſo expected, dated the 11th, with the yacht the *Codfiſh*, not arrived as yet, having aboard one hundred load of rice of *Bengale*, a good quantity of gunpowder, and ſixty ſoldiers. The other veſſels cargo conſiſted in eighteen thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy ſeven pound weight of gunpowder, two thouſand ſeven hundred and eighty one bullets of divers ſizes, *viz.* two hundred and thirty one of twenty four pounds, ſeven hundred and fifty of eighteen, eighteen hundred of twelve, fifteen hundred ſtone-bullets, and ten thouſand pound weight of lead, beſides ſome other merchandizes, and ſixteen loads of rice, amounting to the value of ſix thouſand ninety eight gilders, on account of thoſe of *Ceylon* only. At the ſame time the *Rabbit* ſailed out of the road, being ordered to cruiſe on the ſouth point of *Negumbo*, and to be relieved every eight days by another ſhip.

Ships from Coromandel.

Baldæus. Pretty late in the evening, three deputies from the emperor presented the general with an elk, which his majesty himself had hunted the same morning in an adjacent wood, which was received with great reverence by his excellency.

The general received with an elk by the emperor.

The general and Mr. *Van der Meyden*, hearing the beat of drum in the new redoubt, near the gate of *Rajuba*, they went thither in person; and in their way met with seventeen *Lascaryns*, and two *Aratchies*, who being posted in an outwork near the said gate, had quitted the same: they being ordered to be secured in the head quarter, they went forward, and found that the alarm had been occasioned by the coming over of the *Lascaryns*, whom they mistook for enemies. They reported, That the city was provided with provisions till *May*, their allowance, viz. twenty five *Mididos* to a head, being given them for the month of *April*: they added, That it was whispered about, that the governor had embarked all his moveables, money, and jewels in a boat, and sent them in the night-time to *Manaar*; which news was very unpleasing to us, because they had escaped the sight of our ships. *Baldæus.*

Deserters give an account of the condition of Columbo

The 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th of *March*, we advanced bravely towards the gate of *Rajuba*: two *Portuguese* deserters, with some *Lascaryns* well armed, being examined apart, deposed, That the city could not hold out longer than towards the end of *May*, the remnants of the rice being very stony and unclean, nay, wet and corrupted. Hereupon the general ordered that a battery of two guns should be erected opposite to the utmost point of the bastion of *St. John*, the better to batter and lay level the flank of that of *St. Stephen's*, and under favour thereof to open again the trench leading to our mine, and so working along the wall, to take post upon the counterscarp.

CHAP. XXXII.

Many Deserters give Account of the Condition of Columbo. Ysbrand Gotskens *sent Envoy to the Emperor. His Letter to the General; and that of the Besieged to the Emperor.*

A Moorish vessel brings advice concerning the condition of Gale.

ABOUT that time divers *Lascaryn* deserters, and among them a *Portuguese*, made heavy complaints that they were forced to feed upon corrupted rice: the last told us, that there were no more than forty left of our prisoners, and that such of our officers as were not slain in the assault, died afterwards of their wounds, except a serjeant. He also discovered to us, that the besieged had carried all their guns from the bastions of *St. Stephen*, *St. Philip*, and *Clergos* into their outwork, before the gate of *Rajuba*, in order to discharge the same the next following night upon our pioneers. *Paul Meno*, who was then upon the guard there, was thereupon ordered to let the labourers cease, till they had spent their powder and ball in vain, and then to let them return to their work. In effect, they shot very furiously the next night, both with their cannon and firelocks, upon our works; and by break of day the general went on horseback to *Milagre*, to view the works of the diffaves on that side, which he found to be well secured by a strong set of palisadoes, reaching from the sea-shore to the fens; and being guarded by four companies, these were thought sufficient to oppose any sally of the enemy on that side.

One of our soldiers being some days before missing, we understood that he had sought for shelter with his majesty for a crime he had committed; which at his majesty's request was remitted him, yet not without being discharged from our service. The diffave who made this request, told the general, that the grapes sent to the emperor had been very well accepted.

A boy deserter brings certain advice.

The 13th of *March* a boy, who had deserted the *Portuguese*, came to the general, and told him in private, that having been let down from the bastion *Clergos* with a rope, by some *Lascaryns* who kept guard there, they intended the next night, with the rising of the moon, to come all over to us, or else deliver up the bastion. The boy, according to his own desire, being soundly whipped, was sent back into the city, to take away all suspicion of a private correspondence with us.

To second his endeavours, a company of the guards was posted in a convenient place; but the besieged fired so briskly from the bastions of *St. Stephen* and *St. Philip* that night, that there was no opportunity of putting it in execution at that time. A *Toupas* deserter reported the next day, that the bastion of *St. Stephen* was guarded only by sixteen men, having questionless disposed the rest in other places, as being sensible that the gaining of that bastion would stand us in no great stead. Six *Lascaryn* deserters confirmed the same soon after; and two among them assured the general, that the governor of *Columbo* had sent a letter to the emperor *Raja Singa*.

The

Baldæus. The 14th *Edmund Ruyſch*, whoſe quarters were at *Milagre*, ſent word, that *Henry William Boogare* a corporal, and *Peter van Bruyſingen* a common ſoldier, were gone over to the enemy. The ſame day ten *Laſcaryns* well armed came over to us; and the ſame evening, with the riſing of the moon, two cannon for battery was planted upon the battery againſt *St. John's* baſtion. His majeſty having deſired that ſome perſon of note might be ſent to him, to confer with him in private, our factor *Ysbrand Gotskens*, a native of the *Hague*, a perſon equally dextrous with his pen as the ſword, was ſent with all expedition thither. About the ſame time ſome *Laſcaryns* with their wives and children coming out of the city, were turned back again; a letter being at the ſame time delivered to a certain boy for *Simon Lopes*, lately gone over to the enemy, intimating, that, *If he would endeavour to make the negroes in the city riſe, he ſhould not only deſerve his pardon, but alſo a good reward.*

Two Dutch ſoldiers go over to the enemy.

A Letter to the deſerter Simon Lopes.

A falſe attack upon Colombo.

At midnight we made a falſe attack, which put the whole city into ſuch an alarm, that there was nothing to be heard but ringing of bells, and the noiſe of drums; but in half an hour all was quiet again. The next day his majeſty ſent three deputies, to know the reaſon of ſuch fierce firing; which being told them, they informed the general that *Ysbrand Gotskens* had not as yet had audience of the emperor, but would queſtionleſs be admitted the next day. A letter was alſo ſent to the general from the emperor *Raja Singa*, wherein were incloſed twenty others, one from *Antonio de Souza Coutinho* governor of *Columbo*, the other from the chief citizens of that city, both dated the 10th of *March*, in which they implore his majeſty's aſſiſtance.

RAJA SINGA RAJOU.

The emperor's letter to the general.

"THE preſent opportunity has invited our imperial majeſty to diſpatch theſe few lines to your excellency: two days ago, being *Wedneſday* the 15th of *March*, I broke up from *Guiramibula*, and marching along the other ſide of the river, by the way of *Walewitty*, have fixed my tents in this place; from whence I diſpatched immediately ſome of my great courtiers, to notify my arrival in the camp at *Reygamwatte*, and to enquire after your excellency's health. I commanded them at the ſame time (having not as yet an anſwer to ſome of your excellency's letters directed to me) to deſire you to ſend a perſon of note, unto whom I might by word of mouth give an anſwer to the ſaid letters. It being night when I arrived in the camp at *Reygamwatte*, I could not order the diſpoſition of my forces till next morning, when the two incloſed letters were delivered to me, one from the governor, the other from the citizens of *Columbo*; the contents whereof you will underſtand from the originals.

Baldæus.

Subſcribed,

At our court and camp of *Reygamwatte*, *Mar.* 17. 1659.

Raja Singa Rajou, moſt potent emperor of *Ceylon*.

Moſt Potent Emperor Raja Singa, *&c.*

The governor's letter to the emperor.

"IMmediately after our enemies did engage into this unjuſt war, which continues to this day, I let your majeſty know the reaſons which induced me to ſollicite ſome ſupplies from your majeſty; not queſtioning, but that you would not leave me in ſuch an extremity, it being always the ambition of great monarchs to take the leſs powerful under their protection; though through God's mercy, we have hitherto not only defended this city, but alſo at ſeveral times given the enemy ſufficient proofs of our bravery, in deſtroying and diſperſing his forces, of which we have ſent an account to your majeſty. But perhaps theſe letters never came to your majeſty's hands, being intercepted by the enemy; which ſeems the leſs ſurpriſing to me, ſince they have treated the natives of this iſland, (without any juſt cauſe,) that went out of this city like ſlaves, forcing many of them to retire back without the leaſt mercy. The city of *Columbo* is an antient inheritance of the *Portugueſe*, beſtowed upon them by the kings and emperors, your predeceſſors, who always were ready to honour them with their protection; neither do we want opportunity to make your majeſty (if you pleaſe) ſenſible of the manifold ſervices done by the *Portugueſe* in this iſle, in caſe we did not believe the ſame to be ſtill in the memory of your majeſty, and many of your great ones. We do not know to have given the leaſt reaſon of diſpleaſure to your majeſty; which makes us imagine, that you will be pleaſed not to leave us in this extremity, in regard it ſeems much more reaſonable to aſſiſt the *Portugueſe*, your antient friends, than the *Hollanders*, your new gueſts. Time has already diſcovered the intentions of the *Dutch*; and experience will ſoon convince you, that all their aim is founded upon lucre and intereſt, which they diſſemble for the preſent; but ſo ſoon as they are maſters of this place, your majeſty will too late be convinced of the truth of what I ſay. I will

" not

not order the dif- *Baldæus.*
till next morning,
t letters were de-
om the governor,
izens of *Columbo*;
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Subscribed,

Singa Rajou, most
otent emperor of
eylon.

Raja Singa, *&c.*

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Baldæus. " not pretend to urge that matter any fur-
" ther for the present, leaving the deter-
" mination of the whole to your majesty's
" wisdom, and the conduct of your coun-
" sellors. God preserve your imperial ma-
" jesty."

Columbo, Mar. 10. 1656. *Antonio de Souza Coutinho.*

Most High and Most Potent Emperor and Lord, Raja Singa, *&c.*

Hostilities " IMmediately after the *Hollanders* had
move the " laid siege to this place, our magi-
emperor. " strates and governors did give notice
" thereof to your majesty, as likewise of
" the ensuing general assault made by the
" enemy both by sea and land; which be-
" ing done in the day-time, we let them
" advance into the city, but afterwards
" made them glad to ask for quarter,
" which was granted them. According to
" the confession of the *Dutch* themselves,
" they were two hundred and forty strong
" when they passed the fens, the greatest
" part whereof with their boats fell into
" our hands, besides a ship of thirty guns
" taken by us, and another much damaged,
" which they had enough to do to carry off,
" not to mention those that were slain in
" the ships, and in the assault. Being af-
" terwards advanced to the ditch, they fix-
" ed their miners, and were busy in bring-
" ing over their gallery; but we forced
" them to retire with considerable loss,
" and took the gallery with the loss of one
" man only. There remains nothing now
" but for your majesty to vouchsafe us your
" favour, which we heartily wish for and
" desire. From what has been said, we *Baldæus.*
" hope your majesty is sufficiently convinced
" of our good will and zeal, in defending
" a place, bestowed upon us by your impe-
" rial majesty's ancestors; and that, if sup-
" ported by your favour, we shall never
" cease to persist in the same resolution, in
" hopes that your majesty will rather as-
" sist the *Portuguese*, your ancient friends,
" than the *Hollanders*. God protect your
" majesty, and your dominions.

Columbo, Mar. 11. 1656. By order from

Diego Leitaon de Souza, chief secretary.
Manoel de Fonseca.
Diego de Souza de Cunha.
Ruy Lopes Coutinho.
John Coelho de Castro.
Bento Pereira d'Abreu.

The 20th of *March* a negro pioneer came to us, who, having worked in the ditch, discovered the place to us; and that four *Portuguese* being taken as they were coming over to our camp, had been hanged: that our new battery had killed two *Canaryns* and a gunner, and wounded several others upon the bastion of *St. Stephen*. Concerning their provisions, they confirmed what had been told us before. The general went with the said negro in person to the ditch, to see the place where the negro had been at work, and perceiving three *Portuguese* close together in the ditch, he got upon the wall, and discharged his fusee twice at *The general in danger of being killed.* them; but soon got down again, without which he had been in great danger, three bullets passing immediately after that way.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Ysbrand Gotskens *returns from the Emperor's Court: Gives an Account of his Transactions. Letters sent to* Columbo. *A Battery raised. A circumstantial Account from* Goa, *and its Condition.*

A boy taken. ABOUT noon a boy was taken in our works, where *Paul Meno* then kept guard, inquiring after our strength: and being asked why, he answered, That the governor of *Columbo* had sent him to enquire after it. In consideration of his youth and simplicity, he came off with a good whipping, and so was sent back into the city. Major *Van der Laan* sent word, that the enemy having made a hole through the wall, played from thence directly upon his works, and had killed a negro; and the same night they played with a cannon upon the same works, but without hurting any body.

The 23d of *March* towards evening, the factor *Ysbrand Gotskens* having taken his leave the same day of the emperor, returned to our camp, where he gave the following account in writing of his negotiation:

" That in answer to five several letters Ysbrand
" written by general *Hulft* to his majesty, Gotskens
" he had commanded him to tell the gene- *gives an account of his*
" ral, That having received a letter dated *negotiation.*
" the 16th at *Columbo*, he would let him
" know the contents thereof. That his
" majesty was well satisfied with the pro-
" ceedings against such as were fled out of
" the city; which though it might seem

Baldæus. "somewhat cruel, yet was he contented to "have the blame thereof himself, as tending "to his service, and the speedy reducing of the city. That because his "majesty was sensible that whatever presents he could make to the general of "rich apparel, and such like ornaments, "he was sufficiently provided with before, "he had thought fit to bestow upon him "the title and dignity of his *Director-general*, and that for the future he should be "acknowledged as such throughout his "dominions. That he further desired the "general not to take it amiss, that after "the dissaves had notified his arrival in "the camp of *Reygamwatte*, a guide had "been denied to the captain of the guard, "it being contrary to the custom of his "country for any one to be introduced at "court, without notice being given of his "arrival to the emperor.

"What the general had alledged concerning the *Mouson*, and the soldiers being fatigued by so tedious a siege, his "majesty was very sensible thereof, and "that when the general should come into "his presence (which he hoped would be "within three or four days) they would "confer upon that point, and settle the "matter to his satisfaction: But his majesty being informed that his excellency "frequently exposed his person, and regarding him with the same tenderness as "his own eyes, had desired his excellency "for the future to take more care of his "person, commanding all his officers of "what quality soever, to be careful of him "to the last degree.

"What his excellency had alledged, "concerning his majesty's being constantly employed in weighty affairs, and that "therefore he was unwilling to disturb him "with frequent letters; His majesty replied, that the subject of his excellency's "letters being such, as most nearly concerned his service, nothing could be more "acceptable to him, than to bestow his "time in perusing the letters of the most "trusty servant that ever he had in his life, "desiring therefore, that his excellency "might supersede these excuses. That "what his excellency had alledged in his "behalf, concerning the mistake in commanding his forces at *Reigam-Corle*, as it "was intended for his majesty's service, so "it was very acceptable to him, and needed no farther excuse; as was likewise "the punishment inflicted upon the author "of the letter writ from *Pasdun-Corle*, "to deter others from the like undertakings. Concerning the treaty made with "Mr. *Westerwold*, his majesty declared, "he would keep the same inviolably, notwithstanding that several generals of the "*Indies*, and *Dutch* governors of the isle *Baldæus.* "in *Ceylon*, had done many things which "had given occasion to no small disturbances: but that as he called God to witness "of his innocence, so he was extremely "glad to have meet with a person of honour in his excellency's person, who having done already considerable services to "his crown, he intended to enter with him "into a strict confederacy, which should "stand firm as long as the sun and moon "should furnish the world with light.

"It was therefore that his majesty was "very desirous to know his excellency's intentions, whether, after the taking of "*Columbo*, they should attack the kingdom of *Jasnapatnam* or the isle of *Manaar*, and whether it were not convenient to send some of his forces under certain dissaves thither immediately: That "he had received two letters from the before-mentioned places, which should be "communicated to his excellency. His "majesty also declared, That either next "sunday or thursday (which of these two "his excellency should pitch upon) he "would expect him at court, and that he "would send some of his courtiers to conduct him thither.

Two letters sent to Columbo.

At the same time certain deputies from his majesty brought along with them two letters penned by Mr. *Hulft* our general, in answer to those sent from *Columbo* to the emperor, and dispatched to his majesty; which being well approved of by him, and signed by his excellency in his majesty's name, were carried the next day into the city.

Soon after news was brought from *Montual*, that four hundred *Portuguese*, commanded by four officers, had been seen near the sea shore on the other side of the river, but hitherto had not made the least attempt of passing the same. Abundance of the inhabitants of the inland countries, who perhaps had never had a sight of a man of war, or any well-disciplined forces, flocked thither (with his majesty's permission) to see them. About the same time we received a reinforcement of fifty men from *Punnegale*, being all they could spare.

A supply of fifty men comes to the Dutch camp.

The before-mentioned letters sent in his majesty's name, and carried by some of his *Aratches* and *Lascaryns* into *Columbo*, were at first received with a general salute of the cannon and small arms; but being opened, the inhabitants sufficiently testified their resentment, telling the messengers, that in case their condition was not so desperate, they would play them another game before they returned; of which usage the messengers desired the general to make his complaint to the emperor.

How their letters were received there.

The

Baldæus. The same day arose a violent tempest, with rain, thunder, and lightning, which killed one of our sentinels, and struck three muskets, in the church of *Quia de Lobo*, all to pieces. The emperor was so complaisant, as to enquire the next day by one of his messengers, whether we had suffered any damage in our tents or works, and was answered, that God had preserved us from all the danger. The same day, being the 25th of *March*, two *Europeans* came over to us; one of them, a native of *Marseilles*, was overtaken by the way, and received nine wounds, so that he narrowly escaped to our works, but died the next morning.

A violent tempest.

The 26th a serjeant, a *Mistice*, came over to us, and reported, That two more of the same company watched only an opportunity to desert: That they had already distributed to each soldier his quota of provisions, *viz.* a *Parra* of rice *per diem*, for the month of *April*: That they were much afflicted with the dropsy and the *Beribery*, a swelling in the knees, which takes away the use of their legs.

Two fishermen taken.

Soon after commodore *Rootbaus* sent in three fishermen, taken by our boats within musquet-shot of the water-fort. The seamen had fifty crowns given them (the usual reward for every *Tony* or fisher-boat) and twenty five more as an encouragement. These fishermen being the chief persons who supplied the city with provisions. Orders were also sent to the commodore, not to expose his seamen without an absolute necessity.

Some of our best workmen were also consulted about the erecting another battery against the bastion of *St. John*, in order to destroy their pallisado work in the ditch, and to facilitate the bringing over of the gallery. The general told the emperor's dissave, that he stood in need of four or five hundred pioneers and workmen; but he declined the matter, telling him, That when he came to the emperor, he would doubtless not deny his request.

A Portuguese merchant comes into the camp.

About the same time a *Portuguese* merchant came in a boat cross the bay into our camp, in company of a *Negro* trumpeter. They reported, That they were reduced to great extremity in the place; that no less than one hundred thirty had been buried yesterday; and that if most of the *Portuguese* had not their legs swelled by the dropsy, they had deserted long before this.

The 29th of *March* the enemy were preparing to attack the redoubt of *Paul Meno* two hours before day. But the *Negro* pioneers with the sentinel retreating in time, and giving the alarm, they retired, after having exchanged some musquet-balls without doing any harm. Four deputies arriving soon after to enquire the occasion of such smart firing, they were shewn the works, and told, That we wanted four or five hundred *Colys*, or labourers. Three other fishermen were also brought up by the seamen, who had the usual reward given them. Baldæus.

At the same time the *Papkensburgh* yacht arriving from *Wingurla*, brought the following advice: *News from Goa advised by Leonard Worms.*

That *Don Rodrigo de Lobo, Conde de Sarcredo*, viceroy of *Goa*, and his secretary, with three of his domesticks, having been poisoned, died within four or five days after. His death being concealed for some time, *Manuel Mascarenhas Homem*, formerly governor of *Ceylon*, was (pursuant to the king's orders) constituted two days after viceroy in his stead: but the *Fidalgos*, or gentlemen, not being satisfied with his person, they expected daily a revolt (just as it happened against him at *Columbo*, 1652.) However, not long after the viceroy's death, the merchants of *Goa* began to load all the yachts that were there, as also one galeon and a carrack, whilst the governor was busy in equipping of men of war and other vessels, intended for *Ceylon*, offering twenty *Seraphyns* (or *Dutch* guilders) to every soldier that would list himself. Our resident of *Wingurla* further advised, That they had sent from *Goa* one hundred sixty ships, and among them sixteen men of war, the 8th of *February*, to the north, to fetch provisions and some other necessary commodities; and that the said fleet had tarried four or five days in sight of *Wingurla* by reason of the contrary winds. That three *Patachos*, or yachts, were sailed for *Mosimbique*; but one being leaky, was forced to return to *Bombassa*; two more to *Mirassar*, two more to *China*; and one carrack and a galeon, *viz.* the *Bon Jesus* and *Nossa Senhora de Gratia*, set sail the 19th of *February* for *Portugal*, aboard of which were carried the following gentlemen, being accused of certain crimes against the government, *viz.* *Don Bras de Castro*, late governor general; *Don Lewis de Souza*; *Don Pedro de Castro*; *Manuel de Souza Cabraer*, master of the artillery; *Diego de Salvaar*, captain major; *Estevaon de Melo*, late governor of *Bassyn*; *Charles Hudsart*, a rich merchant; Dr. *Caldero*; and *Jeronimo Lobo de Talbetta*. In the *Bassyn* (under the jurisdiction of *Goa*) remained prisoners, on account of being concerned in the declaring *Don Bras de Castro* viceroy, *Don Rodrigo Monsanto*, a captain in the *Bassyn*; the *Veador de Fazenda*, or sur-intendant of the merchants; and *Leon Corre*.

He advised, That the before-mentioned carrack and galeon had aboard a very large cargo of staffs and callico's, of cinnamon, indigo, pepper, bezoar-stones, cloves, *&c.* And that several of the richest merchants of

Goa

Baldæus. *Goa* having imbarked all their effects aboard the ſaid two veſſels, were gone privately along with them to *Portugal*.

Two days before the yachts the *Zierickſee* and *Naerden* arrived before *Goa*, four *Patamars*,* with a *Portugueſe*, came to that place to bring advice of the deſperate condition of *Columbo*; and that they ſtood in great need of the ſo-long-expected ſuccours. But the government of *Goa* finding a great averſion in the *Portugueſe* ſoldiers, as well as the *Negro* ſeamen, to go to *Ceylon*, eſpecially in this dangerous ſeaſon, they pretended to have received letters from *Don Anthonio de Souza Coutinho*, governor of *Columbo*, with advice, That the *Dutch* had been forced, with the aſſiſtance of *Raja Singa*, to raiſe the ſiege; and to make this news paſs for current, the new viceroy *Manuel Maſcarenhas Homem* got the governor of *Columbo*'s hand counterfeited, and ordered for three days ſucceſſively ringing of bells, illuminations, bonefires, and other demonſtrations of joy to be made for its relief.

By the ſame letters from *Wingurla* advice was brought, That our ſhips deſigned for *Perſia* and *Suratte*, were ſailed from thence; and that according to the intelligence received from *Ditſely*, (a *Mahometan* city not far from *Goa*,) the ſo-long-expected ſquadron, conſiſting of between twenty and thirty ſhips, was to ſail within three days with men and proviſions for *Ceylon*: though this proved afterwards only rhodomontade. *Baldæus.*

He further added, That after the departure of the before-mentioned veſſels bound to *Perſia* and *Suratte*, frequently yachts had been ſent to the river of *Goa*, to get intelligence of the motion of the ſaid ſquadron: that as far as they could learn, they ſtay'd only for the return of the before-mention'd fleet ſent out to fetch proviſions from the north; when they intended to force all the ſeamen, before they could ſet foot aſhore, aboard the men of war, in order to carry them, together with ſeven or eight hundred *European* ſoldiers, and good ſtore of proviſions, to the iſle of *Ceylon*, for the relief of *Columbo*. According to the governor of *Wingurla*'s opinion, the ſaid ſuccours could not be ready before *April*; and that if by that time they had no certain news at *Goa* of the ſurrender of *Columbo*, they would, beſides the before-mentioned ſquadron, gather all their naval and land-forces, and endeavour to penetrate, with the ſtrong north wind, which commonly blows in that ſeaſon, into the harbour of *Columbo* for its relief.

He further added, That there lay two galleons and a carrack at anchor in the river of *Goa*; one whereof, which lay near *Marmagon*, would ſcarce be fit to go out this ſeaſon. Laſtly, That the yacht the *Roman* lay ready to ſail upon the firſt news he ſhould receive of the going out of the ſaid ſquadron for the relief of *Columbo*, to give us timely notice of their coming.

* Patamars *are* Indian *advice-boats covered all over for the carriage of letters, which they tie round in wax cloths to the maſts.* Patamars *are alſo flying foot poſts.*

CHAP. XXXIV.

Letters betwixt the Emperor and General. Several Deſerters come over to us. The General invited to the Emperor's Camp.

THE 30th of *March* a good number of *Portugueſe* paſſing the fens in two boats, called *Manchous*, attacked our forces in their works near the gate of *Mapane*; but after ſome firing on both ſides, were forced to retire in confuſion. Soon after a certain captain of a village was taken by our people, who was ſent out to fetch in ſome faſcines, intended to be made uſe of in ſtrengthening the cortin betwixt the baſtions of *St. John* and *St. Stephen*. Two *Tonys*, or fiſher-boats, were likewiſe brought in with five fiſhermen, and the ſeamen rewarded according to cuſtom.

Letter from the general to the emperor.

At the ſame time the general writ a letter to the emperor, wherein he imparted to his majeſty the news he had received concerning the intended relief of *Columbo*. In the evening two *Portugueſe*, deſerters that came from the baſtion of *St. Stephen*, (having ſent the ſentinel upon an errand,) gave us a tolerable account of the condition of the city; and the next day another *Portugueſe* deſerter bore the marks of their extremity in his countenance, which was very meagre. The ſeamen alſo brought in four fiſhermen more; who making up the number of fifteen in all, they were ſold for ſlaves by the ſound of trumpet, to reimburſe us the money that was given to the ſeamen for the taking of them. *Fifteen fiſhermen ſold for ſlaves.*

The firſt of *April* the diſſaves of *Ouve* and the four *Corles* came at the head of a troop of one hundred *Laſcaryns*, divided into certain companies into the camp; and bringing along with them a letter from his majeſty to the general, neatly laid together, they were received with all poſſible marks of honour. The letter ran thus:

The emperor's letter to the general.

" YOUR excellency's letter, dated the 24th of *March*, I received the ſame " day; wherein you declare your readineſs

to

Baldæus. "to serve our imperial majesty upon all occasions; which, together with the proofs "we have received thereof ever since your "landing in this island, could not but be "highly acceptable to our imperial majes-"ty. Your excellency declares, that you "will reserve what you have further to pro-"pose till the time you shall be admitted "into our presence. Our dearly beloved "director-general being so near our camp, "has nevertheless not as yet appeared in "our presence, which we easily pass by in "regard of the affection our imperial ma-"jesty bears to your person. We have sent "the dissaves of *Ouve* and of the *Four* "*Corles* to conduct you hither. When "they are arrived, your excellency may "order the dissaves of the *Four Corles*, and "of the *Seven Corles*, and of *Saffragamme*, "to take care in the mean while of the "forces, and what else you shall find most "requisite for our service, and to chuse one "of them (whom you please) for your con-"ductor, not questioning, but that (ac-"cording to your wisdom and experience) "you will provide for the security of our "forces, and our dear *Hollanders*. God "conduct your excellency with his blessing, "that our imperial eyes may see your per-"son, which happy hour and day I expect "with joyful eyes; assuring your excellen-"cy, that whatever you shall propose to us "will be as acceptable to our ears as the "most harmonious musick in the world."

At *Reygamwatte*, *April* 1. 1656.

Consultation about the general's going to Kandy.

It was then consulted what method was most convenient to be taken, and what preparations were necessary in order to attend the emperor with the utmost splendor; his dissave having (by his majesty's orders) appointed the next following wednesday for the general's reception. But before his departure he ordered two twelve-pounders to be planted upon the battery against *St. John's* bastion, where the next day a seaman was killed, and a soldier shot by the same ball through the hat, without touching his head, or any other part. The same day sixteen *Lascaryns* well armed, coming over to us from the bastion of *St. Steven*, were overtaken by some *Portuguese* forces, with whom there happened a smart skirmish before they could get clear, two of them being wounded. They were employ'd in our works near the gate of *Rajuba*.

The more cannon raised on battery.

Sixteen deserters.

In the afternoon the dissaves of *Ouve* and the *Four Corles* came with a numerous retinue to attend the general, leaving it to his choice whom of the two he would pitch upon to conduct him to his majesty. After some discourse the dissave of *Saffragamme* was named by his excellency for that purpose, and ordered to get every thing in readiness for their departure against the next morning. News was brought at the same time, that seven *Canaryns* were taken by some of the emperor's forces above *Negumbo*, coming in a fisher-boat from *Columbo*. Baldæus.

The 4th of *April* in the afternoon, advice being given that his majesty was come on horseback to the pass of *Welecande*, the general was preparing to meet him there; but as they were just ready to take horse, certain dissaves came post with a message from the emperor, desiring the general not to come till to morrow, because his majesty was returned immediately.

The general sets out on his journey to the emperor.

Accordingly the 5th of *April* the general set out on his journey, in order to wait on his majesty, attended by the two factors, *Edward Ooms* and *Ysbrand Gotskens*; the fiscal *Lucas van der Duffen*, *Cornelius Valkenburgh* secretary, *James van der Rhee* the interpreter, *George Bloom*, and *Don John de Costa*, accompany'd by the imperial dissaves of *Ouve* and *Saffragamme*, and a company of firelocks under captain *John Hartman*; Mr. *Adrian van der Meyden*, major *Van der Laan*, the dissave of the *Four-Corles*, besides several officers of note, conducting them as far as to the pass of *Nacolegamme*, his majesty being then encamped upon the river of *Reygamwatte*.

Honourable reception of the general.

The first testimony of respect shewed to the director-general of his majesty, was the offer of three fine and well-accoutred horses, for the courtiers to make use of them at pleasure. These were followed by five tame elephants, with their guides, who were ordered to keep in the van. Then came a considerable number of noblemen and officers, at the head of their respectivs troops, paying their respects to his excellency, and asking after his health. As they approached the imperial head-quarters they were met by some of the chief men of his majesty's court, accompany'd by a vast number of soldiers, umbrello-carriers, trumpets, musicians, eleven elephants, and two fine horses, with saddles, bridles, and other ornaments beset with gold and precious stones, to compliment his excellency in his majesty's behalf. Thus they marched on through a guard of fusileers and bowmen ranged on both sides for a quarter of an hour together, till they came to a house prepared for the general's reception, neatly furnished, the outward-rooms being hung with hanging of a white linen cloth, and the bed-chambers with gold stuffs. Here the general entered with his retinue under a salvo of firelocks, placed on the other side of the river near the imperial palace. They had scarce arrived here two hours, but his majesty's dissaves came to enquire after the general's health, being informed that his excellency was seized with an ague, which had made him resolve

Baldæus. to come to him in perſon, had he not received nearer advice, that his dearly-beloved director was on the mending-hand, of which he expected the confirmation with the utmoſt impatience. Theſe compliments were returned by the general with the utmoſt demonſtrations of reſpect and duty, telling the diſſaves, That he was highly deſirous to appear in the preſence of ſo famous and potent a monarch ſo ſoon as poſſible could be, his preſence being abſolutely neceſſary in the camp.

Next day being the 6th, great ſtore of proviſions of the beſt kind were brought in boats for the general and his whole retinue.

The general prepares for his return. In the afternoon ſome courtiers brought word to the general in private, that his majeſty being ſeized that morning with a ſudden illneſs, could (to his great affliction) not ſpeak with his excellency that day. His excellency reply'd, That he was heartily ſorry his preſence was ſo abſolutely neceſſary in the camp, that he could not without great hazard ſtay, ſince it was uncertain how ſoon his majeſty might recover; for which reaſon he deſired leave to depart for this time till a better opportunity, deſiring that four horſes might be laid by the way, which, as ſoon as his majeſty thought convenient, might carry him with all ſpeed to court; whereupon orders were given to *John Hartman* to prepare for the march; which was done accordingly the ſame night.

Soon after we underſtood that his majeſty had been forced to have been let blood in the arm; and that he had ſhewed a great deal of ſorrow for the intended departure of the general, telling his courtiers, That being ſenſible how neceſſary his preſence was in camp, he would either the next morning, or at furtheſt in the evening, admit him into his preſence, in caſe he found the leaſt abatement of his illneſs. In the mean while the general ſent the following letter to his majeſty:

Moſt Serene Emperor,

The general's letter to the emperor.

" THREE days being already paſſed ſince I came hither by your majeſty's command and deſire; but not being able hitherto to appear in your majeſty's preſence, I moſt humbly beg leave to return to the camp, the whole burden whereof reſts upon my ſoldiers, promiſing to be ready to attend your majeſty, whenever you ſhall think fit to ſend for me; and living in conſtant hopes, that in caſe ſome miſcarriage or other ſhould happen in my abſence, the ſame will not be alledged againſt me, and put upon me as a blemiſh to blot out the remembrance of my former ſervice. God protect the emperor. *Baldæus.*

April 7. 1656. Your majeſty's moſt humble ſervant,

Gerard Hulſt.

This done, the general ordered *Ysbrand Gotskens* and *Don John de Coſta*, with ſome of his truſty *Laſcaryns*, to take a view of the king's guards upon the road, with an intention, that in caſe he ſaw no certain proſpect of going to court to day, (as indeed there was but little appearance he ſhould, conſidering the emperor's indiſpoſition,) he would privately go poſt to the camp. The 8th of *April* the following letter was delivered to the general from the emperor.

The emperor's letter to the general.

" THE perſons ſent to enquire after your excellency's health, delivered to me, with a great deal of ſatisfaction, your excellency's letter wrote on friday laſt at four a-clock. I was extremely pleaſed to hear you were in health, and retained the ſame inclinations for our ſervice. It was on the other hand no ſmall affliction to me, that you had ſtay'd ſo long in my court, without being able to ſee you. I aſſure you, that the ſame has happened far beyond my wiſhes or intention; but it ſeems to have been ſo ordained by God, that your excellency ſhould be a witneſs of my illneſs, and at the ſame time have an opportunity of receiving the preſent ſent to you by the prince, (born by God's providence for the welfare of my ſubjects,) and deliver'd into my hands before my departure from *Candy*. Your excellency may prepare your ſelf againſt to morrow, when I will ſend word for your appearance in my preſence; which done, you ſhall have liberty to return into the camp: when I will alſo iſſue my orders for the furniſhing you with all things requiſite for the accompliſhment of ſuch meaſures as ſhall be taken betwixt us. After my recovery I intend to come in perſon into your camp, for which reaſon I have commanded the diſſave of *Ouve* to prepare my quarters there. No more, but that our imperial majeſty does not ceaſe to pray to God for your excellency's welfare.

April 7. before break of day. *Raja Singa*, moſt potent emperor of *Ceylon*.

CHAP.

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humble ſervant,

Gerard Hulſt.

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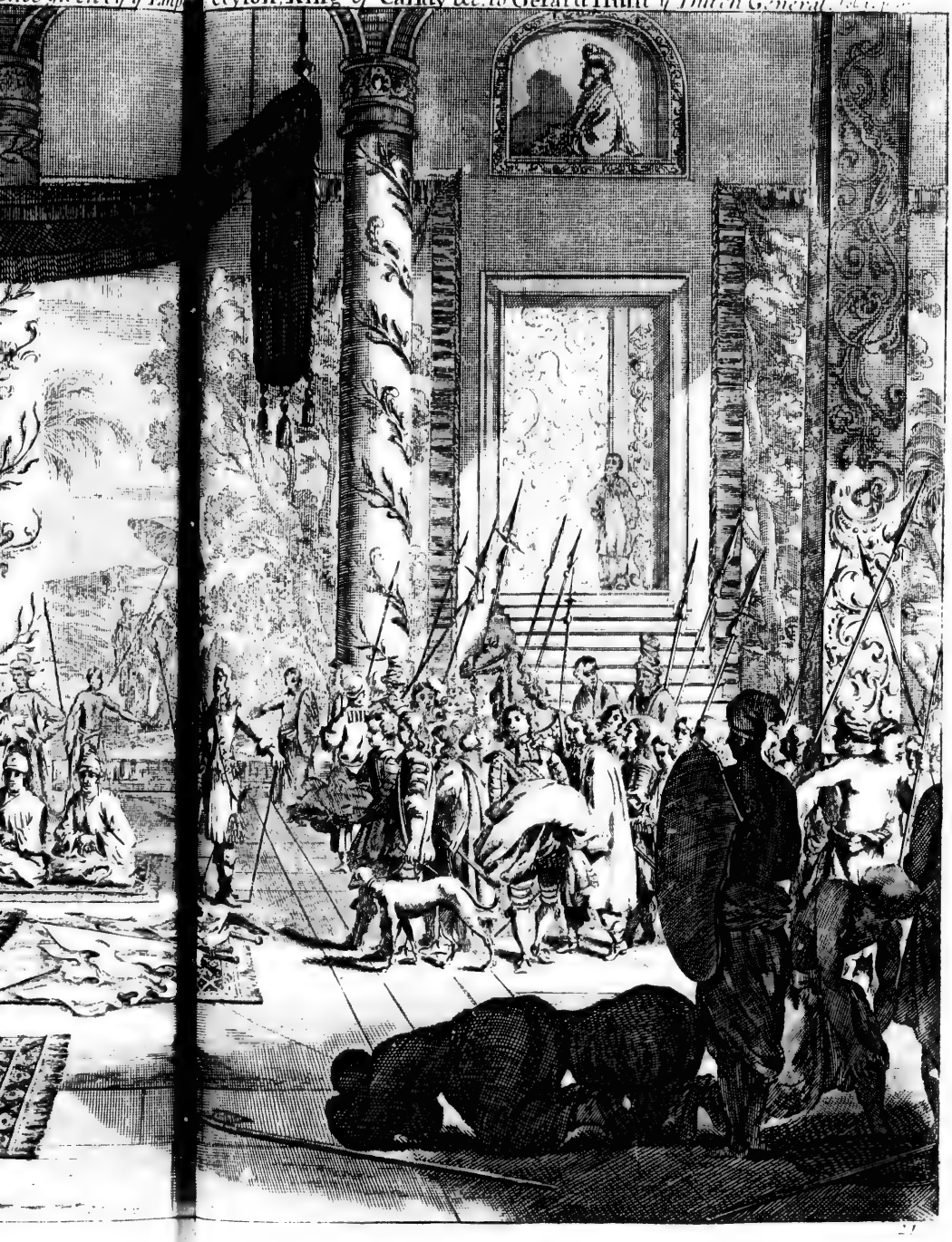
CHAP.

A Draught of the most Splendid Audience given by y Emp[illegible] Ceylo



CHAP

Baldæus.

The genealogy.

The ancestor.

CHAP. XXXV.

The General's moſt magnificent Entry: He is admitted into his Majeſty's Preſence. What paſſed at their Interview. The General's Return: His Unfortunate End.

Baldæus. *The general's entry.*

ABOUT noon, juſt as the general was at dinner, we heard a noiſe of drums, trumpets, and other muſick on the other ſide of the river; and ſoon after ſaw ſome of the chief courtiers of the emperor, with three of the choiceſt horſes of his ſtable, adorned with moſt magnificent ſaddles, bridles, and other accoutrements, to advance in very good order towards us; ſome perſons of the firſt quality marching before to invite his excellency to court. The general ordered immediately his guards to paſs the river with the preſents, with an intention to follow them in perſon with his whole train; where his excellency was complimented by the diſſaves of *Ouve* and *Matale*, the captain of his majeſty's *Guard du corps*, and a great number of other courtiers. The whole cavalcade was ordered in the following manner: His excellency's guards led the van, fifteen enſigns and ſtandards being by the firſt ranks carried trailing upon the ground to ſhew the ſpoils of their enemies. Theſe were followed by his majeſty's horſes and muſicians, and then by five tame elephants: without the gate of the palace were ranged a vaſt number of muſketeers; and paſſing over the bridge they found the guard in the outward-court ranged on both ſides, through which they marched into the imperial palace. *Baldæus.*

His audience.

The doors being ſhut after them, all the *Hollanders* there preſent were conducted through a large ſquare into a ſpacious hall, (called by them *Mandonoe*,) on the weſt-ſide whereof they found his majeſty ſeated in great pomp upon a chair of ſtate, mounted ſome ſteps from the ground. No ſooner had they entered the hall, but all the great courtiers paid their reverence by falling flat with their faces upon the ground, and the *Dutch* upon

Baldæus. upon their knees, till his majeſty was pleaſed to order them to riſe by a nod. Then they began to approach the imperial throne, adorned with moſt precious tapeſtries of gold, (called by them *Alcatives*,) coming to the middle of the hall, they fell upon their knees, a ſecond time, according to the cuſtom of the eaſtern nations, till his majeſty was pleaſed to ariſe from his ſeat, and commanded the general to come nearer, who made the following ſpeech to his majeſty:

His ſpeech to the emperor.

Moſt Potent Monarch!

"YOUR moſt humble ſervant approaches your imperial throne with "a moſt violent paſſion, in confidence of "your generous inclinations and wonted clemency, which has encouraged me "to addreſs myſelf to your majeſty (whoſe "name is renowned throughout the world) "with a moſt ſincere wiſh, that God Almighty will be pleaſed to bleſs your moſt "illuſtrious imperial majeſty, and the "prince, with a long and happy life for "the welfare and protection of your ſubjects.

"I am come hither to renew and confirm the moſt ſincere confederacy eſtabliſhed betwixt your moſt potent majeſty and the *Dutch* nation; and to deſire, "That whatever differences or diſturbances "may have happened hitherto betwixt "your imperial majeſty and our nation, "may be buried in eternal oblivion, in order to eſtabliſh an eternal peace and confederacy, which may be as durable as "the bodies of the ſun and moon. It can't "be denied but that ſeveral miſunderſtandings have happened betwixt your majeſty's officers and thoſe of our company; "but theſe ought now to be removed even "out of our memory, at a time when we "are ſo profuſe of the blood of our countrymen, to force our common enemies "out of this iſle, and ready to give your "majeſty every day new proofs of our ſincerity and hearty inclinations towards "you."

What paſſed betwixt him and the emperor.

His majeſty appeared highly ſatisfied with what his excellency had ſaid, ordering him at the ſame time to riſe; which he ſeemed not to underſtand, and at the ſame time offered certain preſents, being, as he ſaid of little value in themſelves; but nevertheleſs much regarded by the moſt potent emperors and monarchs, to wit, ſome ſtandards taken from thoſe very enemies who had for many years together ſo cruelly and barbarouſly oppreſſed his majeſty's ſubjects, eſpecially in the *Low-Lands*. His majeſty then, ſpeaking of the preſents ſent to his excellency by the prince his ſon, his excellency acknowledged the ſame with extraordinary reverence, pointing at the ſame time at a jewel he wore upon his breaſt, preſented him before by his majeſty; and ſo approaching the throne, he kneeled upon a cuſhion laid upon the ſtep of the throne, and touching his majeſty's hand, told him, That he thought it the greateſt honour he ever was capable of receiving, to be admitted to kiſs his majeſty's hands. *Baldæus.*

Extraordinary honour done to the general.

The emperor took a *Gargantinho*, or collar of gold, which he threw about his excellency's neck, and drawing his own ring from the firſt finger of his left hand, he deſired he ſhould extend his finger, and wear it in remembrance of his majeſty, who put it upon his finger. His excellency was ſo ſurprized at this extraordinary favour, That he had ſcarce power to put out his middle finger of his left-hand, telling his majeſty, That this finger having had the misfortune to be diſfigured by his enemies, was now abundantly recompenſed for his pains by the honour his majeſty had been pleaſed to beſtow upon him. Then retiring ſomewhat backwards, and ſtanding upon a tapeſtry, he declared to his majeſty, "That he was ſent into this iſle "with full power by the general and "council of the *Indies*, to propoſe to "his majeſty, whether he would be pleaſed to continue the antient alliance, "(made with Mr. *Weſterwold*,) or have "the ſame renewed, and ſome other articles added; aſſuring his majeſty, "That whatever ſhould be agreed upon "ſhould be kept inviolably on their ſide." Unto which his majeſty replied, "That "he was highly ſatisfied with his propoſal."

Certain propoſitions made by the general.

Then the general giving a ſhort account of their ſucceſs againſt the enemy, his majeſty ſaid, That he had heard of the ſame to his ſignal ſatisfaction; and that he had a preſent from the prince his ſon for his excellency: whereupon approaching the throne a ſecond time, his majeſty preſented him with a garter of gold, which he ſaid had been worn by the prince himſelf.

He preſented with a garter.

This done, our preſents being ordered to be brought in, Captain *Hartman* entered with fifteen of his ſtouteſt ſoldiers, each of them trailing one of the enemy's colours upon the ground; which being thrown careleſly down in the hall of audience, a white buckler, formerly belonging to the *Portugueſe* governor *Anthonio Mendes d'Aranha*, was laid upon them, as alſo an *Indian* ſcymetar, the hilt whereof was of agate and gold curiouſly wrought, which his excellency declared to be intended for the prince, wherewith to defend his ſubjects (when come to riper years) againſt all the enemies of the crown, not excepting

Baldæus. ing the *Hollanders* themſelves, if they deſerved it. Wherewith his majeſty ſeemed highly ſatisfied, that he put the ſcymetar next to his throne.

The preſents ſent by the company to his majeſty were as follows:

Two very fine *Perſian* horſes, one *Turky* gun, two *Perſian* bows, with their arrows and quivers richly embroidered, one *Japoneſe* gown very rich; two greyhounds, two *Perſian* ſheep, two rock-goats of *Viſiapour*, one piece of *Sandal-wood*.

Thoſe for the young prince were:

One very fine *Perſian* horſe, two fuzees with very curious barrels, one ſilver baſin, wherein were laid two pieces of *Perſian* ſtuffs wrought with gold, two ſilver boxes of *China*, one hog-ſtone, called *Pedra de Porco*, one piece of ſandal-wood, *&c.*

Whilſt the preſents were delivered, his excellency begged his majeſty's pardon for having detained him ſo long; and as the time of his ſtay could be but ſhort, he told him, That he had three things more to propoſe to his majeſty, (whereof the want of the pioneers was one,) deſiring, that he would be pleaſed to hear the ſame from the mouth of *Ybrand Gotskens* in private, he being the only perſon whom he had entruſted with the ſecret. The emperor then commanded all his courtiers to withdraw, deſiring that our officers might be ordered to do the ſame: which being done accordingly, his excellency again approached the throne; and having by his interpreters, *George Bloem* and *Cottemaley*, diſcourſed with his majeſty a quarter of an hour, he deſired leave to depart to the camp; which being granted, he was reconducted with the ſame pomp to his lodgings.

The general takes leave of the emperor.

The ſame evening the general ſent to the emperor by *George Bloem* two noted partiſans, who had done a great deal of miſchief in the country under *Gaſpar Figeiro*, to diſpoſe of them at pleaſure. Mr. *Bloem* was received by the emperor in a private room, and preſented with a golden chain and ring.

He returns to the camp. The 9th of *April*, early in the morning, the general took horſe, and came pretty early with his whole retinue to *Nacclegamme*; from whence he was conducted by Mr. *Adrian van der Meyden* and Mr. *John van der Laan*, with two companies, to the camp. At his arrival there he found the gallery fixed in the ditch, (without any conſiderable loſs,) and every thing elſe in a good condition. *Baldæus.*

Takes a view of the works. The 10th, in the afternoon, the general took a view of all the works; and among the reſt commanded captain *Henry Gerard* to ſet up a ladder, and take a view of the condition of the enemy on the other ſide of the ditch: he found the enemy had made an entrenchment extending towards the ſea-ſhore, with a ditch before it, eight foot deep; upon which having planted two pieces of cannon, they were likely to prevent our fixing the miners on that ſide, our trenches being carried on directly againſt that place. Whereupon it was agreed to make a breach in the wall on this ſide of the ditch, and to plant a cannon there, in order to ruin the ſaid entrenchment.

The Portugueſe ſet fire to our gallery. About ſun-ſet his excellency returning to the ſame place, to encourage the workmen both by his words and example, the *Portugueſe* began to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to ſet fire to the gallery, throwing all ſorts of combuſtible matter upon it, which the general perceiving, he advanced with the reſt to aſſiſt in extinguiſhing the fire; but whilſt he was buſy in the midſt of the gallery, in performing his duty with his breaſt open, he was heard on a ſudden to cry out, *Good God, help me! O help me!* Which captain *Joachim Block*, who ſtood hard by, hearing, and finding him all over bloody, he carried him, with the aſſiſtance of major *Van der Laan*, from thence to a bed, where, without ſpeaking one word more, he expired. His wound being ſearched, they found it to be done by a muſquet-bullet, which paſſed in under the right-ſhoulder, quite through under the right-arm. *The general wounded.* *Dies.*

His character. This was the unfortunate end of this moſt excellent perſon, in the vigour of his age, deſcended of a good family, and of great experience, both in civil and military affairs; being for the reſt of a very affable converſation, eloquent, and well-verſed in divers languages. He was, beſides this, of a very good aſpect, tall, and well-made, brisk, and indefatigable in what he undertook: and to be ſhort, *Nature and induſtry had framed ſo exact an harmony betwixt his ſoul and body, that few men can pretend to the ſame degree of perfection.*

His Excellency GERARD HULST, first Counsseller, and Director Generall of ye INDIES, Comander in Chief of all the Sea & Land Forces sent to CEYLON, and the Coast of the INDIES.

23.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The General's Death notified to the Emperor; who ſends his Envoys into the Camp. Mr. Adrian van der Meyden *ſucceeds him.* A Portugueſe *Captain comes over to us.*

Baldæus.

The general's death notified to the emperor.

THE ſame night *George Bloem*, interpreter, being diſpatched with a letter to the emperor, to carry the doleful news of the general's death, his majeſty ſent the 11th of *April* the diſſaves of the *five* and *ſeven Corles*, to take a view of his corpſe. It being alſo agreed in a council of war, that the ſame ſhould be conducted by the factor *Ysbrand Gotskens* and captain *John Hartman*, under a guard of twenty firelocks, to *Puntegale*, (nine *German* leagues thence,) the ſame was done accordingly with a great deal of ſplendor. The ſame night his majeſty ſent the diſſaves of *Matule* and *Adigar*, attended by divers other courtiers, to condole the death of his dearly-beloved director-general. They were very inquiſitive, whether he was ſlain by ſome of his own people, or by the enemy, or by ſome unexpected accident. Being ſhewn the place where he received his wound, they crawled thither, trembling for fear upon the ground; from whence they took a handful of earth, and deſired that no body ſhould ſet a foot in that place.

His corpſe carried to Gale.

Envoys ſent from the emperor.

Take a view of the place where he was wounded.

His corpſe was depoſited in a vault under ground at *Gale*, till 1657. when by order from Mr. *Van der Meyden*, it was interred with great ſolemnity in the church there near the pulpit, his arms, buckler, ſword, and ſpurs being hung againſt the wall. In the year 1658. the ſaid corpſe being tranſported from thence to *Columbo*, was put into a ſtately monument there, with an inſcription upon it, containing in ſubſtance, *That he had purchaſed the conqueſt of* Columbo *by his death, for the honour of his native country.*

After the deceaſe of the general, the burden of the ſupreme command of the ſiege was laid by unanimous conſent upon the ſhoulders of Mr. *Adrian van der Meyden*, governor of *Gale*, who had the good fortune to ſee the city reduced in the next following month of *May*.

Mr. Van der Meyden ſucceeds the general in that dignity.

A letter from Winguela, concerning the Portugueſe fortuner.

The 13th of *April* a letter was brought to the camp from *Leonard Johnſon*, dated the ſecond, at *Wingurla*, intimating, That twenty two frigats, under the command of *Franciſco de Seixa Cabreira*, with all ſorts of proviſions, and eight hundred *Portugueſe* landmen aboard, were ſailed from *Goa*; whereupon the commodore *Rootbaus* and *Peter de Bitter* being ſent for, to conſult what was beſt to be done, it was reſolved (in order to prevent their bringing into the city the intended ſuccours) to attempt a vigorous aſſault upon the baſtion of *St. Stephen*, for which purpoſe four brave officers were choſen, who, with eighty volunteers, (who had offered themſelves for a reward of fifty crowns a-piece,) were to make the attack. *Baldæus.*

The ſame evening the *Fluſſing* yacht coming to an anchor in the road, ſoon after *Adrian van der Maart*, her captain, came aſhore, and told the general, That about three days before, meeting with the *Portugueſe* ſquadron near *Coulang* and the cape *Comoryn*, he had attacked one of their frigats ſo ſucceſsfully, that he ſaw her ſink before his eyes, ſixteen *Portugueſe* only, with captain *Simon Souza* being ſaved of all that were aboard her; that ſoon after he had loſt ſight of them all, ſuppoſing they were returned to the cape *Comoryn*, it being his opinion, that as the wind ſtood, they muſt before this have been near *Columbo*. In the night time, a certain *Portugueſe* captain, one of the *Fidalgos*, or gentlemen, who had been concerned in declaring *Don Bras de Caſtro* viceroy of *Goa*, came over to us, having been detained priſoner in the baſtion of *St. Stephen*, and made his eſcape with four of his ſervants through *Don Franciſco de Rolyn*'s houſe, by means of a boat. He entertained the new general for a conſiderable time. It was in the mean time reſolved to delay the aſſault upon the baſtion of *St. Stephen* for two or three days. Our interpreter, *George Bloem*, returned alſo with the following letter of condolance from his majeſty.

The Fluſſing yacht meets the Portugueſe fleet.

A Portugueſe gentleman comes over to us.

Raja Singa Rajou, *moſt potent emperor of* Ceylon, *wiſhes health to Mr.* Adrian van der Meyden, *governor of the imperial fortreſs of* Gale.

Letter of condolance from the emperor.

" YOUR letter, dated in the evening at ſeven a clock on monday, the 10th of *April*, did arrive in the imperial camp about midnight, and was delivered to our imperial majeſty on tueſday about noon. The death of our director-general has cauſed an exceſſive affliction in our imperial heart. Whilſt our beloved director was at our court,

"

Baldæus. "I was unwilling (according to the ſingular love I bore to his perſon) to let him know my illneſs; but being now on the mending hand, I am forced to hear of his death, which now we muſt commit to providence, and ſubmit to his will. Our imperial majeſty has likewiſe underſtood by your excellency's letter, that you are inveſted with the ſame power as our beloved director-general was. It is a general received cuſtom in the courts of all the great monarchs, that in caſe a perſon of note, and in good eſteem with them, dies, his ſucceſſor appears before the ſaid monarch, and receives his confirmation and bleſſing at his hands. As you have always been ſerviceable to us, it is our pleaſure that you come to court, (in the ſame manner as the director-general did,) in order to receive the honours due to your merits; being ſenſible that you have rendered us conſiderable ſervices, without having received any reward hitherto; wherefore it is my pleaſure, that when you reſolve to come, you give notice thereof beforehand what day you have pitched upon, in order to receive you with the ſame reſpect as the director-general, your predeceſſor. I doubt not in the mean while, but you will be very careful in your high ſtation. At the cloſing of this letter, advice is brought, that the *Portugueſe* expect every day ſuccours, which has made me give ſtrict orders to keep a ſtrict guard, both by ſea and land."

In the camp and court of *Roygamwatte*, 15 *April*, 1656.

Raja Singa Rajou, moſt potent emperor of *Ceylon*.

Eleven Laſcaryn, *three* Topaſſes, *two* Portugueſe *deſerters.*

In the night two *Portugueſe*, three *Topaſſes*, and eleven *Laſcaryn* deſerters, gave a doleful account of the miſerable condition of the city, and of the ſickneſs and mortality that reigned there. The ſixteenth we played moſt furiouſly againſt the gate of *Rajuha*; and the general having ſent advice of the expected ſuccours in the city to the emperor, gave orders to commodore *Rootkaus*, to keep the *Fluſſing*, *Popkensburgh*, and *Lion* yachts in readineſs, to purſue the enemy's ſquadron. About the ſame time a *Portugueſe* captain came over to us, with eighteen *Laſcaryns* and three *Topaſſes:* his pretence was, That having received an affront from the governor, he had taken this method to revenge himſelf. *Diedelof van der Beek* writ from *Mapane*, that the poor ſtarved wretches in the plain betwixt our works and the city, butchered one another, two women having lately devoured their new-born babes. The 19th of *April* a letter was delivered to the general from the emperor.

More deſerters.

The emperor's letter to the new general.

"YOUR excellency's was delivered to me after midnight; by which you declaring your readineſs to ſerve me, the ſame was received with ſingular ſatisfaction, knowing that your excellency, ever ſince your landing in this iſle, has ſhewn a more than ordinary inclination for our ſervice. Your excellency being now, through God's mercy, put into this high ſtation, it is expected you ſhould give more ſignal proofs thereof than before. You alſo mention the expected *Portugueſe* ſuccours, and the ſucceſs of our faithful *Hollanders* againſt them. I hope in God, that this victory will prove the forerunner of others. What I writ in my laſt, concerning your care in the camp, was not intended as if I queſtioned your conduct, but becauſe it belonged to me to mention it. You further adviſe, that the enemy's ſquadron has orders to ſail directly for *Columbo*; but conſidering the ill treatment *Manoel Maſcarenhas Homem*, the preſent viceroy of *Goa*, met with at *Columbo*, (whilſt governor there,) it ſeems to me moſt probable, that he has ſent this fleet rather to be worſted by the *Hollanders*, than with a real intention to relieve *Columbo*.

Summons ſent into Columbo.

"Your excellency ſays, That one *Nicolao de Moura*, captain-major of the city, is come over to us: I deſire you would give a good entertainment to all ſuch as come to us with a ſincere intention. The other news has been very acceptable to me: God, I hope, will crown our endeavours with ſucceſs. Your mentioning the late deceaſed director-general's name has renewed my grief; and as I loved him entirely, ſo I muſt recommend to you the jewels which were preſented to him (whilſt living) from our imperial majeſty, that the ſame may be ſent into *Holland* to his next kindred; it being our will and pleaſure to give upon this occaſion a convincing proof to our *Hollanders* of the moſt ſincere affection we bear them. For though the unfortunate death of the ſaid director has robbed him of the opportunity to execute thoſe deſigns he had projected for our ſervices, yet his counſels, care, and watchfulneſs, will remain for ever in our memories. I am very ſollicitous to know what method you intend to take in reducing the city, whether by force or famine. If you intend to take it by aſſault, let me know of it two or three days

He orders the late general's jewels to be ſent into Holland.

"before-

Baldæus. " before-hand secretly. My illneſs has hitherto prevented me from proſecuting my " reſolution of coming into the camp, to " take a view of all the works of the *Hollanders*; however, I am reſolved to come " nearer to the camp; which, as ſoon as it " is done, I will give you notice thereof, " and deſire your preſence there, in order " to concert meaſures with you before you " return to the camp. No more, *&c.*"

Reygamwatte, 18 *April* 1656. *Raja Singa Rajou*, moſt potent emperor of *Ceylon*.

P. S. " It is deſired that the captain " who ſunk one of the enemies frigats, " and forced the reſt to return back, may " come along with the general to the emperor, in order to make himſelf known " to his majeſty.

The ſuperſcription was,

Raja Singa Rajou, moſt potent emperor of *Ceylon*, wiſhes health to *Adrian van der Meyden*, governor of our imperial fortreſs of *Gale*.

In the afternoon a ceſſation of arms being ordered for ſome time, the following ſummons were ſent into the city.

Summons into Columbo. " HAving by the preſent ſiege reduced " the citizens of *Columbo* to the laſt " extremity, and bereaved them of all " hopes of the ſo-long-expected ſuccours " from *Goa*, we thought fit to ſummon the " city a ſecond time in the name of his imperial majeſty, *Raja Singa*, and of the honourable the *Dutch East-India* company. For " the ſquadron ſent the 11th of this month " from *Goa* by the new viceroy *Manoel* " *Maſcarenhas Homem* (*Conde de Secredo*, " his predeceſſor dying the 13th of *Janu*" *ary*) to the relief of *Columbo*, being pret" ty well provided with proviſions, but " very indifferently manned, was engaged " ſo briskly by our people, that ſome of " their frigats were loſt, others much dam" aged, and the reſt forced to retire in con" fuſion to *Tutecoryn* and *Manaar*. Ac" cording to the opinion of your own cap- *Baldæus.* " tain *Simon de Souza*, and ſome others, " that are our priſoners, moſt of the men " aboard them are likely to deſert, for fear " of falling into the hands of our ſhips " that are cruiſing thereabouts; and the " reſt will ſcarce be able, by reaſon of the " *Mouſſon*, to reach this place. Perhaps " you may flatter your ſelf, that the ſame " *Mouſſon* will oblige our ſhips to leave be" fore long, as well thoſe parts as this bay; " but if you rely upon this point, we de" clare our ſelves innocent of all the grie" vances and ſufferings put upon the poor " citizens, who will, beſides this, be thereby " put in danger of loſing all they have; " whereas at preſent they may expect ho" nourable conditions, which they cannot " hope for hereafter. We recommend this " to your excellency's conſideration, and " your perſon to God's protection.

In the imperial camp before *Columbo*, 18 *April* 1656. *Adrian van der Meyden.*

The following letter was ſent in anſwer to the former.

The anſwer. " THE letter ſent to me by the moſt " noble general *Gerard Hulſt*, dated " the 9th of *November* laſt, I anſwered at " that time; which, as it cannot be un" known to your excellency, ſo the ſame " anſwer may ſerve to your letter; neither " the change of war, nor want of pro" viſions having given me ſufficient oc" caſion hitherto to alter my reſolution, " which is, to take care of and defend the " city to the utmoſt of my power, for the " ſervice of the king my maſter. God " protect your excellency."

Columbo, April 19. 1656. *Antonio de Souza Coutinho.*

Being convinced by this letter, that nothing but force could reduce them to reaſon, the cannon were ordered to play again as before.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Many Deſerters. Letters from the Emperor. Ysbrand Gotskens *ſent to his Majeſty. Reſolution taken to aſſault the City. Succours arrived from* Batavia.

THE 21ſt of *April*, ſeven *Laſcaryn* deſerters reported, That the citizens and ſoldiers beginning to murmur for want of rice, it was reſolved to give to each citizen and ſoldier three fourths, and to each *Topas* and *Laſcaryn* an half *medide per diem*, beſides

Baldæus. ſides their former allowance. Soon after a *Portugueſe* deſerter related, That they had barricadoed up moſt of the ſtreets, and planted cannon in them. About the ſame time the new general received the following letter from the emperor.

RAJA SINGA RAJOU, &c.

The emperor's letter to the general.

"OUT of your letter, dated the 19th of *April*, I have (with a great deal of ſatisfaction) underſtood your good health, and good inclinations for my ſervice, as well as of major *John van der Laan*, and the reſt of the chief officers. Before the arrival of the late director-general (of bleſſed memory) I had taken a reſolution within my ſelf to come and take a view of your camp; but being then prevented by my illneſs, I ſtill continue in the ſame reſolution, not only to view the works there, but alſo to be a ſpectator of the brave actions performed there for my ſervice. My faithful *Hollanders*, who are come hither from far diſtant countries, have for ſeveral months laſt paſt endured many miſeries, not without much effuſion of blood; and as I am ſtedfaſtly perſuaded that both I and our imperial family may promiſe our ſelves the ſame and more for the future, ſo ſhall I think it no trouble to come ſo far into the camp, to be an eye-witneſs (to my great ſatisfaction) of the brave actions performed there for our imperial majeſty's ſervice. That no notice has been taken hitherto by this court of the captain-major, is to be attributed to his being employed day and night in the company's ſervice. Some fooliſh people are much deceived, if they judge that there can be the leaſt ſeparation of intereſt betwixt our majeſty and the company, the wiſer ſort being convinced that our intereſt is the ſame. The ſaid major *John van der Laan* has done me conſiderable ſervice ever ſince his coming into this iſle; and therefore I declare, That ſince the late director-general appeared at this court, I did lay aſide all animoſity, in conſideration of his great qualities and ſervices; ſo that now the ſaid major who has ſpilled his blood more than once, and been wounded with bullets in my ſervice, ſhall be made ſenſible of the love and affection I bear him, whenever he comes into my preſence. What you mention about *Maſcarenhas*, is no leſs than the truth, and an undeniable one, to convince the world, that God will take revenge of ſuch as offend their ſovereigns, which induces me to believe, that this war, we jointly carry on againſt our enemy, will be bleſſed by God with ſucceſs. I was very glad to underſtand by your excellency's letter, that the jewels preſented by me to the director-general have been ſent to *Batavia*, in order to be tranſported from thence by truſty perſons into *Holland*. The ſaid director-general having done me ſuch ſignal ſervices, ever ſince his coming into this country, I intend ſo ſoon as the war is brought to a concluſion, to ſend a letter with the firſt ſhip to the ſtates-general of *Holland*, to give them an ample teſtimony thereof. The reſolution taken in the council of war is very acceptable to me: but as your excellency in his high ſtation has the chief management of ſuch matters as tend to our majeſty's ſervice in your hands, ſo I am moſt inclined to follow your advice. The method propoſed for the reducing of the city has been debated in our imperial council; but as the ſame muſt be expreſſed in a different language (which carries along with it a conſiderable alteration) I will paſs it by in ſilence, earneſtly requiring you, that whenever the ſaid reſolution is to be put in execution, to ſend me advice of it, that I may aſſiſt you there in perſon. You are of opinion that it would be more convenient for me not to come into the camp, till after the taking of the city; but what buſineſs have I in the camp then, unleſs it be to ſee the conditions performed; whereas the late director-general had given me his word, that the city ſhould be delivered into my hands. In the letter I ſent to your excellency, I deſired that the captain who had ſunk the *Portugueſe* ſhip ſhould come along with you to our court; and you having made no mention of him in your anſwer, I am at a ſtand to gueſs the reaſon thereof. The aukward anſwer of the *Portugueſe* in *Columbo* to your ſummons, ſhews them to be void of ſenſe; and I, who am well acquainted with their bravadoes, look upon it as an infallible ſign of their diſtreſs, being convinced, by my own experience in divers engagements, that when they were moſt at a pinch, they would brag moſt. I have for a conſiderable time conſidered with my ſelf, whether I ſhould write a letter to thoſe in the city, but for fear of a haughty anſwer, I reſolve to let it alone. No more, *&c.*"

The 22d *of* April, 1656.

Raja Singa Rajou, moſt potent emperor of *Ceylon*.

The

Baldæus. The following letter was incloſed, and directed to the *Sabandaar* of *Gale*, *Don John de Coſta*.

"HAVING been informed by ſeveral of our meſſengers ſent from hence with letters, That ſince the arrival of the late director-general of bleſſed memory, you have given all imaginable ſatisfaction in reference to his perſon, I intended to have ſent you a preſent at that time; but that the ſaid director's departure (which was ſo ſudden, that my ſervants did not overtake him before he came to *Krabenhof*) prevented it. But when the new general ſhall appear at court, you, as well as the reſt of the officers, ſhall not be forgot. You have been an eye-witneſs of the reſpect paid by me here to the director-general; and when ever the new general makes his appearance before us, the ſame ſhall (not without great reaſon) be increaſed, our imperial majeſty having received more ſignal ſervices from his excellency, whereof I would have you give notice to him at the firſt opportunity. If you ſhould happen to diſcover any error in ſuch letters as are ſent from this court, you ſhall excuſe them to the general. You ſhall alſo put him in mind, that we ſtand in need here of an anvil, and a pair of ſmith's bellows; and as there is frequent occaſion for writing, do not forget to let us be furniſhed with ſome white paper; you may ſend alſo ſome *China* ware. Farewel."

At the Court of Reygamwatte, April 23. 1656.

A Topas carries a letter from a merchant in Columbo.

The 24th of the ſame month, a *Topas* deſerter, named *Lazaro Henrico*, who came over to us, during the ſiege of *Caleture*, but afterwards run over again to the enemy, (notwithſtanding he was well entertained by the late director-general,) brought a letter from *Manoel Fonſeque de Moniis*, a merchant of *Columbo*, directed to major *Van der Laan*.

Mr. *Van der Laan*,

"I Beg of you to believe what I am going to tell you concerning the preſent condition of the city. Be careful not to venture a ſtorm, they having provided retrenchments in all poſts, well provided with cannon, beſides four mines, to be diſcovered to you by my ſervant. The rice is ſold ſtill at three *Seraphyns*, and is very ſcarce. If you intend to haſten the ſurrender of this city, ſend ſomebody from *Caleture* hither, to convince them that they are ſtill living there: this being the reaſon why they would not hitherto hearken to any conditions. I ſend my ſervant with this letter to you, to ſhew the ſame to the general, though it is rumoured abroad here that general *Huiſt* is dead; but I don't believe it. The next thing I have to requeſt, for God's ſake, and as you tender our friendſhip, is to preſerve and ſecure the bearer hereof, being reſolved likewiſe to come over to you, which I cannot do at preſent, being ſo narrowly watched; but hope to be with you in a few days. God grant you a long life."

Baldæus.

Your Servant and Slave,

Manoel Fonſeque de Moniis.

Whereupon it was reſolved to ſecure the ſaid *Topas* aboard a ſhip till further order.

Gotskens ſent to the emperor.

Soon after *Ysbrand Gotskens* was diſpatched to his majeſty, to repreſent to him ſome matters of the greateſt conſequence, and to know his ſentiments. It was not long before he returned in company of the diſſaves of *Saffragamme*, and the *Four Corles*, and the *Curupele Apobami*, and gave an account of his negotiation to the general *Van der Meyden*; and among other things, That his majeſty was well ſatisfied with the reſolution taken *April* 21. but ſeemed to be inclined to have the aſſault delay'd till ſunday the laſt day of the month, when he intended to be an eye-witneſs of it.

An account of his negotiation.

The 23d of *April*, it being reſolved to give the general aſſault the next following night, eſpecially upon the baſtions of *St. Stephen* and *Clergos*, and (in caſe they ſucceeded) afterwards upon that of *St. Philippo*, every thing was preparing for the execution thereof, and every one ordered to his poſt.

The following inſtructions in writing were given to each commanding officer in chief, which they were ſtrictly to obey.

Inſtructions for the intended aſſaults.

"THOSE that are ordered to give the aſſault upon the baſtions, ſhall be obliged to fix the ſcaling ladders themſelves, and uſe their utmoſt endeavours to make themſelves maſters thereof, and to maintain themſelves there. In caſe the baſtion of *St. Stephen* be taken, the commanding officer ſhall let the trumpeter ſound the tune *William of Naſſau*, as a ſignal that God has bleſſ[illegible] us with victory on that ſide. So ſoon as the aſſault begins from the redoubt, betwixt *St. Stephen* and *St. John's* baſtion, the companies of *John Hartman*, *George Gebel*, *Henry Gerard*, and *James Baker*, ſhall be in a readineſs to ſecond them, as occaſion requires.

"During the aſſault, the *Javaneſe*, *Bandaneſe*, *Laſcaryns*, *Topaſſes*, with ſome *Europeans*, ſhall endeavour to paſs the

"ditch,

Baldæus. " ditch, in order to force the enemy from " their works at the foot of the baſtion of " *St. John*, and ſhall be commanded by " captain *N. Scherf*, *Arent Johnſon*, *N. de* " *Wit*, *N. Chample*, and *James van Driel*. " Whilſt the aſſault continues upon the baſ- " tion of *St. Stephen*, major *Van der Laan* " ſhall with his forces attack the gate of " *Rajuha*; and in caſe God bleſs us with " ſucceſs, no officer, of what degree ſoever, " ſhall preſume to grant leave or ſuffer any " of his ſoldiers to leave their colours, or " enter the city, being forwarned that the " enemy have planted their cannon there, " charged with ſmall-ſhot.

Dated Apr. 27. Subſcribed, by Command from the General,

Adrian van der Meyden,
James van Rhee, Secretary.

It delay'd till another time.

Immediate notice of this reſolution was given to the emperor; but there happening no ſmall differences and heats in the council of war that was held that evening about the execution of this deſign, the ſame was thought fit to be deferred to another time. Scarce was the council broken up, but a *Laſcaryn* deſerter coming from *St. John's* baſtion, reported, That this evening they had reinforced the ordinary guard of the baſtion of *St. Stephen*, with thirty of their choiceſt men, called *Valiantons*, or bravoes, by them, beſides ten other ſoldiers; which made us imagine that a *Javaneſe* deſerter, who had got perhaps ſome ſcent of the matter, had diſcovered our deſign to them.

Three ſhips arrived from Batavia.

At the ſame time news was brought of the arrival of the yachts the *Red Lion*, *Avenhorn*, and *Pelican*, who left *Batavia* in *March*. The 28th of *April*, the lieutenant *Chriſtopher Egger*, *James Viry*, *Martin Sholtes*, and enſign *Brewer*, were ſent in the night-time to view the aſcent to the baſtion of *St. Stephen*; they gave an account that they had found them well upon their guard there, and the ground being ſandy would afford no firm footing. The 29th of *April* a letter was brought into the camp from *Abraham van der Mart*, ſent by the *Lion* yacht from the iſles of *Tutecoryn*, with the joyful news, That the *Portugueſe* ſquadron being met by the *Dutch* the 19th off of *Tritchinadour* and *Caylpatnam*, they were forced to retreat betwixt the iſles of *Tutecoryn*, where they were blocked up by our ſhips, and *Van der Mart* gave no ſmall hopes of preventing their coming out again, provided he were reinforced in time with two or three nimble yachts. Letters were at the ſame time delivered from the head-factor, *Reynier Serooſkerke*, concerning the preparations of the *Portugueſe*; and that they intended to paſs the *Mouſſon* on the coaſt of *Malabar*: That the traffick of the company at *Calecoulang* was in a good condition; and that he intended to buy up a good quantity of pepper and other commodities againſt the year 1657. News was alſo brought from *Batavia*, That a ſuccour of two hundred and twenty five men was ſent from thence to *Ceylon*, who within a few days were to come by land hither from *Gale*. At the ſame time we received a letter written in *Latin* by the ſerjeant *Severin Dolander*, which being thrown over the ditch, required a ſpeedy anſwer.

Baldæus. *Great news from the Dutch fleet.* *A ſuccour of two hundred twenty five men from Batavia.*

" *SEVERIN* wiſhes his enſign health: *A letter of a Dutch ſerjeant from Co-lumbo.*
" The meſſage brought me by the fa- " ther was very acceptable to me. I and " my comrades are above half dead, of ſe- " venty four there being no more than ten " left, and theſe in a moſt miſerable con- " dition for want of bread, wine, and meat, " being not uſed to feed upon rice; there- " fore we deſire to be ſupplied with the " ſame (if poſſible) for the preſervation of " our lives, and the recovery of our ſtrength; " in return whereof I will acknowledge " you the preſerver of my life, as long as " I live. Mr. *Cornicularius* is alſo very " near death's door; but perhaps a little " bread and wine might recover him. I " beg you once more, for God's ſake, not to " forget us, and to deliver it to the before- " mentioned father, who is our truſty friend. " God protect you."

Severin Dolander.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Ships ſent to Tutecoryn. Raja Singa *diſſatisfied. Priſoners exchanged. Letters from* Raja Singa. *The Baſtions of* St. John *and* St. Stephen *taken by Storm, not without a conſiderable Loſs.*

A reinforcement ſent to the Dutch *fleet near* Tutecoryn.

THE council having taken into deliberation the condition of the enemy's fleet near *Tutecoryn*, it was reſolved to diſpatch thither forthwith the yachts the *Mars*, *Rabbit*, the *Roman*, and *Lion*, beſides two other veſſels, under commodore *Rootbaus*. At the ſame time an anſwer was ordered to be ſent to the *Dutch* priſoners in *Columbo*.

Baldæus. "YOURS we have received by the father, and understood your miserable "condition: these are the chances of war, "the best comfort you can have in this extremity with your fellow-prisoners. At "your earnest request we send you a bottle "of *Spanish* wine, ten new-baked loaves, "and a piece of meat and bacon; the effects and money designed for captain *Simon de Souza*, who is kept among the "prisoners at *Caleture*, are put aboard the "the ship: and because one of the *Portuguese* soldiers did this forenoon call from "the bastion of *St. John* to one of our sentinels, that the governor was willing to "exchange ten of his men, that are our "prisoners, for your ten, we have sent "word to the governor *Anthonio de Souza* "*Coutinho*, that as soon as he will discharge "you, we will send back ten *Portuguese* "prisoners from *Caleture*."

May 1. 1656. *Adrian van der Meyden.*

An offer for exchange of prisoners. Accordingly the 2d of *May*, in the forenoon, a *Portuguese* captain, named *Domingo Coelho*, delivered a letter to ensign *Peregrin* in our service, offering, that in case we would exchange eight *Portuguese* prisoners at *Caleture* for the serjeant and seven soldiers, they would send them to us; which was denied, and in lieu thereof offered seven common soldiers and one officer in exchange for them. About the same time his majesty sent back a letter, which he seemed highly displeased at, with another as follows.

An angry letter from the emperor. "YOUR letter writ to some of my courtiers last monday was delivered to them before sunset; what you relate "of major *Van der Laan*'s going to *Mapane*, "to observe what past there, and that finding those that were come out of *Columbo*, "to be supplied underhand with provisions, "he commanded to fire among them, and "to secure the *Modeliar Jazondere*, who "had been accessary to the matter, has "been very acceptable to me, as tending "to my service. The letter delivered to "me by *Curupule Meynde*, written upon "half a sheet, I did not think fit to read, "much less to answer, being filled with "nothing but insipid stuff: if perhaps a "sudden mutiny, or accident, or any other "misfortune, had happened in the camp, I "could have excused such a letter, in respect of the love and inclination I bear to "the *Hollanders*, my most trully servants; "but every thing being in a very good "condition, I cannot sufficiently admire "what could induce *George* to write such a "letter. Truly the general (who has the "supreme command there) ought not to "have been so careless in this matter, such "a neglect being not very suitable to the *Baldæus.* "conduct that may be expected from a "person entertained in the service of a "great monarch; wherefore I send you this "letter, together with the *Ola* [letter] in order to have it read in the presence of the "general, and to let him know word by "word the true contents thereof.

Thursday, May 2. 1656.

Considering the nicety of the *Cingalese* and *Malabars* in this point, it must be confessed, that more caution ought to have been used in this respect.

Towards evening the *Portuguese* sent our eight prisoners out of the city, half dead for want of food, three of them being so weak, that they could neither go nor stand. They unanimously deposed, That there had been a great disorder among the officers, which had prevented their marching to the bastion of *Clergos*, after they had entered the city, as they ought to have done, the same being guarded only by fifteen men. But whilst they staid in expectation for orders from the sea-captain *Lippens*, (of whom they spoke very indifferently,) they were attacked both in front and rear by a great number of *Portuguese*, and charged so furiously, that scarce twenty six of them escaped, without being either killed or wounded, after they had spent all their powder and ball. They added, That what had been related of their having fell to plundering, was not true; that they were secured in a warehouse belonging to *Lewis Tavera*, where they had the same daily allowance of rice with the king's soldiers; and that they had fed, as well as the rest of the inhabitants, upon the flesh of elephants, bufflers-hides, nay, upon dogs, cats, and rats: that most of the seventy four prisoners died for want of good food, and according to all appearance these eight would not live long. They further said, That as they were going out of the city, they saw a body of four or five hundred men, some *Europeans*, some negroes, near *St. John*'s gate. *Eight Dutch prisoners sent out of Colombo.* *Their account.*

The 4th of *May* the emperor *Raja Singa* sent the following letter.

"ABout three years ago captain *Joris* "*Harvendonk*, with some other of- "ficers and soldiers entring into our service; "and their time being expired since, for "which they had agreed with the company, "I resolved with my self (since I had no "great occasion for them here) to send them "to the camp. An account of what ser- "vices the said captain had done me, may "be seen in a letter written by him (ac- "cording to my command) to the late "director-general, immediately after his *A letter from the emperor.*

Baldæus. " landing near *Columbo*. He had neither before nor ſince the ſame ſenſe he had when " he writ that letter; which then induced " me to a reſolution to beſtow certain favours upon him before his departure. " But his inſolent behaviour having drawn " upon him ſeveral chaſtiſements, without " any hopes of amendment, I thought fit " to remove him from his ſtation, and to " put *Francis Has* (who happened then to " come as a meſſenger with letters to our " court) in his place. This man having " lived for ſome time among the *Portugueſe* our enemies, ſeemed to have laid aſide " all the modeſty of the *Portugueſe*, and " addicted himſelf to all ſorts of villanies, " which made me diſcharge him from my " ſervice, and to reſtore the before-mentioned *Joris Hervendonk* to his former " place. I would not have my *Hollanders* " entertain ſuch an opinion of me, that I " would let any one who has ſerved ſo " long in our imperial court, be diſmiſſed " without a reward; for whoever gains " our imperial favour, ſhall never depart " unrewarded: but ſuch as are not willing, " or cannot apply themſelves to that ſtudy, " may be ſure that they will be ſent away " like this perſon. The reaſon why the " ſaid *Francis Has* ſtaid in *Candy*, is not " unknown to your excellency; but as he " is a *Hollander*, it is but juſt he ſhould be " diſmiſſed at his due time. I will not ſay " all concerning him what I could; my " diſſaves will give your excellency a more " ample account of him, or when your " excellency appears at this court, you will " be further ſatisfied in this matter. No " more: God protect your excellency.

At Reygamwatte, May 4. 1656. *Raja Singa Rajou*, moſt potent emperor of *Ceylon*.

It is beyond all queſtion, that the differences ariſen betwixt this *Joris Hervendonk* and *Francis Has* gave occaſion to many diſturbances; *Hervendonk* being accuſed of having, by his inſinuations, been the occaſion of *Francis Has*'s detention in *Candy*, even to the year 1656. from whence, perhaps, he may not be diſcharged whilſt he lives. Theſe and ſome other accidents had put the emperor's mind into ſuch a ferment, that for three days together he ſhewed all the marks of a ſevere diſpleaſure, even to the beſt of his Courtiers, ſo as to turn even his face from them. But his majeſty's letter delivered to the new general, *May* 6. ſeemed to leave him in a much better humour.

RAJA SINGA RAJOU, &c.

Another letter from the emperor. " YOUR excellency's letter dated the " 3d, was delivered to me on thurſ- " day the 4th, wherein you expreſs your " ſorrow for the miſtake in the letter I *Baldæus.* " ſent back with my laſt letter: as among " all other foreign nations, our imperial " majeſty has choſen the *Hollanders*, as the " fitteſt to be employ'd for the increaſe of " our glory, fame, and empire, by reaſon " of their fidelity, (which render them ve- " ry dear to me, beyond my own ſubjects,) " ſo when they commit any miſtake, it " touches me ſo ſenſibly, in regard of " the other nations that frequent our court, " that I cannot forbear to make them ſenſible of their error, even upon the leaſt " occaſion, in order to their amendment for " the future. If therefore your excellency " will apply yourſelf to ſuch things as tend " to our imperial ſervice, the ſame will be " highly acceptable to us. Our beloved " director-general, of happy memory, did, " during that ſmall time he continued in " our empire, follow this rule with the " greateſt exactneſs imaginable: but being " ſnatched away on a ſudden by death, we " were deprived of the opportunity of re- " warding his ſervices according to our " wiſh. And as the ſaid director-general " has not been wanting, in leaving certain " marks of the methods and cuſtoms to " be made uſe of in our ſervice, ſo it will " be no difficult task for your excellency to " follow his footſteps. Your excellency " mentions the reſolution you have taken " of attempting a ſecond aſſault upon " the city, by reaſon of the approaching " ſeaſon, which does not permit our ſhips " to tarry longer with ſafety in that road; " and that the enemy is much leſſened in " his ſtrength ſince the laſt aſſault: all " which, as it is altogether reaſonable, ſo I " approve of it with much ſatisfaction. On " the other hand, our preſent illneſs is no " ſmall affliction to us, which bereaves us " of the opportunity of appearing there in " perſon, and being an eye-witneſs of this " engagement, and to be nearer at hand to " ſecond you with our troops, in caſe there " ſhould be occaſion; but let come of it " what will, we are reſolved to be in the " camp by next ſunday. If your excellency " thinks fit to ſtay for our coming, it is " well; but if not, and that an opportunity preſents of gaining the place without imparing our honour and reputation, " I am ſatisfied, living in hopes, that God " Almighty will crown our endeavours with " victory. Your excellency mentions, at " the end of your letter, that you have exchanged eight of your people that were " priſoners in the city (the remnants of ſeventy four) for as many *Portugueſe* your " priſoners. I am very glad you ſent word " of it, that it may not be alledged againſt " the *Hollanders*, that they treat with the " enemy without our knowledge. In the " mean

Baldæus. " mean time I am deſirous to know how the
" reſt died, whether for want of food, or be-
" ing well looked to in their ſickneſs; and
" further, what inſtructions you have ſent
" to the *Portugueſe* by thoſe that were ſent
" into the city; if it be a ſecret worth
" knowing, your excellency will be pleaſed
" to reveal it to us. Ever ſince the death
" of our director-general, no ſound of the
" drum has been heard in our camp; but
" in our march nearer to the enemy and your
" camp, it will be requiſite to make uſe of
" our drums and other warlike muſick;
" whereof we thought fit to give notice to
" your excellency. No more for the pre-
" ſent: God protect your excellency's
" perſon."

Raja Singa Rajou, moſt potent emperor of *Ceylon*.

This letter being read in council, it was reſolved to give the aſſault the 7th of *May* about ſeven or eight a-clock in the morning, and to make the fierceſt attack upon the baſtion of *St. John*; which was put in execution accordingly, *Martin Sholtes* lieutenant of the fuſileers of *Gale* (now captain in *Gale*) being the firſt who with undaunted courage mounted the breach, and being bravely ſeconded by his men, they entered even into the city; but being ſurrounded on all ſides by a great number of *Portugueſe*, were forced to retreat to the baſtion of *St. John*, where at laſt they maintained their poſt, after having three ſeveral times repulſed the enemy, who endeavoured with all the force they could bring together to diſlodge them from thence, (our men being conſtantly relieved with freſh troops,) till the evening, when the firing ſomewhat ceaſing, they took that opportunity of entrenching themſelves with faſcines and earth towards the ſide of the city, being nevertheleſs ſtill expoſed to the enemies ſhot from the water-fort and the baſtions of *St. Stephen* and *Couras*, which coſt us many a brave ſoldier.

The Dutch enter the city.

Are forced to retreat into the baſtion of St. John.

In the beginning of the aſſault the diſſaves of *Saffragamme* and of the *Four Corles* came into the trenches with the *Cingaleſe* forces; and ſoon after his majeſty ſent likewiſe the diſſaves of *Ouve* and *Matule*, the *Adigar Amracon*, and *Curupele Apohamy*, at the head of a great number of *Laſcaryns*: but theſe brought along with them more confuſion than real aſſiſtance, the *Cingaleſe* being always better at making a noiſe and plundering, than fighting. *Baldæus.*

We had no ſooner fixed our guards upon the baſtion, but a negro ſlave (called *Caffers*) brought us advice, That in the laſt aſſault the enemy had, the captain-major, the city-major, and a good number of their beſt men wounded, and betwixt forty and fifty killed. We employ'd the greateſt part of the night in fortifying ourſelves with paliſadoes and earth-works on the baſtion, in diſcovering the mines, and planting ſome cannon: to facilitate which, it was ordered that a falſe attack be made at two a clock in the morning, and with break of day we ſaw the prince's ſtandard diſplay'd there in token of our victory; which, however, we had purchaſed at a dear rate, being even then much expoſed to the enemy's ſhot from three baſtions. Upon a general muſter we found two hundred and ninety wounded, eighty ſick, and eighty ſix killed; ſo that we had in all not above one thouſand two hundred and eighty ſeven *Europeans* left fit for ſervice. However, *John Maatzuyker*, a lieutenant, brought a ſupply of ſeventy five men into our camp, and thirty more from *Candy*; beſides theſe lieutenant *Didelof* was poſted with ſixty ſix men at *Milagre*, and at *Montual* ſixty eight.

Among the ſlain were the following officers, whoſe names well deſerve to be tranſmitted to poſterity: *Chriſtopher Egger*, *Jurian Gebel*, *James Viry*, *James Scherf*, *Jurian Smith*, *Paul Meno*, *Warnaer van der Heyde*. Among the wounded, major *Van der Laan* wounded by a ſplinter on his ſhoulder, and near the ear; captain *Henry Gerard Gluzingh* mortally wounded in four places; *James de With* wounded with a ten pounder in the thigh, of which he died afterwards; *Martin Sholtes* in the arm; *John Cowper* in both hands; *James Alenbier* in the leg; *Paul Ketelaer* in the hand; *John Bartels* in the belly; *Herman Wynantz*, &c. *Slain and wounded in the aſſault.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Our Cannon upon the Baſtion of St. John *turned againſt the City. The* Portugueſe *offer to capitulate. Articles for the Surrender of the Place. The Ratification. The* Portugueſe *march out of the City.*

Baldæus. *Our cannon ready to play from the baſtion of* St. John.

THE 10th of *May*, having planted our cannon upon the baſtion of *St. John*, againſt the city, the general and major *Van der Laan*, came in the afternoon to take a view of them. Soon after we ſaw the enemy put out a white flag, and captain *Manuel Cabreira de Pontes* delivered the following lines to major *Van der Laan*.

" CAPTAIN *Manuel Cabreira de*
" *Pontes*, the bearer hereof, comes
" to deſire a paſſport for three perſons of
" note to come into your camp, to treat
" with you concerning ſome matters of mo-
" ment. God protect your excellency.

Columbo, May 10. 1656. *Anthonio de Souza Coutinho.*

Major *Van der Laan* having told him, That he would deliver it to the general, asked him, Whether he deſired a formal paſſport in writing, or would be ſatisfied with his parole. The *Portugueſe* officer replied, That his parole was ſufficient; ſo they parted, and all hoſtilities ceaſed.

Within two hours after, our people were ordered to call to thoſe in the city, and to ask them why they did not ſend their deputies; but they anſwering, That they would not come without a paſſport, the ſame was ſent with all poſſible ſpeed; but it being then pretty late, they excuſed themſelves, that it was not cuſtomary to ſtay a night out of a fortreſs at ſuch a conjuncture. Whereupon we began to fire again, till next morning about eight a-clock, being the 11th, when the deputies came into the camp, *viz.* *Laurenzo Feriera de Britto*, late captain-major of *Puntegale*, *Hieronimo de Luzena Tavares*, late *Viador das Fazendas*, i. e. ſur-intendant of the merchants in *Columbo*, and *Diego Leitaon de Souza*, ſecretary of the city, who delivered to the council the following articles:

Articles propoſed by thoſe of Columbo.

I. THAT a ceſſation of arms ſhall be agreed on till the 20th of *May* next, in order to ſee the iſſue of the expected ſuccours, which if it arrives before that time, and is ſtrong enough to raiſe the ſiege, this treaty ſhall be of no effect. In the mean time, no correſpondence or commerce is to be allowed on either ſide, except what is done by meſſengers; for the performance whereof, hoſtages are to be given on both ſides. *Baldæus.*

II. In caſe of a ſurrender of the city, the churches and images ſhall not be defiled, and the prieſts and friars ſhall have full liberty to take along with them, without any moleſtation, all the images, relicks, ſacred veſſels, ſilver lamps, and other church ornaments, belonging to the performance of divine ſervice, not excepting the moveables belonging to each clergyman in particular.

III. The governor and deputy-governor, *Anthonio de Souza Coutinho*, and *Franciſco de Melo de Caſtro*, as likewiſe the ſon of *Anthonio de Souza Coutinho*, ſhall be treated with all due reſpect and civility, and have full liberty to leave the city, with all their moveables, gold, ſilver, rings, jewels, ſervants, *Portugueſe* pages, and ſlaves of both ſexes; and to remain in their houſes till they imbark, under the ſpecial protection of the general, who ſhall be obliged to provide them (for their money) with proviſions during their ſtay here, and with neceſſaries for their voyage, as likewiſe with convenient ſhipping for themſelves and their families, with able ſeamen, arms, ammunition, and what elſe may be requiſite for that purpoſe, whenever the ſame ſhall be required.

IV. The major of the city, captain-major of the gariſon, and ſerjeant-major, and the late deceaſed captain's family, ſhall receive the ſame treatment.

V. The captains of foot, reformado's, and other officers, of what degree ſoever, ſhall march out with all the marks of honour, enſigns diſplayed, matches lighted, balls in the mouth, and with their baggage, and ſhall be provided with ſhipping to tranſport them beyond ſea, to the *Indian* ſhore: they are in the mean while to be maintained by the *Dutch* general, out of the ſuperplus of the money belonging to the king of *Portugal*, or for want of ſuch, at his own charge, or of the company, till the time of their tranſportation, and they ſhall not be moleſted, either by ſea or land.

VI. The *Ovidor*, judge, and other officers of the exchequer, the head-factor, alcade-major, or chief magiſtrate, and the farmers of the king's demeſns, ſhall enjoy the ſame favour granted to the major of the city.

Baldæus. VII. All gentlemen, cavaliers, and the chiefeſt citizens and inhabitants, ſhall have liberty to challenge the ſame conditions granted to the city-major; and, if any of them are inclined to remain under the juriſdiction of the *Hollanders*, they ſhall be left undiſturbed in the full poſſeſſion of their houſes, eſtates, villages, and every thing belonging to them, and be treated in all other reſpects like the natives of *Holland*. For the free exerciſe of their religion, they ſhall have a church, with a convenient number of clergymen allowed them; and if hereafter any of them ſhall think fit to go to ſome other part of the *Indies*, they ſhall be at liberty to ſell both their real and perſonal eſtates, or otherwiſe diſpoſe of them without moleſtation. They ſhall alſo be provided with ſhipping at the publick charge, except ſuch as have ſhips of their own, who ſhall be free to traffick where they pleaſe, paying the uſual cuſtoms.

VIII. All foreign merchants, both *Europeans* and negroes, that were come to *Colombo* to traffick, ſhall be free to depart with their veſſels, goods, gold, ſilver, and other merchandizes, bought up here, eſpecially the cinnamon bought for the king or the city's uſe, whether aboard a ſhip, or not. Proviſions ſhall be likewiſe provided them for their money, and a ſafe retreat; and in caſe they ſtand in need of ſeamen, they ſhall be ſupplied with them.

IX. The negro inhabitants, both married and unmarried, and even the foreigners, of what condition ſoever, ſhall enjoy the ſame freedom granted to the *Portugueſe* citizens.

X. All the *Modeliars*, *Arateches*, and *Laſcaryns*, that have hitherto been in the king of *Portugal*'s ſervice, (notwithſtanding they have left the ſervice of the company, or of his majeſty,) ſhall be at liberty to depart with their moveables whither they pleaſe.

XI. XII. *Simon Lopes de Baſto*, a *Portugueſe* by birth, but ſince in the ſervice of the *Dutch*, ſhall be pardoned for his offence in coming over to us, and be free to depart in company of the governor. Likewiſe all *Dutch* deſerters that have taken ſervice in the city, ſhall not be moleſted, but have liberty to march out along with our forces.

XIII. All ſick and wounded ſoldiers, or inhabitants, ſhall be entertained there at the charge of the company, (if the ſuperplus of the king's money proves inſufficient,) till they recover their health, and afterwards provided with conveniences for their tranſportation.

XIV. Upon the ſurrender of the city, after the *Dutch* are put in poſſeſſion thereof, their general ſhall take effectual care that no affront or miſchief be done to the governors, other perſons of note, ſoldiers, and inhabitants, and their families, but the ſame *Baldæus.* ſhall be protected by the ſaid general, as well within as without the city, againſt all violences from the king of *Candy*'s forces.

Sign'd, *Anthonio de Souza Coutinho.*

After mature deliberation in the council, the following articles were, in anſwer to the former, delivered the 12th to the three deputies, in the name of his imperial majeſty of *Ceylon*, their high and mightineſſes the ſtates-general of the *United Provinces*, the governors of the *Eaſt-India* company, and of *John Maatzuyker* governor-general, and the council of the *Indies*.

THE city ſhall be ſurrendered this day before noon, without any further delay, upon the following conditions. *Articles granted to the Portugueſe.*

What was deſired in the ſecond article, in relation to the clergy, is granted, and two places ſhall be appointed for them to be in till their departure.

To the third article it is anſwered, That it is not in the power of the general to have the governors, *&c.* tranſported at this time to *Tutecoryn* or *Manaar*, but that it ſhall be done with the firſt conveniency, or elſe to *Cochin* or *Wingurla*. But in caſe they have a mind to be tranſported to the other ſhore, the ſame ſhall be performed by ſome of the company's ſhips, within fifteen days after the date hereof. They are allowed to carry along with them all their ſlaves of both ſexes, and thoſe belonging to the governor's ſon, *Chriſtovaon de Souza*, in hopes that they will not take any but their own, as likewiſe all their moveables, gold, ſilver, rings, and jewels; and they ſhall be protected in their houſes till the time of their departure.

The officers mentioned in the fourth article ſhall be treated according to their reſpective dignities, and be protected againſt all harm. They may take along with them their gold, ſilver, clothing, and what elſe they carry about them; but as to their ſlaves of both ſexes, they ſhall be conſidered according to their reſpective qualities. In *what they carry about them*, ſhall be comprehended beds and bed-clothes, hangings, tapeſtry, bolſters, quilts, *&c.* The officers and reformadoes ſhall march out with the uſual marks of honour, and be tranſported to the coaſt of *Coromandel*, with as much of their moveables as their ſlaves or other ſervants (allotted them by the general's favour) ſhall be able to carry.

The ſoldiers ſhall march out with their baggage, colours diſplayed, matches lighted, ball in their mouth, and drums beating to the general's quarters, where they ſhall ſurrender their arms under the great ſtandard,

Baldæus. dard, and from thence, with the firſt conveniency, be tranſported into *Europe*. Such as are married or born in the *Indies* ſhall be tranſported to the coaſt of *Coromandel*, and be maintained till the time of their departure at the charge of the company.

The officers mentioned in the ſixth article ſhall partake of the ſame favour granted to other perſons of note; the city-major and head-factor to be comprehended in the ſame.

All ſuch as intend to ſubmit to the juriſdiction of the *Dutch* ſhall be civilly and favourably treated, and remain in the quiet poſſeſſion of their eſtates; but in caſe they have a mind to depart, their goods are left to the diſcretion of the general.

The chiefeſt of the citizens and married *Portugueſe*, with their children, who are not inclinable to ſtay in this iſle, ſhall, at the time of their departure, receive the ſame treatment as the officers; but the natives of the iſle ſhall be left to the diſpoſition of the general.

The *Modeliars*, *Aratches*, and *Laſcaryns*, ſhall receive the ſame treatment as the *Dutch* deſerters.

All ſick and wounded perſons, whether inhabitants or ſoldiers, now in the hoſpital, or any other place of the city, ſhall ſtay there till the recovery of their healths, and be furniſhed with what they deſire.

All the officers, inhabitants, ſoldiers, and unmarried women, ſhall be protected by the general againſt all violences and oppreſſions.

The general does alſo agree, That if any ſhips approach the city for its relief betwixt this and the 30th of *May*, notice ſhall be given them of its ſurrender, with orders to depart, and ſhall be protected, at leaſt, till they are out of ſight of *Columbo*. The 11th of *May* 1656.

Signed,

Adrian van der Meyden,
Peter de Bitter,
Ysbrand Gotskens.
John van der Laan,
Edward Ooms,

I *Adrian van der Meyden*, governor-general for the *Dutch Eaſt-India* company in the iſle of *Ceylon*, with the reſt of the members of the council, promiſe and engage, by theſe preſents, That, in caſe the deputies bring back this capitulation, approved as ſuch by the governor *Anthonio de Souza Coutinho* and his council, we will punctually obſerve all the articles contained therein, without the leaſt limitation or exception; and further grant ſuch favours as are in our power to allow of. In confirmation whereof we have, in conjunction with the ſaid deputies, ſigned the ſame in the *Dutch* camp before *Columbo*, the 12th of *May* 1656. *Baldæus.*

Signed on our ſide by

Adrian van der Meyden,
Peter de Bitter,
Ysbrand Gotskens,
John van der Laan,
Edward Ooms,
John Hartman.

On the enemy's ſide by

Anthonio de Souza Coutinho,
Franciſco de Melo de Caſtro,
Anthonio de Silva,
Gaſpar de Ronga Pereira,
Laurenzo Fereira de Britto,
Hieronimo de Luzena Tavares,
Diego Leitaon de Souza.

Ratification of the capitulation.

In the morning about nine a clock the deputies returned with the capitulation approved and ſigned as before, with a letter of interceſſion from the governor and deputy-governor for *Simon Lopes*, who had deſerted our ſervice. The capitulation being ſigned once more, and the council diſmiſſed, *Ysbrand Gotskens* and *James van der Rhee* our ſecretary of war, were immediately after dinner ſent into the city, to demand the keys from the two *Portugueſe* governors, and to take account of all the arms, ammunition, and proviſions, as alſo to ſettle certain matters concerning the marching out of the troops purſuant to the capitulation.

The Portugueſe march out of Columbo.

Accordingly there marched out of the place *Anthonio de Melo de Caſtro* captain-major at the head of the king's troops, conſiſting in fourteen companies, and thirty ſix captains, (called *Reformadoes* by the *Portugueſe*,) with their enſigns diſplayed, drums beating, matches lighted, and ball in the mouth, marching through our forces ranged on both ſides, to the general's quarters, where having ſurrendered their arms, they were conducted to the place prepared for their lodging that night. Theſe were followed by the citizens, ſick, wounded, and cripples. In the mean while their chief engineer diſcovered to two of our deputies four mines on the ſide of the baſtion of *Rajuba*, betwixt the baſtions *St. Stephen* and *Clergos*, each whereof being filled with four barrels of gunpowder, the trains were removed, and ſentinels placed near them.

The Dutch march into the city.

This done, our forces marched into the city, followed by the general major *Van der Laan*, and the reſt of the head officers. Near the ſea-ſhore, not far from the baſtion of *Couras*, the governor and deputy-governor (both

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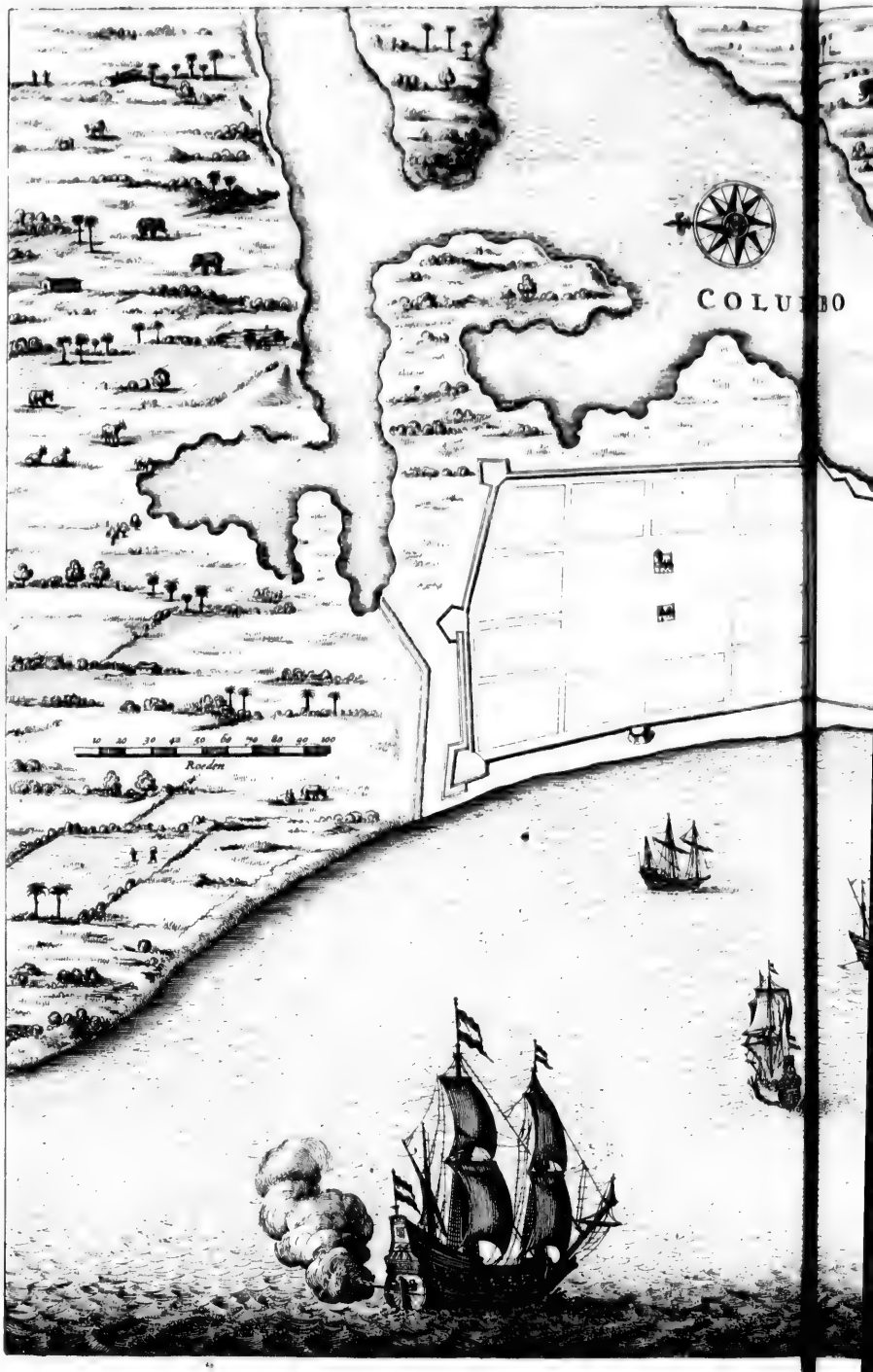
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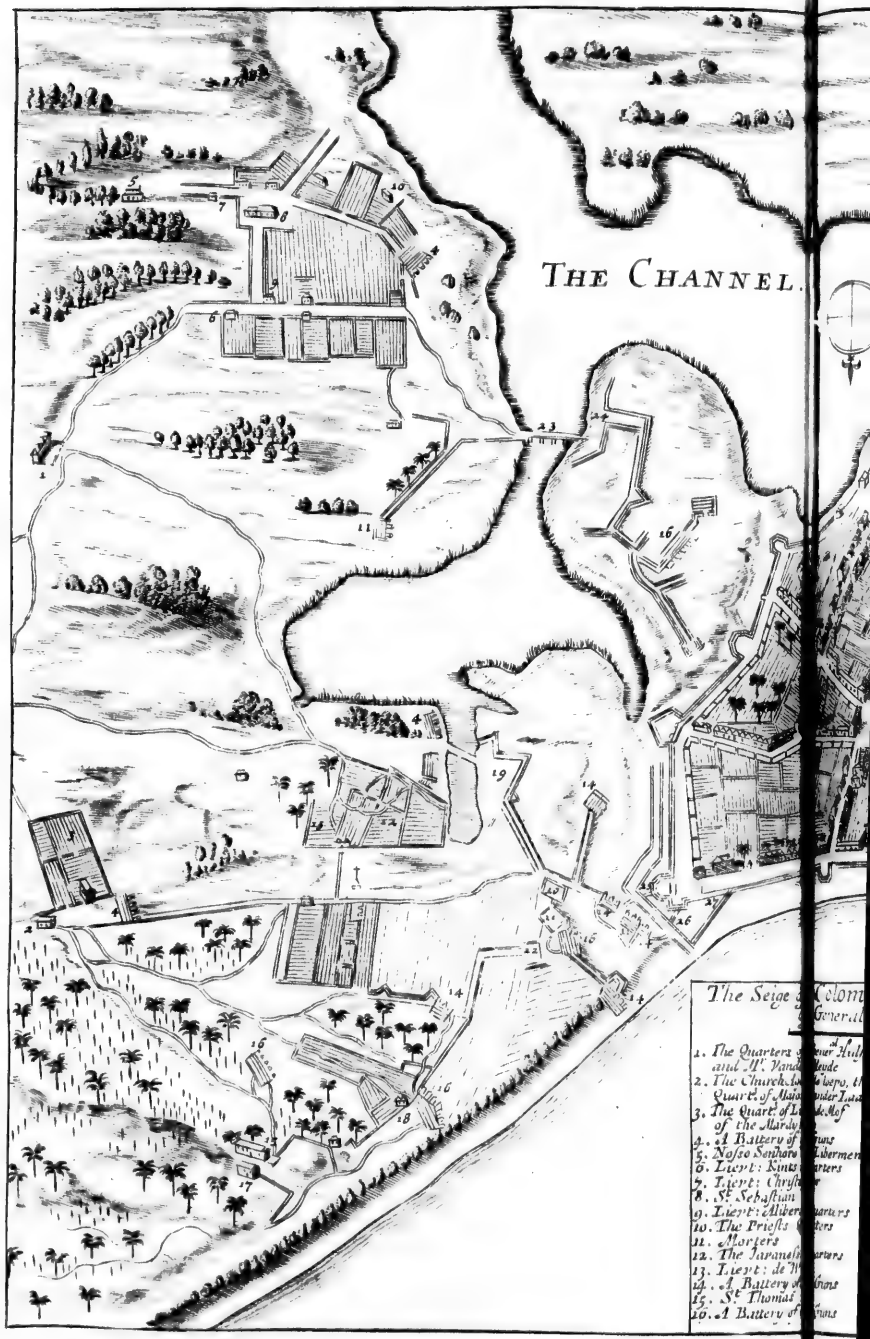
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The Seige
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5. Nosso Senhora
6. Lieut: Kints
7. Lieut: Christ
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10. The Priests
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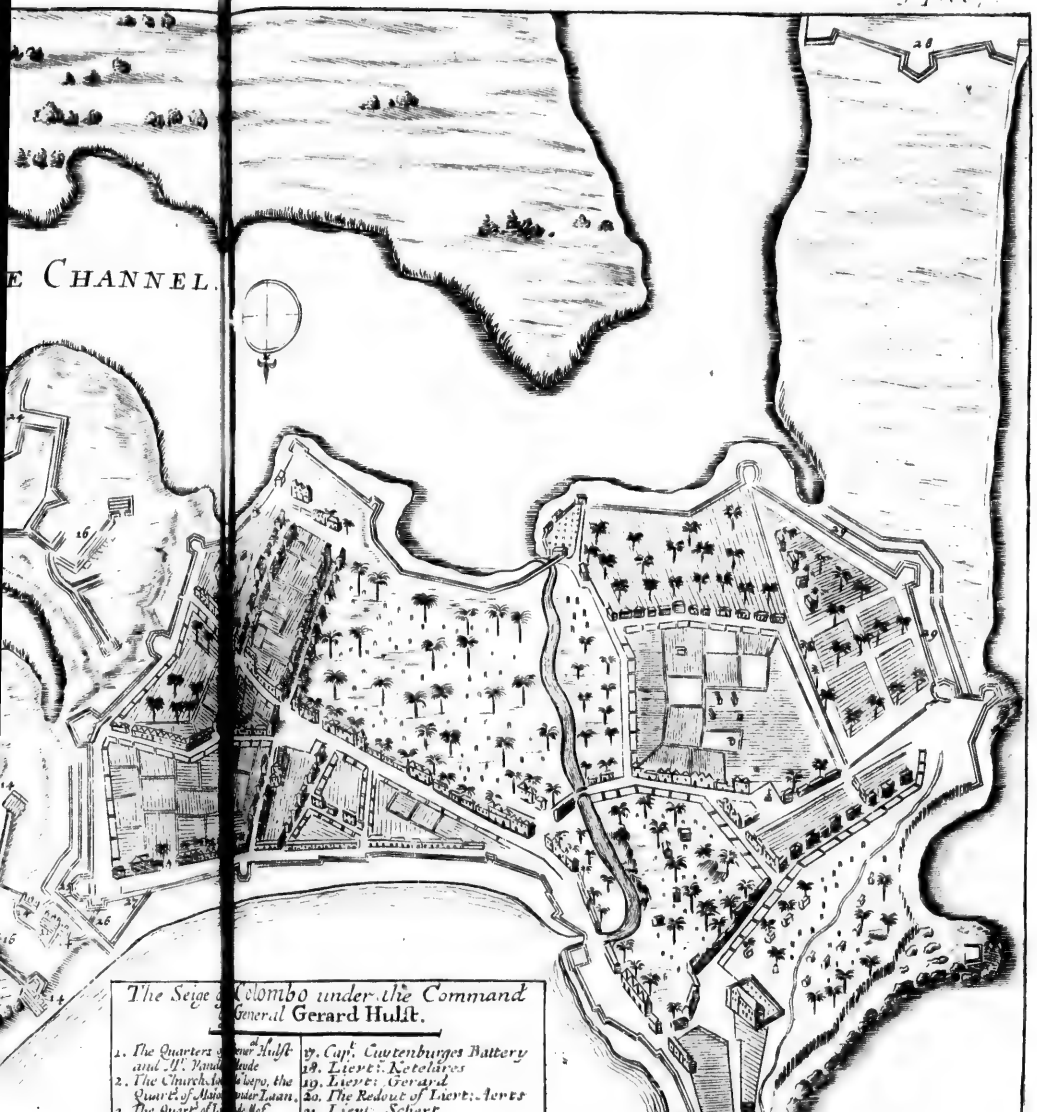
14. A Battery
15. St Thomas
16. A Battery



The Seige of Colombo under the Command of General **Gerard Hulst.**

1. The Quarters of Gener. Hulst and D. Paulo de Lacede
2. The Church & Colegio, the Quart.r of Mariol under Luan.
3. The Quart.r of Le.t Gen.l of the Mardyc
4. A Battery of Guns
5. Nofso Senhora Liberment
6. Lieut: Kints Quarters
7. Lieut: Christ.r
8. St. Sebastian
9. Lieut: Alber Quarters
10. The Priests Quarters
11. Mortiers
12. The Javanese Quarters
13. Lieut: de W
14. A Battery of Guns
15. St. Thomas
16. A Battery of Guns
17. Capt. Cuytenburges Battery
18. Lieut: Ketelares
19. Lieut: Gerard
20. The Redout of Lieut: Aerts
21. Lieut Schert
22. Henrey Gerard
23. a Bridge over the Channel
24. Lieut: Pauls Quarts & Tren.
25. The Gallery where the General lost his Life
26. The Edge of the Ditch
27. An Outwork
28. Our Intrenchment near the Gate of Mopane
29. A Dry Ditch

Baldæus. (both venerable aged *Portugueſe*) came with their retinue to ſalute the general. After ſome compliments on both ſides, orders were given to our forces where to take their poſts, and to diſarm all the *Laſcaryns* in the city. Towards evening the prince's ſtandard was planted in the water-fort, and the great cannon diſcharged round the place as a ſignal of our victory. Thus the city of *Columbo*, not inferior in ſtrength to moſt of *Europe*, fell into the hands of our nation, after ſhe had been one hundred and fifty years in the poſſeſſion of the *Portugueſe*. In acknowledgment of which a thankſgiving-day was appointed the ſunday following, being the 14th of *May*, which was celebrated accordingly, and the thankſgiving ſermon was preached by the reverend *Francis Wyngarten* in the church of *St. Francis*, ſince called the *Town Church*. *Baldæus.* *A thankſgiving ſermon.*

An Account of the Siege of *Columbo*, taken from their own Journals, and (for the publick Good) communicated to the Author by *Matthæus van den Broek*, formerly a Member of the Council of the *Indies*, now Governor of the *Eaſt-India* Company. Faithfully tranſlated from the *Portugueſe*.

A true Account of the Siege of Columbo, *carried on by* Raja Singa, *King of* Candy *and the* Hollanders, *till the Surrender of that Fortreſs under* Anthonio de Souza Coutinho *Captain General in the Iſle of* Ceylon.

IN the month of *September* 1655. ten *Dutch* ſhips came to an anchor near *Negumbo*, two more being out at ſome diſtance at ſea, having landed eleven companies of *Europeans* of eighty men each; and being joined by a good number of negroes, they marched to the paſs of *Betal*, but, by reaſon of the violent rains, were forced to return to *Negumbo*. Mr. *Gerard Hulſt*, the *Dutch* general, having reimbarked his forces with ſome others taken out of *Negumbo*, ſailed with the before-mentioned twelve ſhips to *Columbo*, where much about the ſame time we had received a ſupply of proviſions in three galliots ſent from *Cochin* by the brave and faithful *Simon Gomes de Silva*, governor of that place. Our governor *Coutinho* took part of the rice, in order to carry it to *Caleture*, where they ſtood in great need of it, but was prevented in his deſign by the ſhallowneſs of the river. The 22d of *September* we received another ſupply from *Tutecoryn*, conſiſting in twenty eight ſail, under the command of *Nicholas de Moura*, the fleet being chiefly laden on the account of private merchants.

The enemy having left ſix of their beſt ſhips before *Columbo*, ſailed with the reſt to *Caleture*; whereupon our governor gave orders to captain *Gaſpar Figueira de Serpe*, then encamped upon the frontiers of the king of *Candy*, to come to *Columbo*, which he did accordingly *October* 7.

Without the city were at that time encamped the famous diſſave *Franciſco Antunes* towards *Mature*, and *Alvares Rodrigo Boralbo*, ſent out with three companies to get intelligence of the enemy, who, from the 23d of *September* to the 15th of *October*, laid before *Caleture*, and had raiſed three batteries againſt it.

Our governor being ſenſible of the condition of the place, ſent thither a convoy of proviſions, commanded by *Nicholas de Moura*, under a good guard of *Europeans* and negroes, landed by *Manoel de Gil*, diſſave of *Negumbo*, who has ſo often ſignalized himſelf in our king's ſervice in the iſle of *Ceylon*. This brave man attempting to paſs the river with twelve of his choiceſt men, (the boat holding no more,) was ſo warmly received by ſome of the enemies forces, that, after they had killed ſeveral of his men with their fire-arms, he was forced to retire; the commander in chief followed his footſteps, contrary to the opinion of captain *Domingo Coelho de Alla*, who would fain have perſuaded him to advance as near as he could to *Caleture*, to incommode the enemy in the ſiege. Upon this occaſion *Alvares Rodrigo Boralho* did conſiderable ſervice, in ſending intelligence from time to time of what paſſed, till at laſt this whole body came back to the city.

It being then reſolved to ſuccour *Caleture* to the utmoſt of our power, and four galliots being at the ſame time arrived from the viceroy of *Goa*, we made up a body of ſix hundred *Portugueſe*, the command whereof was committed to *Gaſpar Figueira* to attempt the relief of the place in conjunction with ſome *Cingaleſe*, notwithſtanding the enemy's force conſiſted of three thouſand *Europeans*, beſides a good number of *Bandaneſe* and *Cingaleſe* ſent to their aſſiſtance by the king of *Candy*.

Accordingly *Gaſpar Figueira* encamped with his troops the 16th of *October* two leagues from *Caleture*, having received advice before, that the enemy were already poſſeſſed of the paſs on this ſide, and had poſted three companies there. Purſuant to this

Baldæus. this intelligence he ordered ſix companies, under the command of *Domingo Sarmento* and *Franciſco Antunes*, to attack the enemy in the night, which they did accordingly with incredible bravery for a conſiderable time, but very indifferent ſucceſs; for inſtead of being engaged with three companies of eighty men each, (as they ſuppoſed,) they found the enemy much ſuperior in number, to charge them ſo furiouſly both in front and flank, that they were put into confuſion, with great ſlaughter, before they could recollect themſelves. *Figueira* being by this time come up with the reſt of his forces, unadviſedly attacked the enemy a ſecond time; but theſe opening their ranks on both ſides, diſcharged two cannon among our forces, which occaſioned ſuch a confuſion, that the enemy improving their advantage, once more put us to flight. *Figueira* and his lieutenant *Manoel Cabreira* were for trying their fortune once more; but finding the flower of their forces either ſlain or diſperſed, and no means left to make them return to the charge, they thought fit to retreat and bring off their wounded men; among whom were *Sebaſtian Pereira*, and *Joſeph Antunes*, the only two that eſcaped alive of eleven captains. Of the reformadoes, *John Cordeiro*, *Manoel Fernandes de Miranda*, *Manoel de Santiago Garcia*, with two hundred common ſoldiers came off alive.

Figueira routed.

Conſternation occaſioned by this defeat at Columbo.

This ill ſucceſs cauſed an unſpeakable conſternation in the city of *Columbo*, where there was nothing to be heard but outcries and lamentations in the ſtreets; the ſhops were ſhut up, and the gates kept cloſe, with ſtrict orders that no body ſhould appear armed without doors. The next thing to be done, was to give an account of their preſent ill condition to the viceroy of *Goa*; and the ſame being (at their earneſt requeſt) committed to the care of *Damian Vieira*, a jeſuit, and *Manoel Saraiva*, an inhabitant of *Manaar*, the laſt of theſe two went no further than from *Columbo* to *Manaar*, from whence he diſpatched the letters to *Antonio Amiral de Meneſes* at *Jafnapatnam*, a neglect that deſerved a very ſevere puniſhment.

By this time the hoſpital was filled with the ſick and wounded ſoldiers, where brother *Gobal*, an *Auſtin* frier, did both the duty of a devout, religious, and charitable layman. The number of thoſe that died here for want of good looking after, being ſcarce inferior to what was loſt in the engagement.

On the other hand, the *Dutch* had purchaſed this victory with very little loſs on their ſide; notwithſtanding which, major *Van der Laan* (a mortal enemy of the *Portugueſe*, and a zealous heretick) having received a wound in the cheek, took a moſt barbarous revenge from all the *Portugueſe* he met with, who were all maſſacred in the woods (ſometimes twenty and thirty together) by his orders in cool blood, he having been often heard to ſay, *That if the Portugueſe were at his diſpoſal, he would cut them all off at one ſtroke.* Their general Mr. *Hulſt*, being of a more compaſſionate temper, ordered quarter to be given to the new-liſted forces; but this heretick told him, That they ought to be cut to pieces, in retaliation of what they did to the *Dutch*, whom they never gave any quarter: however, through the general's mercy above ſixty of the new-liſted men had their lives given them. In this engagement the brave *Franciſco Antunes*, who had rendered his name ſo famous in *Ceylon* by his many victories, alſo loſt his life in a wood, who deſerved to have had a *Mauſolæum* erected to his memory.

Baldæus.

This muſt be looked upon as a calumny.

Thus the enemy by this victory becoming maſter of the field, afterwards ſoon made himſelf maſter of the whole iſland of *Ceylon*, the city of *Columbo* (after the loſs of *Caleture*) expecting no leſs than to be reduced to the utmoſt extremity: for after they had endured for ſome days all the inconveniences of hunger in *Caleture*, *Anthonio Mendes d'Aranha* repreſented to his ſoldiers, That they had rather try the utmoſt, than to periſh for want of food, exhorting them to fight their way with ſword-in-hand through the enemy. He prevailed at laſt ſo far with them, as to agree with him in his reſolutions; but the appointed time approaching, they found themſelves ſo enfeebled for want of good food, that not being able to put their deſign in execution, they were forced to ſurrender, upon condition that they ſhould march out with their arms, *&c.*

Surrender of Caleture.

Thus the king of *Portugal* loſt at once a ſtrong fortreſs, one of his moſt experienced officers in the whole iſle, and two hundred and fifty choice men, through the miſmanagement of ſome who preferred their own intereſt before that of his majeſty.

The garriſon was kept in priſon at Gale.

The 17th of *October* the enemy marching directly to *Columbo*, poſted themſelves in ſight of the city near *St. Sebaſtian*, where *Anthonio de Souza Coutinho*, the then governor, together with *Franciſco de Melo de Caſtro*, ordered immediately ſome works to be caſt up, to hinder their approach: but the 18th they were ſo vigorouſly attacked in theſe intrenchments, that they had enough to do to eſcape to the city, and to cut down the bridges behind them.

The Dutch *come before* Columbo.

We then applyed our ſelves to the ſtrengthening of our batteries, whilſt the enemy killed all they met with without the city, and immediatly fell to the raiſing of their batteries; which was no difficult task for them to do, being backed by an army of twenty

Baldæus. or thirty thouſand men under *Raja Singa* king of *Candy*, and furniſhed by him with pioneers and other neceſſaries in abundance.

Our governor and *Franciſco de Melo de Caſtro* did leave no ſtone unturned for the defence of the city; they viſited the magazines and armouries, and furniſhed with arms all ſuch as were capable of bearing them, not excepting even the old men and ſchool-boys. The poſts on the baſtions were aſſigned to the following commanders: on the baſtion of *St. John*, *Manoel Correa de Barros*; on that of *St. Sebaſtian*, *Franciſco Gorian de Fialho*; on that of *Madre de Deos*, *John de Pavia de Quintal*; on that of *St. Conception*, *Domingos Peixoto*; on that of *St. Hieronymo*, *Alphonſo Carvalho de Souza*; on that of *St. Anthonio*, *Manoel Carvalho de Maya*; on that of *St. Jacob*, *Manoel Nunes*; on that of *St. Auſtin*, *Luys de Paiva Quintal*; on that of *St. Laurence*, *Anthonio de Silva*; on of that *St. Crus*, *Caſpar d' Aranja Pereira*; on that of *St. Franciſco Xaverio*, *Manoel Caldeira de Brito*; and on that of *Galvoca*, *Dominges Pires*; who all gave ſufficient proofs of their bravery in their reſpective poſts during the ſiege, as did likewiſe father *Damian Vieira* a jeſuit, eſpecially in the attack upon the garden of *Antonio de Mota*, and ſome houſes ſtanding upon an eminency at *St. Thomas*, in which, though they were repulſed the firſt time, yet the next day our forces, commanded by *Alvaro Rodrigo* and *Manoel Caledira*, being ſeconded by ſome companies poſted on the other ſide of the ditch, made themſelves maſters of it, being of no ſmall conveniency to us, to hinder the approach of the enemy.

The ſeveral poſts aſſigned upon the baſtions.

Notwithſtanding this the enemy advanced apace under favour of their artillery, of which they brought great ſtore daily from their ſhips. And on our ſide we found the baſtion of *St. John* moſt expoſed, we ſtrengthened the ſame with maſts, earth, and faſcines; we made alſo a covered way from the wall to the brink of the ditch; the ſame was done near the baſtions of *St. Sebaſtian* and *Rajuba*, both clergy-men and lay-men, without diſtinction of perſons, imploying themſelves in this work, and furniſhing materials for ſo uſeful a work, eſpecially *Caſpar Figueira de Serpe*, who having great ſtore of baskets, ſpades, and other ſuch like inſtruments, ſacrificed them all for the publick ſervice.

The 20th of *October* the enemy began to ſalute us with twelve great pieces of cannon from three batteries, viz. three from that of *St. Thomas*, five from that at *Agua de Luphe*, and four from that of *St. Sebaſtian*, from whence they ſent eight hundred bullets, eighteen, twenty, twenty-four, and twenty-eight pounders, in one day into the city. But though the enemies bullets did conſiderable execution, ſome of the king's unfaithful ſervants did more miſchief by introducing adulterated coin, and engroſſing the proviſions, under pretence of the king's ſervice, for their own lucre's ſake. Baldæus.

The enemy play from their batteries.

There were at that time not above one thouſand three hundred ſouls, young and old, *Europeans* and *Indians*, viz. five hundred that received pay, and among them, ſome married, ſome unmarried, ſome children and *Topaſſes*; three hundred married people who ſerved without pay, four hundred *Laſcaryns*, and about ſixty labourers; the whole number of the *Europeans* not amounting to above five hundred men. The governor, with the conſent of the whole city, pitched upon *Anthonio d' Abreu*, an inhabitant of *Negapatnam*, to be ſent to *Goa*, to give an account to the viceroy of the city. He was favourably received by the viceroy, who told him, that he had already ſent a ſquadron under *Manoel de Magalhais*. *Coutinho*, to carry a ſupply of proviſions and men thither, brought together for that purpoſe by *Anthonio Amiral de Meneſes* at *Manaar*. But this convoy came no farther than the cape *Comoryn*, and could not make the cape, though ſome were of opinion it was rather for want of will; ſo he returned to *Columbo*, where the viceroy being dead in the mean while, the whole face of affairs was changed, and *Columbo* loſt for want of timely ſupply.

Number of people in the city.

Anthonio d' Abreu ſent to Goa, to give an account of the condition of Columbo.

The before-mentioned three batteries being raiſed above two hundred paces from our walls, they erected another againſt the baſtion of *St. John*, within four hundred paces of it, from whence they battered us moſt furiouſly with three demi-cannon. Immediately after, one of our engineers, a *Hollander* by birth, named *John de Roſa*, deſerted to the enemy: 'tis true, he was no great conjurer in his art, yet did us conſiderable miſchief. For the enemies batteries played ſo furiouſly upon our out-works, that in two days time they were all laid level with the ground, and our baſtions and walls were ſo ſorely battered, that with much ado we could ſtop the breaches, which was done by continual and indefatigable labour, each ſoldier and officer employing the intervals they had, when they were not upon duty, in working like the meaneſt labourer.

One of our engineers deſerts.

The governor *Anthonio Coutinho* ſpent day and night in viſiting the works, animating his ſoldiers both in words and his example, leaving his habitation, and contenting himſelf with a ſmall tent near the baſtion of *St. John*, where the enemies made their greateſt effort. Afterwards he took up his quarters in a warehouſe, ſcarce undreſſing himſelf all the time the ſiege laſted, and employed much of his time in keeping an exact account of the ſtores, and diſtributing proviſions with his own hands, without which precaution the city could not have held out half ſo long. *Franciſco de Melo de Caſtro*

Care and conduct of the governor.

Baldæus. followed his footsteps, having not been seen without his clothes and arms for seven months together. The city-major *Manoel Marques Gorjaon* did assist them in his station, as did likewise *Caspar Figueira de Serpe*, the dissaves of the *Corles* of *Negumbo*, and of *Mature*, *John Coelho de Castro*, *Manoel Gil*, *Manoel Seixas*, and *John Banha*, who were present in all places where there was the most danger to encounter. The clergy, but especially the capuchins, were very assiduous in confessing the soldiers, in praying and doing all manner of good offices, without intermission; and some of them would not be backward in being upon the guard with the soldiery, and give the enemies ample proofs of their valour.

The enemy thundered so furiously against the bastion of *St. John*, that it appeared like a heap of rubbish; then they turned their fury against the horn-work of *St. Stephen*, and the adjacent point; but *Manoel da Veiga*, the commanding officer on the bastion of *St. Stephen*, *Francisco Gorian Fialbo*, *John Ferraon d'Abreu*, *Gonzal Martinho Piementel*, *Manoel Carvalho*, and others imployed in the defence of the works towards *St. Sebastian*, were indefatigable in repairing the breaches, and rendering the bastions tolerably defensible.

Bravery of the besieged.

Hieronymo Luceua shewed the same care in the bastion of *Madre de Deos*, till he was relieved by *Lewis Tavera de Cunha*; and the wall which extended towards *St. Sebastian* being found very weak, the general recommended the defence thereof to the four captains of the *Galliats* lately come from *Goa*. These ordered an intrenchment to be made there of a hundred and fifty yards long, one broad, and six foot high. Father *Damian Vieira*, the jesuit, being imployed in furthering this work, a bullet taking away a great piece of the wall, struck him on the head, so that he fell dead upon the ground; but soon recovering himself, he fell to his work again, his servant constantly attending him with a sword and fusee, wherewith he did considerable execution, being commonly one of the foremost in charging the enemy. Finding that the bastion of *Xaverius* (otherwise called *Couras*) began also to be sorely battered by the enemy, the care thereof was committed to an old famous soldier, *Manoel Rodrigos Franco*, who soon put it out of all danger.

The city summoned to surrender.

The 29th of *November* the *Dutch* general, *Gerard Hulst*, sent a drummer, with a white flag, with a messenger into the city, to summon our governor to a surrender, who delaying his answer till next day, the enemy fired most furiously with his cannon all that night; but the next morning we sent *Diego de Souza de Castro*, and *Thomas Pereire Leite* with an answer, the last personating a drummer, in order to get some intelligence of the condition of the enemy; but they were upon their guard, and therefore sent a captain and a lieutenant, attended by two soldiers, to receive our governor's letter, wherein he told the general, That he wanted neither will nor power to defend the place to the utmost for his king's service, being still sufficiently provided with powder and ball, and other necessaries: and to add the more weight to his words, we fired most furiously all that night. *Baldæus.*

The *Dutch* repaid us in the same coin, sending us commonly a present of eight hundred cannon-ball, and nine hundred granadoes every day. The 12th of *November* they celebrated the feast of St. *Martin*, the pope, by a new invention of fireballs, whereof they sent a good number into the city, and seconded the game by a general assault. For early in the morning, three of their stoutest ships appearing in sight of the city, one of them, called the *Maid of Enchuysen*, entered the harbour, carrying the red flag in her stern; and coming to an anchor within musquet-shot of the bastion of *St. Cruz*, gave us several warm salutes, under the sound of drums and trumpets; but *Manoel d'Abreu Godinho* and *Anthonio de Silva*, the commanding officers on the bastion of *St. Laurence*, did ply them thick with their cannon, that having first brought by the board all her masts, they made soon after so many holes in her sides, that she was ready to sink, and a few of her crew made hard shift to escape in their long-boat. The other two ships seeing the other so ill treated, did not think fit to follow her footsteps, but made the best of their way to the road, alledging in their behalf, that they were not able to come up with the other.

General assault given upon Columbo.

At the same time they attempted the assault on the land side. Mr. *John van der Laan* assaulted, with seven companies, the gate of *Acouras*, advancing boldly with sword in hand to the very faces of our people, the foremost of which began to give way, and in all likelihood the rest would have followed their example, had not father *Antonio Nunes*, a jesuit, with his drawn sword, threatened such as were ready to fly with present death, nay, his comrade, *John Cordeiro*, wounded one of his soldiers, as he was flying, with his long rapier. Soon after *Caspar Figueira de Serpe* coming with fresh supplies, this so animated our soldiers, that they not only stopped the enemies fury, but also made them give way in a little while after. In this action an ensign and serjeant acquired immortal honour, and *Manoel d'Almeyda*, though a very old soldier, yet did not leave his post till he had received eleven wounds. *Felicio de Seixas* and *Contrera de Seixas* lost their lives with their swords

Baldæus. swords in their hands; *Manoel Guerreiro*, i. e. the warrior did great ſervice with his cannon from his redoubt, he being an expert cannoneer.

The Dutch repulſed. Major *Van der Laan* ſeeing there was no likelihood of ſucceeding, ſounded a retreat, leaving the ground covered with the dead carcaſſes of the *Hollanders*. The enemy received alſo conſiderable damage from the tower where *Diego de Souza de Caſtro* commanded, and no queſtion much more might have been expected, had we been provided with good gunners; for it muſt be confeſſed that we wanted not officers of courage and experience, but only ſuch as underſtood the mathematicks and the art of gunnery; an inſtance of which might be given in one of our gunners, who having double charged a cannon, did wound one of our captains, and two others, *viz. Thomas Ferceira Leite* and *Pedro Gonſalves Salgado*; though for the reſt, their fidelity ought not to be paſſed by in ſilence, it having been obſerved, that not one of our cannoneers deſerted to the enemy, but moſt of them loſt their lives in the ſervice.

Not one Portugueſe cannoneer deſerted.

The gate of *Rajuba* was attacked with eight hundred choice men by general *Hulſt* in perſon, who endeavoured to mount the walls with ſcaling-ladders. As they paſſed the bridge, they were ſorely galled from the baſtions of *St. Stephen*, *St. Sebaſtian*, and that of *Madre de Deos*, the defence whereof being committed to *Rodrigo Boralho*, *Antonio de Mota d'Oliveira*, and *Manoel Cabreira de Ponte*, they gave ſuch a hot ſalute with their firelocks from behind their palliſado works to the *Hollanders*, that many of them were laid dead upon the ground. A certain cannon of ſtone did them conſiderable damage, and would have done more, had it not burſt in pieces. Three times they renewed the aſſault with incredible fury; and as often were they repulſed with an unſpeakable bravery. At laſt, general *Hulſt*, to encourage his men, cried out aloud, *Soldiers, the prince's ſtandard is ſet upon the baſtion of* St. John, (which in effect was not ſo,) and ſo with a curſe, (*Sante Diabo*, i. e. holy devil,) he ſnatched a ladder out of a fellow's hand, but finding no body ready to follow him, whilſt he was encouraging his men, and fixing his ladder to the very gate, he was wounded in the thigh, and ſo forced to retreat. On the ſide of the lake, or ſens, (called *Lagoa* by the *Portugueſe*,) two hundred and forty men were imbarked in eight *Chineſe* boats brought from *Batavia* for that purpoſe. They were met by *Domingos Coelho d'Alba* in five *Manchous*, or barges, who fought with them couragiouſly for ſome time, but was forced at laſt to ſuffer them to land, but retired into a palliſado work near *Maria Telles*, from whence he, with *Sebaſtian Caldeira*, and five or ſix more (the reſt being run away) fired briskly upon the *Hollanders*, who at laſt finding a hole or gate near the houſe of *Sebaſtian Caldeira*, they forced their way, notwithſtanding the brave reſiſtance made by *Manoel Rodrigues Franco*, *Guardian de Varo*, and *Franciſco Rebello de Palſares*, who ſent a good quantity of hand-granadoes and fireballs among them, the ſaid *Guardian* having received two wounds by muſquet-balls. The *Dutch* forcing their way into a narrow ſtreet, were there met by *Manoel Fernandes de Miranda*, who, though ſorely wounded, yet continued fighting with his ſword and buckler, till exhauſted of his ſtrength by the loſs of blood, he was ready to drop, and would infallibly have died upon the ſpot, had not *Franciſco de Lemos* carried him off. In his place ſucceeded *Diego Leitaon de Souza*, who diſcharging a muſquetoon on the corner of a ſtreet among the *Dutch*, made them halt; the ſame was done by father *Damian Vieira*, the jeſuit, who with another muſquetoon made ſuch a havock among the enemy, that theſe two ſtopped their farther progreſs, till *Antonio de Leaon* appeared at the head of a good troop of ſoldiers; he being provided with another muſquetoon, charged the enemy ſo briskly, (as they were endeavouring to break into the backſide of ſome gardens,) that they were forced to retreat back into the narrow ſtreet, where he maintained the fight (though his muſquetoon, by reaſon of its being too frequently charged, ſtruck him down to the ground) till *Anthonio de Melo de Caſtro* came with his whole company to his relief, when after ſome firing, quarter being offered to the remnants of the *Dutch*, they accepted of the ſame; ſo that ſeventy four, though moſt of them wounded, were made priſoners of war, whereof eight only returned into the *Dutch* camp afterwards, the reſt dying in the city, many whereof were converted to the catholick faith, by the indefatigable care of the jeſuits, and eſpecially of *Damian Vieira*.

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This was the ſucceſs of the general aſſault begun early in the morning, and not ended till two in the afternoon, during which the governor *Anthonio de Souza Coutinho* and *Franciſco de Melo de Caſtro* kept in perſon the guard, with ſome other officers of note, in the market-place, from whence they diſpatched their orders, as occaſion required. The city-major, *Manoel Marques Gorian*, did likewiſe appear in all places where the danger was moſt preſſing; and *Caſpar Figueira* was very careful in ſending what ſuccours he could ſpare from the baſtion of *St. John*. In ſhort, the ſtreets, breaches, the lane, and ditch, were all tainted with the blood of the *Hollanders*, and the

Baldæus. the ground covered with colours, arms, drums, ſcaling-ladders, and dead carcaſes, their loſs being computed at no leſs than a thouſand men, and among them many brave officers. On our ſide we had not above thirty men killed, though the enemy, to diſſemble their loſs, gave us a general ſalvo of at leaſt a thouſand muſquets. The next day father *Damian Vieira* going without the walls, in order to bury the dead, was ſaluted by three firelocks from the enemy, which made him retire, and defer his charitable reſolution till the next following night. We obſerved a black flag in one of their works, as a ſignal, that they would give quarter to no body without exception, the ſame order having been given them likewiſe before the aſſault begun. We got no leſs than thirty pieces of cannon out of the ſhip that lay under the water-fort, which were planted on our works. Some refreſhments were alſo diſtributed among the ſoldiers, though, to confeſs the truth, the publick ſtores being very low, every one provided for himſelf as well as he could, without any regard to the poor ſoldiers. However, about eighteen days after father *Damian* (by order from the general) went with ſome *Dutch* priſoners aboard the veſſel, where they found ſome casks of wine, and ſome meat and bacon.

Loſs on both ſides.

Some proviſion taken out of the Dutch veſſel.

In the mean time the enemies were not idle, but daily increaſed their works: they made a covered way, within forty paces of *St. John*'s baſtion from weſt to the eaſt, in form of a redoubt, upon which they planted ſix great guns, *viz.* three againſt the baſtion of *St. John*, and the other three againſt that of *St. Stephen*. From thence they carried on their trenches to the ſea-ſide, from ſouth to north, cloſed with another redoubt, which being provided with two pieces of cannon, much annoyed the wall betwixt the baſtion of *Couras* and *St. John*. This made the governor *Coutinho* order ſome of the citizens to raiſe a kind of an intrenchment of about two foot thick and three high, behind it. From the ſecond redoubt the enemy carried on their trenches into the open field; and at laſt added a third redoubt, from whence they could batter the wall betwixt the baſtions of *St. John* and *St. Stephen*; which being likewiſe forced to be ſtrengthened by ſome works of earth and faſcines, no body, not even the governor himſelf, were ſparing in laying hand to ſo uſeful a work, which being four hundred ells in length, each diviſion had its ſhare allotted, in order to bring it the ſooner to perfection.

Domingo Coelho d'Alla, aſſiſted by *Caſpar d'Aranja Pereira*, *John d'Andrade Machado*, and *Don Franciſco Rolim*, all inhabitants of the city, did great ſervice with their ſlaves in the *Manchous*, or boats, in protecting our workmen on that ſide, as well as the diſſaves; and, to be ſhort, there was no body ſo young, no body ſo old, that was exempted from continual labour or watching. *Baldæus.*

The *Dutch*, on the other hand, carried on the trenches from the redoubt with ſix guns, to the hill of *Aqua de Lupe*, and made another trench from the redoubt in the plain, which was to meet another redoubt thrown up on the front of the baſtion of *St. Stephen*, beyond the lake or fens. They alſo raiſed another battery in the garden of *Antonio de Mota*, againſt the baſtion of *St. Stephen*, and another near the beforementioned redoubt of ſix guns, in a parallel with that in the plain, and another juſt at the foot of the baſtion of *St. Crus*, which being ſo near the ditch, was likely to be a thorn in our eye, there being nothing but the ditch betwixt us and the enemy, ſo that we could throw ſtones at them, and often talked with one another.

About the ſame time *Caſpar Figueira de Serpe*, deſired leave to lay down his commiſſion, not to ſhun the danger or trouble of his ſtation, but becauſe many of the gentlemen and ſubaltern officers refuſed to obey his command; ſo he was diſcharged, and *Antonio de Melo de Caſtro*, nephew to the late governor *Franciſco de Melo de Caſtro*, who had behaved himſelf with more than ordinary bravery in his poſt during the ſiege, put in his place.

Figueira lays down his commiſſion.

As we ſhrewdly ſuſpected the enemy to have a deſign of undermining the baſtion of *St. Stephen*, a cavalier was ordered to be raiſed near it, in caſe the ſame ſhould ſucceed. This was done by the contrivance of a certain *Indian* merchant, of the coaſt of *Coromandel*, who alſo ordered the redoubt, demoliſhed ſince the laſt general aſſault, to be repaired. By the direction alſo of another certain merchant, (who was ſurveyor of our magazine,) a countermine was contrived, which did us great ſervice. It was a moſt deplorable thing to have in ſuch a fortreſs as this, not ſo much as one *Portugueſe* engineer, nay, not ſo much as a good carpenter of our nation, the defect whereof can be attributed to nothing elſe but to the covetouſneſs of ſome of the king's officers, who put the money deſigned for that uſe into their pockets, and at the ſame time put it to the king's account: neither were our fortifications in ſuch a condition as they ought to have been; for whereas we had had ſufficient time to incloſe that part of the city near the ſea-ſide, called *Galvoca* (comprehending a third part of the whole) with ſtrong walls, and to render it impregnable, by reaſon of the natural

Covetouſneſs of ſome of the officers.

Baldæus. natural situation thereof being accessible only in certain places in small boats, they had planted only some coco and palm-trees there, which perish, and are washed away by the waves in a short time. Thus the bastions which ought to have been faced with stone, were only made of earth, which are not durable, and easily spoiled by the water-floods; the effects whereof were then obvious enough, from the hospital to the gate of the jesuits college, which comprehends a very large tract of ground. Besides this, the carriages of our great guns were so rotten, that most of them after the first discharge broke to pieces; so that we were forced to take the wood from the houses, nay, even out of the churches (as we did in that of *St. Domingo*) to make new ones.

My pen wants words to express the affronts put upon the holy images by the hereticks, whereof I will give you only one instance. They took the image of the holy apostle *St. Thomas*, and after they had cut off the nose, ears, and arms, set it up for a mark to shoot at; afterwards they knocked it full of great nails, and so shot it out of a mortar *November* 16. into our ditch, whence it was taken up and carried to the jesuits college, by father *Damian Vieira*, and two reformed officers, *Manoel de Seixas*, and *Manoel de St. Jago Garcia*. But the *Franciscans* laying claim to it, they carried it in publick procession to their church, and placed it upon the high altar. Father *Francisco St. Matthæus* solemnized the day with a learned speech.

The 20th of *November* the holy *Thomas* blessed us with the arrival of a certain *Portuguese*, a native of *Aveiros*, named *Simon Lopes de Basto*, who for certain reasons being retired from *Goa* to *Wingurla*, had served among the *Dutch* in a very good station in the camp; but finding his countrymen in distress, left all and came over to us, and did us most singal service in the siege.

The enemy carried on their trenches from the foot of the bastion of *St. Crus*, to the edge of the ditch, with an intention to fix their miners under the bastion of *St. John*; but we made a countermine, and defended the ditch on the other side with a good breast-work, to secure our people against the grenadoes which the enemy threw in without intermission. This post being recommended to the care of *Domingos Coelho*, he strengthened the same by pallisadoes, from whence he commanded the passage over the ditch with his fire-arms; and *Manoel Rodrigos Franco*, and *Manoel de St. Jago Garcia*, would often skirmish with the enemy on their own bridges; two whole companies under the said *Coelho* and *Diego de Souza de Castro* being appointed to second them as necessity required.

The 10th and 11th of *January* the enemy advanced to the ditch in two places, *viz.* through the before-mentioned breast-work, and somewhat lower: from the first place they played with a great cannon; and on the other side, having made a great breach through the wall, they threw fascines, logs of wood, baskets with earth, and such like materials into the ditch; and the better to cover their workmen, and afford an easy passage to their soldiers, they fixed their gallery: but *Emanuel Guerreiro*, at the head of his company, *Domingos Coelho d' Alla*, *Emanuel de St. Jago Garcia*, and *Diego de Souza Castro*, did receive them so courageously, that from ten at night till break of day, there was nothing to be heard or seen but firing, both at the enterance of the mine, and from the bastion of *St. John*, from whence *Don Diego Vasconcelhos* did considerable mischief to the *Dutch* with his great cannon, who meeting with so unexpected a reception, thought fit to retire with considerable loss, leaving most of their materials behind them, which were brought into the city. We lost only two men in this action; and the *Dutch* for ever after were not so forward to come so near us, but plyed us chiefly with their cannon-balls, stones, and bombs; whereas we had but one mortar, which was useless to us (for want of expert cannoneers) till *Simon Lopes de Basto* came over to us, who now and then saluted the enemy with stones out of that mortar, who answered us briskly though most of them broke in the air, and did no other mischief but to some houses that were miserably shattered. One of the enemies bombs happening to fall entire upon the ground, *Matthias d' Albuquerque*, a native of *Goa*, standing hard by, took it up, and threw it into the next *Dutch* mine, with an unparalleled courage, with such success, that it blew up into the air immediately.

Bravery of Matthias Albuquerque.

The 28th of *January* four ships arrived from *Gale*, and soon after two more, which, with the fourteen that were in the bay before, made up twenty in all. The same day the *Dutch* planted a cross upon the redoubt, called *Conception*, under the tripple discharge of their cannon and small arms. This redoubt had been made by the direction and assistance of the governor, the master of the ordnance, and several of our best officers, and the dissaves. That day two new-listed men, belonging to *Don Rodrigo de Castro*'s company, deserted to the enemy; and *Fernaon Martinho de Souza* the governor's son, a gentleman who had given several proofs of his courage, was unfortunately shot with a musket-ball in the head on the bastion of *St. John*, of which wound he died soon after. About the same time died also *Anthonio Barboza Pinheiro*, one of our captains of the artillery, a person of indefatigable

The governor's son killed.

Baldæus. care, and who had ſignalized himſelf upon many occaſions, both in the field and the city.

The 1ſt of *February* two other new-liſted ſoldiers of *Manoel de Veigas*'s company deſerted to the enemy, and the 6th nine ſhips returned from the bay to *Gale*. By this time we began to be reduced to great extremity for want of proviſions, a little meaſure of rice being then ſold at half a *Seraphyn*; ſo that we ſaw the poor wretches (as well *Europeans* as *Negroes*) drop down dead in the ſtreets: the *Berbery*, bloody-flux, and ſpotted fevers, being grown ſo common, that few were free from them. To be ſhort, we were in a conſtant conflict with three moſt dreadful enemies, the plague, hunger, and ſword. To add to our affliction, the heat was ſo exceſſive for want of rain, (which uſually falls in *Ceylon*,) that many were ſtifled for want of air, which made us drive about three hundred of theſe miſerable creatures (unfit for ſervice) out of the city on the 8th, who were forced to return by the *Dutch* the 9th. The 12th, five hundred *Negroes* were forced out of the city, but were ſent back by the *Hollanders* the ſame day. The 17th we ſaw divers gibbets erected without our walls, on which they did hang divers of the miſerable creatures that were forced out of the town. We had ſo many dead in the city, that we wanted room to bury them. The 19th two of our ſoldiers deſerted; one whereof being taken, was hanged up immediately. The 23d fifty negroes (the remnants of the laſt five hundred) returned to the city. The 27th, the bridge made by the enemy on this ſide of their trenches, was ſet on fire from the baſtion of *St. John*; but the fire was ſoon quenched. The 29th the beſieged made a kind of a covered way, near the gate of *Rajuba*, from the baſtion of *Madre de Deos*, to that of *St. Sebaſtian*.

Negroes forced out of the city.

The 2d of *March* our city-major was ſent in a ſmall veſſel to *Manaar*, to ſollicite for ſuccours there, in caſe any ſhould have been lately arrived from *Portugal*; for at *Goa* they thought of nothing leſs than *Ceylon*; for they did not want either men or ſhips to ſend to *Macaſſar* or *Moſambique*, but could find none for *Columbo*; for though the cinnamon was upon the king's account, the reſt of their cargo belonged to private perſons, who would not venture their ſhips for the publick without extraordinary rewards.

Columbo neglected by thoſe of Goa.

The ſame day an advice-boat arrived from *Gale*, and we made the beginning of a *Cavalier* on the baſtion of *Madre de Deos*; but finding that the enemy were raiſing a battery againſt it, it was not brought to perfection. Two *Portugueſe* and nine *Laſcaryns* deſerted. The 3d the enemy began to open their trenches on the ſide of the *Mapneſe* fields. The 6th one *Dyke* deſerted, and the 7th another did the ſame, leaving the boat, where were ſome *Canaryns*, who returned. The 11th another ſoldier belonging to *Alvaro Rodrigo Boralho*'s company, went over to the enemy who received that day a reinforcement of ten ſhips. *Baldæus.*

The 12th early in the morning we found that the enemy had poſted himſelf upon an eminency at the foot of the baſtion of *St. Crus*, juſt over-againſt our redoubt, and that they had carried on their trenches a good way into the field. A ſoldier of *Manoel Cabreira* deſerted to the enemy. The 13th we ſent away four *Pachas*, or advice-boats. The 14th we diſcovered three ſails, with ſome ſloops, which occaſioned great joy in the city, thinking that it had been the ſo-long-looked-for ſuccours, but ſoon found our miſtake. The ſame day two *Dutch* deſerters and a boy came into the town. The enemy having ſtrengthened their battery againſt the outworks of the baſtion of *St. Stephen* and *St. John*, they laid, the 16th, one ſide of *St. Stephen*'s baſtion level with the ground.

The famine increaſed every day, a fig-tree or a papey-tree was now ſold for fifty *Pardaus*: herbage we had none; ſome roots there were, but miſerably dry, by reaſon of the heat of the ſeaſon, which cauſed a great mortality. *Famine increaſes.*

The 17th an *Aratche* and two *Laſcaryns* went over to the enemy; and perceiving that they had raiſed an eminency, in order to erect a redoubt and battery near the gate of *Rajuba*, we demoliſhed the ſame by planting a twenty eight pounder againſt it. We had an advice-boat ſent us from the northern-quarter, and about mid-night the enemy alarmed us by a falſe attack. The 20th five ſoldiers being taken that were going over to the enemy, four of them were hanged immediately, the fifth, who had diſcoverd the reſt, eſcaping with his life. *Four deſerters hanged.*

The 21ſt we made a countermine about ten foot from the enemies, which was carried to the palm-trees planted on the fortifications; whilſt *Simon Lopes de Baſto* maſter of our ordnance, *Manoel Fernandes da Miranda*, *Manoel de St. Jago Garcia*, father *Damian Vieira*, and ſeveral other *Portugueſe* officers, were employed in encouraging the workmen; one of our cannon-balls fell among ſome grenadoes and other fire-works, which cauſed a great alarm in the whole city, and the brave *John Pereira Corte Real* a native of *Negapatnam*, who had ſignalized himſelf upon a thouſand occaſions in the ſervice of our artillery, here loſt his life, being generally regretted by all who knew his merit. The 22d and 23d, the enemy continued to perfect their works near the gate of *Rajuba*, againſt which we played with a demi-cannon from behind the wall of *St. Stephen*'s baſtion.

The

Baldæus. The 24th two messengrs from the king of *Candy* brought a letter to the governor, and another to the inhabitants of *Columbo*, in answer to a letter sent to that king at the beginning of the siege. They appeared in mourning apparel, to intimate (according to the custom of that court) how much concern'd his majesty was at the many injuries and affronts put upon him during the late war. They contained in substance, That the king summoned them to a surrender, promising all the inhabitants the free possession of all their estates, villages, &c. for their sustenance, as the only means to deliver them from the miseries and oppressions they now groaned under, alledging, That the same were the effects of God's just vengeance for their ingratitude, shewn upon so many occasions to his imperial majesty, in return of the many benefits they had received at his hands, and not admitting his ambassadors sent to them with propofals of an alliance. These letters were likewise subscribed by the *Dutch* general *Hulst*, which being read publickly, the messengers were dismissed with much respect, but were scarce got out of the city, when they were overtaken with a most dreadful storm of rain, thunder, and lightning.

Two messengers with letters from Raja Singa come to Columbo.

The 25th *Alvaro Rodrigo Boralbo* killed a soldier as he was going over to the enemy.

They send an advice-boat for arms.

The 26th an advice-boat was dispatched to get intelligence whether there were any hopes of succours for *Columbo*; but all the news we could learn, was, That the viceroy of *Goa* (the only person we put our confidence in next to God) was lately dead; which though it was doleful news for us, yet was it resolved to hold out to the last extremity; which was performed to the greatest nicety, the *Dutch* never being able to become masters of the place, till most of us were consumed either by the sword or famine. Advice was also brought us, That bonfires had been made at *Goa*, upon certain advice brought by some negroes (under protection of the *Dutch*) taken at *Putelaon* in *Ceylon*, that *Columbo* was not in so desperate a condition as had been represented, which they had reported upon the credit of a certain *Dutch* master of a vessel.

The 27th of *March* one of our serjeants was devoured by a crocodile in the fens, his cloaths and arms being found afterwards. At this time a *Parra* of rice was sold at twenty five *Seraphins*, or gilders; and all our church-yards being filled with dead corps, we were forced to have another consecrated for that purpose.

The 28th in the morning the enemy had thrown up another redoubt near the wall of the gate of *Rajuba*. One of the inhabitants, a native of *Cranganor*, went over to the enemy from the bastion of *St. John*, being forced thereunto by hunger, which was grown so excessive, that dogs, cats, and rats, and other such like things, were sold at a very high rate. *Baldæus.*

Cats and dogs sold at a great price.

The 31st two soldiers and a *Lascaryn* went over to the enemy. The next morning we saw some small batteries raised against the redoubt of *St. John*'s bastion, where our people had made some entrenchments, raised like steps of ten paces high, cover'd with a breast-work, like a cover'd-way, called *Aleapaon* by the *Portuguese*. At the same time we began to work on a countermine, within twenty paces of the enemy's mine at *St. John*'s bastion. The same day above fifty of our sick died in the hospital, besides what were daily found dead in the houses and streets, the ammunition-bread being by this time become a most precious commodity.

The first of *April* one of the enemy's advice-boats came into the road. The second seven *Lascaryns* deserted, and ever after twenty or thirty a-day went over to the enemy. The 3d two *Dutch* yachts came into the road, aboard one of which was a surgeon. At the same time a *Parra* of rice was sold for fifty nine *Seraphyns*, or gilders; but the worst was, that there was not enough of it, and could not be purchased but with ready-money. The governor's steward (though without his knowledge) * refusing to part with any without ready gold, to the great disreputation of his master, who, though a gentleman of great honour, yet was highly blamed for committing a thing of such moment to the management of so avaritious a person.

* Semper inveniuntur mercatores humanarum calamitatum. *Basil.*

The 4th of *April* the enemy had raised a new redoubt and battery, provided with two pieces of cannon, near the gate of *Rajuba*; wherewith they had so battered our palisadoes, and other wooden fences, that there was no safe passing betwixt the fortifications and the wall on the other side of the ditch. The enemy received a succour of two ships, and the next day four more. The enemy made their approaches with so much circumspection, that they advanced to the ditch (where it was dry) with the loss of a few of their men, who improvidently exposed themselves to our fire-arms.

The 6th we began another countermine, and the 7th the enemy threw abundance of fascines and faggots into the dry ditch, and set fire to our palisadoes; which was soon quenched by the industry of our men; whilst the *Dutch* were employ'd on the other side to cut a breach with pickaxes in the wall; but were soon chased from thence by our firelocks, not without considerable loss.

The 8th of *April* we began another countermine; which being fenced with a kind of

Baldæus. of paliſado beams covered with earth, to reſiſt the enemies fire-works, was carried on under the conduct of the maſter of the ordnance *Antonio de Melo de Caſtro*, the ſerjeant-major *Antonio de Leaon*, *Diego de Souza*, and *Manoel de St. Jago Garcia*. The ſame day at leaſt ſeventy ſick perſons (moſt *Europeans*) died in the hoſpital; many of the negroes lay dead in the ſtreet for want of room to be buried in, which produced a moſt nauſeous ſcent. The hunger was increaſed by this time to ſuch a degree, that they began to feed upon mens fleſh; ſeveral mothers murdered their own children to feed upon, two whereof were executed. It was a moſt doleful ſpectacle to hear the poor miſerable wretches cry out in the ſtreets for bread; ſome imploring heaven for aſſiſtance, others curſing thoſe who were the occaſion of their miſery, others expiring and breathing their laſt in the houſes and ſtreets.

Utmoſt extremity for want of proviſions.

The 9th *Domingo de Ramos* forced a multitude of poor wretches out of the town; but theſe being driven back by the enemy, and expoſed to our ſmall-ſhot, periſhed either by them, or by famine upon the ſhore.

The enemy advanced this day briskly with their trenches, as we did on our ſide in our retrenchments.

The 10th we ſet fire to the enemy's gallery; which, however, did not ſucceed according to expectation, for want of ſufficient fuel; but father *Damian Vieira*, *Manoel Guerreiro*, and *Simon Lopes de Baſto*, did kill many of the enemy upon this occaſion.

The 11th we planted a cannon betwixt our paliſadoes againſt their gallery; but they had ſtrengthened it ſo well that we could effect nothing of moment. One of our ſoldiers run over to them.

The 12th we began two other mines with incredible labour, but indifferent ſucceſs, for want of skilful engineers. Four ſelected men were poſted in the redoubt of *St. John's* baſtion, who defended that poſt, which was within a few rods from the enemy's works, with a great deal of bravery, as they did in moſt other places, notwithſtanding we were reduced to a very inconſiderable number, there being not above five or ſix men left in ſome companies, as thoſe of *Diego de Souza de Caſtro*, *Manoel de St. Jago Garcia*, and *Don Diego de Vaſconcelhos*, who performed wonders in the defence of the baſtion of *St. John*.

The 13th the enemy having received a reinforcement out of two yachts, they labour'd very hard in their mine on the baſtion of *St. John*, under favour of their cannon, which play'd inceſſantly. At that time father *Damian Vieira* killed a ſtout *Hollander*, who had the direction of the work, which advanced apace, though we ply'd them very warmly with our fireworks. Two of our ſoldiers deſerted to the enemy. *Baldæus.*

The 18th we began to work on our countermine from the foot of the baſtion of *St. John* towards that of *St. Stephen*, under the direction of father *Damian Vieira*, *Simon Lopes de Baſto*, and *John Ferreira d'Abreu*, whilſt the ſerjeant-major *Antonio de Leaon*, *Diego de Souza de Caſtro*, and *Ruy Lopes Coutinho* ply'd the enemy with the fireworks, and other combuſtible matter.

The ſame day we got intelligence by an advice-boat, That the ſo-long-expected ſuccours, under the command of *Franciſco de Seixas Cabreira* was come upon our coaſt; it conſiſted of twenty one ſhips, and two galliots with proviſions, one whereof was upon the king's account, the other of *Simon Souza*, a gentleman of honour, who took compaſſion of our preſent condition. They ſet ſail from *Goa* the 29th of *March*; but as they were endeavouring to make the cape *Comoryn*, one of the galliots, in which was *Simon de Souza*, was attacked ſo furiouſly by a *Dutch* veſſel coming from *Caleculang* with pepper, that after having loſt her maſt ſhe ſunk, *Simon de Souza* being narrowly ſaved with a few ſoldiers, and carried to *Columbo*. The *Dutch* ſhip then falling in among the reſt, fought ſo manly, that ſhe forced our ſhips to retreat into the harbour of *Tutecoryn*; from whence they could not come to *Columbo* till *Auguſt*; though if the ſaid fleet had arrived ſafely, they had brought ſcarce rice enough to ſerve only for a little time.

News of the defeat of the ſuccours deſigned for Columbo.

About the ſame time father *Damian Vieira*, *John Ferreira d'Abreu*, and *Simon Lopes de Baſto*, went with ſome other officers, (called *Reformadoes* by the *Portugueſe*,) into one of our mines. Father *Damian*, and lieutenant *Nunes* going about ſix paces before the reſt, to diſcover whether any of the enemies were at hand, and being miſtaken by their comrades for *Hollanders*, theſe diſcharged their muſketoons upon them; notwithſtanding which the jeſuit eſcaped miraculouſly the danger, without receiving the leaſt hurt. This happy eſcape was attributed to the prayers of father *Frey Luys*, a *Capuchin*, to whom ſuch as were going upon ſome deſperate enterprize uſed to recommend themſelves.

A ſtrange eſcape.

The 15th *Nicholas de Moura* eſcaped out of priſon, (where he was detained ever ſince the buſineſs of the count *d'Obidas*,) and with five *Miſtices* went over to the enemy, as did much at the ſame time a ſerjeant and a ſoldier. About eighty paces from the gate of *Rajuba*, the enemy battered part of our wall betwixt the baſtions of *Madre de Deos* and *St. Sebaſtian*, from a battery of five

pieces

Baldæus. pieces of cannon, from whence they ſhot three hundred and fifty cannon balls againſt it in one day.

The 16th we made a falſe alarm to try whether every one would repair readily to his poſt: two new-liſted ſoldiers took this opportunity to deſert, and being now deſtitute of men to work in our mines, no body was excuſed from that ſervice, from the governor to the private centinel.

The 17th the enemy having fixed another cannon upon the battery, before the gate of *Rajuba*, they laid the wall level with the ground; our people being ſo weakened by famine, that they were not in a condition to carry thither any faſcines or earth to repair it. At the ſame time *Manoel Fragoſa*, a reformed captain, who had done ſignal ſervices in the *Indies*, and eſpecially in *Ceylon*, went over to the enemy, becauſe his pay (which was given to others who much leſs deſerved it) was refuſed him, nay, he could not even get ſuſtenance for his money, which put him upon this deſperate reſolution; two common ſoldiers, natives of *India*, deſerted at the ſame time. There died ſuch a vaſt number every day in the hoſpital for want of neceſſaries, that many of the ſoldiery choſe rather to abide with their companies, where they expired in ſight of their comrades.

Great mortality at Columbo.

The enemy received a ſuccour of two ſhips, a yacht, and a galliot, whereas the poor beſieged had not the leaſt relief in ſeven months.

The 18th Mr. *Adrian van der Meyden*, governor of *Gale*, ſent us a letter, (their general being lately dead,) and to terrify us the more, preſented all his forces in order of battle, betwixt his trenches; but our men, commanded by *Alfonſo Correa*, *John Ferraon d'Abreu*, *Manoel Pereira Matoſo*, *Ignatio Fernandes*, *Simon Lopes de Baſto*, and father *Damian Vieira*, made a vigorous ſalley the next following night out of the gate *Rajuba*, when *Franciſco Aſca*, a reformed captain, took the opportunity to deſert us.

The 19th *Diego de Souza de Caſtro* was ſent with an anſwer to the governor's letter; and the ſon of *Manoel de Souza* went over to the enemy.

The 20th a ſoldier deſerted from the baſtion of *St. Crus*, on which ſide the enemy had attacked us with the greateſt fury ever ſince their loſs ſuſtained there, under the command of *Caſpar d'Aranja Pereira*, who ſucceeded *Manoel d'Abreu Godinho*, after his poſt was aſſigned him, behind the wall, betwixt *St. John's* and *St. Stephen's* baſtion. The city-major having four bufflers left, which had drawn a waggon for a conſiderable time, had them killed for the uſe of the garriſon, who, after the meat was conſumed, feaſted alſo upon the hides, which they cut into ſmall pieces.

The four laſt bufflers.

The 21ſt the enemy had drawn a line of communication from the battery, near the gate of *Rajuba*, to the lake. At the ſame time five perſons were wounded by one of their bombs, and captain *Manoel Guerreiro* mortally, who had killed many a brave *Dutchman* with his fuſee during this ſiege.

Baldæus.

A bomb kills five perſons.

The 22d the enemy having ſet fire to our countermine, the brave *Joan Ferraon d'Abreu*, and *Simon Lopes de Baſto*, were the chiefeſt that gave their aſſiſtance in quenching of it, amongſt a ſhower of bullets and hand-grenadoes. At the ſame time a *Topas* went over to the enemy, the only one that deſerted of that kind, though we had a good number of them among us, who for the moſt part died with the *Portugueſe* in the defence of the city.

The 23d, father *Damian Vieira*, *John d'Abreu*, *John Pereira*, (inhabitants of *St. Thomas*,) *Simon Lopes de Baſto*, *Manoel Pereira Matoſo*, *Sebaſtian Rodrigues*, *Ignatio Fernandes*, *Joſeph Coelho*, and *Manoel Fereira Gomes*, got early in the morning croſs the fens, in order to ſurprize one of the enemy's works, but were ſo warmly received, that they were glad to retreat, and fight their way through the *Dutch*, who had incloſed them on all ſides.

The 24th a *Topy* was ſent to get intelligence; the enemy fired moſt furiouſly from their battery againſt *St. Stephen's* baſtion, and the gate of *Rajuba*, where the wall being laid level with the grounnd, the houſes ſuffered much by their cannon.

The 25th the enemy planted two pieces of cannon at the extremity of their trenches againſt *St. Stephen's* baſtion; and *Raphael de Torres*, a priſoner for debt, eſcaped out of priſon.

The 26th the *Dutch* continued to play without intermiſſion upon the baſtions of *St. John*, *St. Stephen*, and *Madre de Deos*. The ſame day nine *Portugueſe* were buried in one pit, or grave, there being no place left to bury them in. A candil of rice was ſold at that time for two thouſand five hundred ſeraphyns, or guilders, and a candil of wheat for three thouſand four hundred guilders, and happy was he who could purchaſe it; for you would ſee women throw their babes into the ſtreets for want of ſuck and other ſuſtenance, and others to part with their jewels for a ſlender meaſure of rice, a commodity more precious at that time than all the precious ſtones. During this general calamity, the city-major *Manoel Marques Gorian* ſhewed himſelf a true patriot in all his actions, but eſpecially in diſtributing what rice he had left among the ſoldiers, which if he had ſold, muſt have amounted to a conſiderable ſum of money at that juncture; but

Great extremity in Columbo.

Baldæus. but he was willing to part with all, in hopes to preſerve the place for his king. At the ſame time a falſe attack was made near the gate of *Rajuha*.

The 27th, one of our ſerjeants belonging to captain *St. Jago*'s company, deſerted to the enemy. At the ſame time we ſaw them carry on their trenches from the battery raiſed againſt the gate of *Rajuha*, towards the baſtion of *St. Sebaſtian*: their batteries continued to play without intermiſſion day and night. The ſame night father *Damian Vieira*, with ſeven more, made a ſalley upon the ſaid trenches, and carried off moſt of the tools of their workmen. *Simon Lopes de Baſto* took this opportunity of ſending two ſpies into the enemy's camp, who being diſcovered, had much ado to ſave themſelves, being forced to paſs through a ſhower of the enemy's bullets: they returned the 29th, and brought advice of the death of general *Hulſt*, and the commodore * of the *Dutch* fleet. At the ſame time an advice-boat, † carrying three guns, came into our harbour, aboard whereof was the fiſcal. An alarm was ordered to be given at four in the morning, with the ſound of drums, trumpets, and other warlike inſtruments, and a general diſcharge of our cannon and ſmall arms.

**He means* Dirk Ogel, *the vice-commodore.*

† Called the Lion, *which brought the news of the defeat of the* Portuguese *ſuccours.*

The 30th, father *Damian Vieira*, *Simon Lopes de Baſto*, *John Pereira*, *Alphonſo Correa*, *Sebaſtian Rodrigues*, and *Joſeph Coelho*, went out to take a view of the enemy's works, and advanced within ten paces of them, which they found defended by a kind of breaſt-work made up with hurdles; notwithſtanding which, they attacked them with ſword-in-hand.

The 1ſt of *May* the enemy deſired to have their priſoners exchanged for ſome of ours, which being agreed to, the ſecond we delivered up eight of their priſoners, the only remnants of thoſe taken in the laſt general aſſault, in lieu of which we had as many of ours reſtored to us: they then began afreſh to play moſt furiouſly from their mortars and cannon.

The 3d, at ſeven in the morning, father *Damian*, *John d'Abreu*, and *Simon Lopes de Baſto*, went without the fortifications, to gather up the bullets near the baſtion of *St. Stephen*, which uſed to be taken up by the enemy in the night time. Father *Damian Vieira*, *Simon Lopes*, and two more, made another ſalley, to level ſome of the enemy's works, but without ſucceſs. The ſame day two ſoldiers went over to the enemy.

A ſucceſsful ſalley.

The 4th, father *Vieira*, *Simon Lopes*, *Franciſco Valente dos Campos*, *Antonio Madeiro*, *John Pereira*, *Manoel Pereira Matoſo*, *Alfonſo Correa*, *Manoel Fereira Gomes*, *Manoel Nuguera Freire*, and *Thomas Fereira Lete*, made a vigorous ſalley, and with ſword-in-hand attacked the enemy's batteries raiſed againſt the outworks of *St. Stephen*, *St. Sebaſtian*, and the baſtion of *Madre de Deos*, with ſuch ſucceſs, that they ruined them entirely, and ſet fire to the faſcines, hurdles, and other wood-work that ſuſtained them, notwithſtanding the *Dutch* came with a conſiderable body to the relief of their countrymen, but were repulſed, not without a conſiderable loſs, and among the reſt, one of their braveſt officers, who was buried under a tripple ſalvo of their firelocks; ſo that our people remained maſters of the poſts, and returned victorious into the city. *Baldæus.*

The 5th, *Ignatio Fernandes*, *Manoel de St. Jago Garcia*, *Sebaſtian Rodrigues*, *John Pereira de Lago*, and father *Damian Vieira*, (who never ſtaid behind upon ſuch like occaſions,) made another ſalley, but not meeting with any enemy where they expected him, returned without effecting any thing.

The 7th, about ſix in the morning, (it having been rainy before, which is a rarity here at this ſeaſon,) the enemy made an aſſault upon the baſtion of *St. John*, defended by *Don Diego Vaſconcelhos*, and two youths, *Don Conſtantino de Meneſes*, and *Diego Jaques*, both under fourteen years of age, all the ſoldiers being ſwept away by famine; for within theſe two months, above four hundred men died in our hoſpital, and our ſo-long-expected ſuccours being blocked up at *Tutecoryn*, we were paſt all hopes of ſuccours; whereas at *Goa*, there was nothing to be heard of but divertiſements. To be ſhort, the enemy made themſelves maſters * of the baſtion, after having killed the captain and the two youths, who defended themſelves like lions, ſet upon by a multitude of *Dutch* dogs. This done, they turned the cannon againſt the city, whereby many of the *Portugueſe* that were haſtening to its relief, were ſlain in the ſtreets. The ſecond baſtion, aſſaulted at the ſame time by the *Dutch*, was bravely defended by *Manoel Figeiros*, who with two pieces of cannon killed abundance of them; but being conſtantly ſeconded by freſh troops, eſpecially of the *Cingaleſe*, they ſent ſuch ſhowers of arrows and bullets among our people, that they were forced to quit that baſtion alſo.

** Martin Schoutes firſt entered the breach.*

From thence marching into the city, they were met at the entrance of a ſtreet by the commander in chief, *Anthonio de Melo de Caſtro*, *Diego de Souza de Caſtro*, father *Anthony Nunes* the jeſuit, *Sebaſtian Rodrigues*, *John Pereira*, *Vincente de Silva*, *Franciſco Valente dos Campos*, *Alfonſo Correa*, *Sebaſtian Pereira*, *John Ferraon d'Abreu*, *Anthonio de Magalhanes*, and an enſign under captain *Alla*: theſe, though few in number, but many in valour, charged the *Dutch* with incomparable bravery. The *Portugueſe Alexander Manoel Marques Gorjaon*, making the

Baldæus. the beſt of his way over the dead carcaſes, that covered the ground, fingled out a *Dutch* captain of a gigantick bulk, who ſhot him with a piſtol through the body; notwithſtanding which, he run him through with his ſword, and ſent him immediately to the other world; then puſhing on his fortune, made the *Dutch* give ground, and having rallied his men, ſecured the poſt for that time. The *Dutch* renewed the charge five times ſucceſſively, but were as often couragiouſly repulſed by *Anthonio de Melo de Caſtro*, and thoſe few that followed him; and being reſolved either to conquer or to die, they broke in with ſword-in-hand amongſt the enemy, and again poſſeſſed themſelves of the firſt baſtion, and ſoon after alſo of the ſecond. The firſt who entered the laſt, was *Anthonio de Magelhanes*, who fought with an uncommon zeal againſt the enemy; for before they became maſters of our cannon, he ply'd them very warmly from behind the wall, (the only defence he had left,) ſo that it coſt them many a brave fellow before they could make themſelves maſters of it; and being now poſted again upon the ſame baſtion, he was bravely ſeconded by two demi-cannons from the new baſtion, and a ſmart ſhower of fire-works, which ſet the circumambient air into ſuch a flame and ſmoak, that at a diſtance it appeared like the mouth of hell.

A ſharp engagement in the city of Columbo.

At the ſame time the governor *Anthonio de Souza Coutinho*, and *Franciſco de Melo de Caſtro*, did all that could be expected from brave men on the *Couras*, or the baſtion of *Xaverius*, both by way of command, and by charging the cannon in perſon, and performing the duty of common ſoldiers. The fathers *Philippo* and *Pedro de Caſtelbranco*, both *Auſtin* friars, were not behind-hand with the reſt, in giving their utmoſt aſſiſtance for the defence of the place, being appointed to keep a watchful eye upon the enemy, whenever they were going to alarm, or amuſe us with falſe attacks.

* Martin Scholtes *firſt entered the breach.*

It muſt certainly be confeſſed, that this engagement was one of the moſt remarkable that ever happened in the eaſt, conſidering that a few, and theſe moſt wounded, ſick, or weakened by famine, did engage a much greater number, continually ſuſtained by freſh troops, from ſix a-clock in the morning, till eight in the evening, during which time the enemy was repulſed, not only once, but five ſeveral times, by a much inferior number, who having not the leaſt relief or time to breath, were forced all that time to endure the danger and fatigues of the action, which coſt the enemy above four hundred men killed, beſides thoſe wounded and burnt by our fire-works. On our ſide we loſt alſo the flower of our forces, ſome whereof were ſlain, others wounded, and burnt to that degree, that they were diſabled from bearing of arms for a conſiderable time after. Among the ſlain, were *Diego de Vaſconcelhos*, who had given a thouſand proofs of his bravery in this ſiege; father *Antonio Nunes*, the jeſuit, a pattern of virtue, who ſignalized himſelf not only all along on the baſtion of *St. John*, as well as in other parts of the city, by incouraging the ſoldiers, comforting the ſick, and burying the dead: he was ſhot at the gate of the baſtion with a musket-ball, received afterwards a deep cut, and at laſt ſlain by a hand-grenado, after he had killed ſeveral of the enemy with his muſquetoon. At the ſame time died in the bed of honour (after they had given a thouſand proofs of their bravery) *Alfonſo Correa*, *Vincente da Silva*, *Franciſco Valente de Campos*, *Sebaſtian Pereira*, and that brave ſea-commander *Sebaſtian d'Abreu Godinho*, beſides an enſign, a native of *Bazain*, belonging to captain *Alla*'s company; *Manoel de Seixas*, an inhabitant of *Columbo*, and *Anthonio Caminha d'Alzevedo*, were ſorely burnt; *Diego de Souza de Caſtro* was mortally wounded with two bullets, notwithſtanding which, he would not retire from the engagement till he received a deep cut. *Manoel Caldeira de Britto Vidave* was wounded by a musket-ball, as were likewiſe *John Ferraon d'Abreu*, *Andreas de Seixas*, *Manoel Nugueira Freire*, *Manoel de Souza*, and *Manoel Segaldo*. *Laurence Days*, a native of *Columbo*, was wounded with no leſs than three musket-balls; *Ruy Lopes Coutinho*, *Domingos Pires*, inhabitants of *Negapatan*; lieutenant *Arrais*, captain *St. Jago*, *Manoel Correa*, commander in chief upon the baſtion of *St. John*; *Franciſco Pereira*, *Simon Lopes de Baſto*, and many more were miſerably burnt. Moſt of theſe received their wounds by the accidental ſetting on fire of a veſſel filled with gunpowder, through the careleſſneſs of our own people. The reverend father *Paulo* was wounded, as he was furniſhing the combatants with fire-works, as was likewiſe father *Manoel Velles*, who was touched by two bullets, without receiving the leaſt harm by them; a grenado did alſo fall juſt before his feet, without doing him the leaſt harm, as he was buſy in defending his poſt with *Alvaro Rodriges Boralho*, at the gate of *Rajuba*.

Incredible bravery of the Portugeſe.

Their loſs.

Father *Damian Vieira*, with his company did conſiderable miſchief to the *Dutch* from the church of *St. Domingo*, being bravely ſeconded by *Caſpar Aranja Pereira*, knight of the croſs, and an old ſervant of the king, (who ſucceeded the city-major in his place,) with nine or ten of his followers, this being the place moſt expoſed to the enemy. The commander in chief *Anthonio de Melo de Caſtro*, no leſs annoyed them from the new baſtion, and with their ſhot

Baldæus

Baldæus. ſo ſcoured the ſtreets, that there was no ſafe paſſage for the *Dutch* and *Cingaleſe*.

The *Dutch* without the town, did on the other hand exert their utmoſt efforts againſt the old baſtion, which being almoſt laid level with the ground, the wall without ſerved for a breaſt-work; and being continually ſupply'd with freſh troops of the *Candineſe* and others, put our men, but few in number, moſt of them ſick, wounded, or half-ſtarved, and, beſides that, but ill provided with ammunition, very hard to it on that ſide. For by this time we had not only but few men, but alſo not above fifteen days proviſions left, and ſcarce ſo much gunpowder as would ſuffice for two charges of our artillery.

Conſultation about a ſurrender. Things being come to this paſs, it was debated in the council, (conſiſting of thirty four perſons,) whether it were not beſt to think of a ſurrender; thirteen were of opinion rather to die upon the ſpot, than to treat with the enemy; but the moſt being of a contrary opinion, and nine of them poſitively inſiſting upon it, that it would be moſt conducing for the king's intereſt, that ſeeing the place was no longer tenable, to preſerve the remnants of theſe brave fellows, who had behaved themſelves ſo courageouſly, it was agreed to enter upon a treaty.

Accordingly the 10th, *Manoel Cabreira* was ſent with a letter to Mr. *John van der Laan*, concerning the conditions of the intended treaty; an anſwer to which being ſent the 11th, *Laurence Fereira de Britto*, *Diego Leitaon de Souza*, and *Hieronymo de Lucena* were diſpatched as plenipotentiaries, to demand a ceſſation of arms till the 25th of *May*, againſt which time we expected the ſo-long-deſired ſuccours. But the enemy, who were not ignorant of our preſent circumſtances, would hearken to no other conditions, than to ſurrender the city the next day by twelve a-clock at noon, which if we refuſed, they threatened to give us no quarter; ſo that we were forced to obtain the beſt terms we could, without any longer heſitation, the articles whereof being drawn up in haſte (for want of time) I had not the opportunity to peruſe them; and therefore can only tell you upon this head, that *Columbo* was forced to ſurrender, though I cannot preciſely tell upon what terms.

It ſurrendered.

No ſooner was the news of the treaty divulged among the people, but nothing was heard but dreadful outcries and lamentations. The eccleſiaſticks (or at leaſt the moſt cautious among them) hid the images and relicks, and unfurniſhed the altars, for fear they ſhould be defiled by the hereticks, as had frequently been done before upon ſuch like occaſions. The *Dutch* having taken poſſeſſion of the baſtions, our garriſon, w

conſiſting of ninety ſoldiers and one hundred armed inhabitants, including officers, nay, even the lame and maimed, marched out, ſome with their ſwords and muskets in one hand, and a ſtick or a crutch in the other. *Baldæus.* *The garriſon conſiſting of one hundred and ninety men marcho out.*

The *Hollanders* ſeeing theſe poor remnants, moſt of which appeared more like ſkeletons than living men, were aſtoniſhed at their bravery, in the defence of a place they had been forced to purchaſe with ſo much blood. Ten *Dutch* companies marched into the city, at the head of which appeared the general *Adrian van der Meyden*, and Mr. *John van der Laan* on horſeback, not to reckon the *Cingaleſe* ſent to guard the governor of *Columbo*'s houſe; which was no ſooner done, but a meſſenger was ſent to him to demand *Simon Lopes de Baſto*; being not in a condition to refuſe him, he ordered immediately the ſaid *Simon Lopes*, with a certain *Aratche* of *Negumbo*, and ſome *Dutch* deſerters, to be delivered to him, who were all hanged on a gibbet ſoon after in ſight of the *Portugueſe*, who were forced to be eye-witneſſes of the miſerable exit of this *Simon Lopes*, who for the ſignal ſervices he had done them in the ſiege, deſerved to have had a monument of braſs erected to his memory. To the ſhame of thoſe be it ſpoken, who ought to have endeavoured to afford him a much better recompence for his paſt ſervices, and rather expoſed him in a boat to the chance of the ſeas, than to a certain ſhameful death.

The *Hollanders* were ſufficiently ſenſible of the bravery of the *Portugueſe* during this ſiege, which laſted ſeven months, (without receiving the leaſt ſuccours or ſupplies,) by the loſs they ſuſtained of their braveſt ſoldiers and beſt officers, which amounted to three thouſand men, beſides the wounded and maimed; beſides that, the charges of the ſiege amounted to more than would have built ſuch another *Columbo*.

The general and Mr. *John van der Laan* were no ſooner ſettled in their habitations, but they gave liberty to the ſoldiers to plunder the place (contrary to their parole) for one day, which was extended to five by Mr. *Van der Laan*, *viz.* from the time of their coming into the city, till the time we marched out, which was performed by the hereticks with the utmoſt rigour; nay, whilſt our ſoldiers were embarking, and the inhabitants within three days after, they continued their robberies even upon the ſea-ſhore. Almoſt all our people went aboard along with them, except a few who ſtaid behind with the governor and deputy-governor; and ſome, that (by great promiſes) were engaged in the king of *Candy*'s ſervice, which, perhaps, has happened by a ſingular providence of God, as a means to influence *This is a groſs falſehood, a ſoldier having been whipped at that time for ſtealing.*

Origin of the city of Columbo

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Baldæus. that king's counſels, in order to expel the *Dutch*, one time or other, out of the iſle of *Ceylon*.

Our people were tranſported to *Negapatan*, where they were moſt kindly received and provided with medicines, cloathing, and other neceſſaries by the inhabitants, till they received their pay: after the arrival of *Antonio Amiral de Meneſes*, governor of *Jafnapatnam*, who at the ſame time intreated *Anthonio Mendes d'Aranha* (who after having been detained a priſoner at *Gale*, was now come to *Negapatan*,) to go along with him to *Jafnapatnam* in the quality of his deputy-governor, as not queſtioning but that he ſhould be the next, againſt whom the enemy would exert their utmoſt efforts; which he accepted of; though conſidering the fatigues and miſeries he had endured of late, he might very well have excuſed the ſame, as well as the reſt of the ſoldiers; who, notwithſtanding this, half-ſick, and half-ſtarved as they were, did embark for one of the moſt dangerous places in *Ceylon*, to give freſh proofs of their bravery.

This was the end of this ſiege, one of the moſt remarkable in all its circumſtances that ever was heard of, conſidering that a place of that bigneſs was defended by ſo ſlender a number for the ſpace of ſeven months (without the leaſt ſupplies) againſt a powerful force of the *Dutch* and *Cingaleſe*, who firſt defeated the *Portugueſe* forces (compoſed of the flower of their men) in two ſmart engagements; ſo that the whole number of the *Portugueſe* was at laſt reduced to two hundred ſouls. The account of this ſiege being ſpread among the eaſtern moors and pagans by ſeveral perſons, who had been eye-witneſſes of the great actions performed there, did beget an incredible reputation of the bravery of the *Portugueſe* among thoſe nations, though the ſame proved unfortunate in the end.

Thus his majeſty of *Portugal* loſt a place, and with it a whole kingdom, three times bigger than *Portugal* itſelf, and much richer *Baldæus.* and more plentiful, the very center of the world, the richeſt tract of land under the ſun, and with it (probably) all that is in the poſſeſſion of the *Portugueſe* to the ſouth of cape *Comoryn*. His majeſty loſt a conſiderable ſquadron of ſhips ſent to the relief of *Columbo*. The firſt ſquadron intended for this expedition did come no higher than the cape *Comoryn*, the pretended ſuccours from *Manaar* came to nothing: and the ſecond ſquadron promiſed by the viceroy of *Goa* in *January*, did not ſet ſail till the 29th of *March*, and was forced to retreat without effecting any thing.

Some pretences for the not relieving of Columbo.

The want of money was alledged as the main reaſon of this delay, when it is ſufficiently known, That the king had both ſhips and money enough at *Goa*, which could not have been better employ'd than for the relief of a place of ſuch vaſt importance. We know what vaſt ſums *Nuno Alvares Botalho* conſumed at *Moſambique*; which was nevertheleſs not diſapproved by the king of *Caſtile*; and why might not the ſame be expected from the king of *Portugal?* To conclude, *Columbo*, and with it, the whole iſle of *Ceylon*, being loſt for want of ſuccours, all ſuch as have deſerved well in the defence of that place ought to be rewarded for their ſervices, as thoſe who have been neglectful in their duty for the preſervation thereof deſerve condign puniſhment at his majeſty's hands. And as nothing is more common, than that courtiers imploy their favourites in places of truſt, (without any regard to merit,) and afterwards to conceal their miſcarriages from the king; it is for this reaſon, that we lay this account at your majeſty's feet, taken from the journal kept at *Columbo*, and other authentick records, confirmed by the teſtimony of many perſons of credit, both eccleſiaſticks and laymen, that were preſent from the beginning to the end of this ſiege.

Addreſs to his Portugueſe *majeſty.*

CHAP. XL.

The Origin of Columbo. *Arrival of the* Portugueſe: *Their Engagements with, and Conqueſt of the* Moors. *They fortify* Columbo. Raja Singa *diſſatisfied.*

Origin of the city of Columbo.

THE city of *Columbo* is an antient city, ſeated at ſix degrees one half of north latitude, in a pleaſant country, near a delightful river; which, queſtionleſs, induced the *Portugueſe* to fix upon this place for their chief reſidence in this iſland. For *Emanuel* king of *Portugal*, having been fully informed concerning the condition of *Ceylon*, ordered a fort to be erected there, for the better eſtabliſhment of his affairs there, and to curb the emperor. *Lup. de Britto* being ſent thither with a good number of ſoldiers and workmen, *John Silva* delivered the ſaid fort up to him. For *Soares* who was lately ſailed with twenty ſhips and ſeven hundred land-

Baldæus. men to *Ceylon* (after *Laurence d' Almeyda*, who ſome years before entered into a confederacy with the king of *Ceylon*) had juſt before made an agreement with the governor of *Columbo* about a ſettlement in that place, which he looked upon as the moſt proper for a fortification, both in reſpect of its ſituation, and the plenty of the beſt cinnamon that grows in the whole iſle, being ſeated in the form of a creſcent, and affording ſafe anchorage for ſhips, provided they are not too bulky.

Accordingly it was agreed to erect a fortification there, under pretence of ſecuring the commerce of the *Portugueſe*, but in effect to curb the king and the natives. He who reigned at that time in the iſle being a *Brahman*, was not a little jealous of the *Europeans*; but being ſenſible to what pitch of greatneſs the king of *Cochin* was lately arrived by the aſſiſtance of the *Portugueſe*, he gave his conſent, though not without ſome reluctancy, and conſequently was of no long continuance: or the *Saracens* who were chaſed thither from the continent, and had ſettled their traffick in this iſle, found means, by the promiſes of great ſums of money, and of their aſſiſtance, to entice the king and court to oppoſe the deſigns of the *Portugueſe*, who intended to enſlave them, under pretence of ſettling their commerce; for which purpoſe they raiſed ſome works, and having mounted ſome iron cannon upon them, ſeized ſome *Portugueſe* that came aſhore, without ſuſpecting any harm.

Treaty betwixt the Portugueſe *and the* Cingaleſe.

Is ſoon broken.

Zoares coming aſhore with his workmen, in order to raiſe the intended fortifications, was ſurprized to find ſome forts erected by the *Cingaleſes*; and having received certain intelligence, that the ſame had been done at the inſtigation of the *Moors*, he eaſily gueſſed that nothing but force was likely to eſtabliſh the *Portugueſe* in *Ceylon*. Accordingly having landed his men, he attacked the enemy, who at a diſtance ſomewhat galled his forces with their arrows; but after they came to a cloſe engagement, the *Cingaleſe* were quickly put to the rout, and purſued by the *Portugueſe* with conſiderable loſs: the *Portugeſe* had many wounded, but few killed, among the laſt was the brave *Patieco*, lately come from *Malacca*.

The Portugueſe *rout the* Cingaleſe.

Zoares having allowed one day only to his people to refreſh themſelves, began the next morning an entrenchment, reaching from the harbour to the ſea-ſide, without the leaſt oppoſition: within this he ordered a fort to be erected, whereupon having mounted his cannon, and ſtrengthened it by a wall that ſurrounded it, he ſoon made the king repent of his inconſtancy, who ſent his envoys to *Zoares*, asking pardon for what was paſſed, and deſiring that the former alliance might be renewed: but *Zoares* refuſed to hearken to theſe propoſitions, demanding *Baldæus.* ſatisfaction for the affront, and a yearly tribute to be paid to king *Emanuel*; which the king of *Ceylon* (who dreading the *Portugueſe*) not daring to refuſe, it was agreed that he ſhould pay to *Portugal* an annual tribute of one hundred twenty four thouſand pound weight of cinnamon, twelve rings ſet with the moſt precious rubies and ſaphirs, and ſix elephants, under condition that king *Emanuel* ſhould aſſiſt the king of *Ceylon* and his ſucceſſors, both by ſea and land, againſt all his enemies.

Force the king to pay a yearly tribute.

The treaty being thus concluded, *Zoares* continued his fortifications; which being brought to perfection with the aſſiſtance of the *Cingaleſe*, he left *John de Silva* with a good garriſon there, and *Anthonio Miranda Azevedo* with four ſhips to guard the coaſt; which done, he returned in *December* to *Cochin*, where he was received with all imaginable demonſtrations of joy. *Lup. de Britto* (before mentioned) ſucceeding *John de Silva*, brought along with him abundance of workmen and bricklayers, who made a kind of mortar of the ſea-cockles, and lined the fortifications with a ſtrong wall, deepned the ditches, and added what works they thought neceſſary for the accompliſhment thereof.

Portugueſe beſieged in the fort.

This created no ſmall jealouſly (not without reaſon) in the *Cingaleſe*, which was increaſed by the inſinuations of the *Mooriſh* merchants, who told the king, That their prophecies were like to prove too true, ſince he was now made ſenſible, that theſe foreigners had not only excluded all other ſtrangers from the traffick of this iſle, but alſo had made him a tributary of *Portugal*, and ſhortly would make him their vaſſal, if he did not in time hearken to the counſel of his friends.

It ill diſgoſted by the Cingaleſe, *etc.*

Theſe inſinuations had the deſired effect; for the king not only cut off all ſupplies of proviſions and other neceſſaries from the fort, but the common people being alſo incenſed by theſe diſcourſes, murdered ſeveral *Portugueſe*, who ventured a little too far without the fort. *De Britto* at firſt diſſembled the matter, finding he could no longer contain his ſoldiers (burning with revenge) he choſe one hundred and fifty of his beſt men and with them aſſaulted the city of *Columbo* (which lay near the fort) juſt about noon, when moſt of the inhabitants were aſleep to avoid the heat of the day, and at the firſt alarum betook themſelves to their heels, leaving the city to the enemies mercy.

Britto *ſurprizes* Columbo.

De Britto ſeeing himſelf maſter of the place without the leaſt oppoſition, forbid his ſoldiers to plunder, or commit any other outrages; but ordered the women and children to be tied to the poſts of the doors, with an intention to convince the *Cingaleſe*

Baldæus. lese that he was not come like an enemy to destroy, but like a friend to preserve them. But as he had but little reason to rely upon their generosity, he thought fit to make a trial of their inclinations; so he ordered some houses that lay next the *Portuguese* fort to be set on fire: this had the desired success; for the *Cingalese*, out of the affection they bore to their wives and children, had gathered all their force, in order to relieve them at any rate; but finding their houses on fire, run first with all speed to quench the flame, whereby *Britto* got leisure to retreat in good order into the fort, and to provide himself against the intended assault, which however could not be done without some loss, above thirty of his men having been wounded in the retreat.

Portuguese besieged in the fort.

However *Britto* reaped no other benefit by this enterprize, than that the *Cingalese* (exasperated to the highest degree) besieged the fort with twenty thousand men; and though they were often bravely repulsed, yet did they persist in their resolution, in hopes of reducing the place by famine, because the approaching month of *May* (the first of the winter-season) did bereave them of all hopes of succours. In the mean while the *Cingalese* did not cease to carry on their works to the very ditch, from whence they annoyed the *Portuguese* with their arrows, their number making up the defect of their force, which was not comparable to the *Portuguese* artillery and fire-arms. They also gathered up six hundred bullets that were shot at them from the fort, of which they made the best use they could.

Is ill disgested by the Cingalese.

But what most troubled the *Portuguese* was, that they were to fetch all their fresh water without the fort, and that they were extremely harassed with continual watching. However, they hoped to defend the place till the next summer, in hopes of succours, in which they at last found themselves frustrated; *Anthonio de Lemos* coming only with one galley and fifty landmen to their relief, *Siguera* with the rest of the forces having staid behind.

Make a vigorous sally.

The *Cingalese* in the mean time had found means to erect two wooden towers filled with earth, which being placed near the ditch, they intended to make use of to cover their pioneers, whilst they were busy in filling it up. *Britto* was not a little startled at this device, and finding himself now reduced to such straits, as to be obliged to venture at all, he ordered *Anthonio de Lemos* to draw as near to the shore as possibly he could, and to endeavour to ruin these towers with his great cannon, whilst he would make a salley with three hundred and fifty men, and attack the enemy with the utmost vigour. This was put in execution accordingly with such success, that the towers were intirely ruined, and the *Cingalese* beaten out of their works. *Baldæus.*

Notwithstanding this defeat, the *Cingalese*, encouraged by the *Moors*, who came to their assistance with an hundred and fifty horse, and twenty five elephants, resolved to try their utmost against the *Portuguese*. These elephants having turrets filled with men armed with cutlasses on both sides, did strike no small terror at first into the *Portuguese*, but afterwards turned to the disadvantage of the *Cingalese*; for these beasts not able to bear the wounds that were given them by the *Portuguese* artillery, soon turned their backs, and put their own troops into disorder, with a great slaughter among the *Cingalese* and *Moors*; who now beginning to despair of success, raised the siege immediately and the king sent his ambassadors to *Britto*, to ask pardon for what was past, and to desire a reconciliation. *The siege raised.*

Thus we see how the *Portuguese* have been forced to settle, or at least to maintain themselves in *Ceylon* by the sword; and the better to attain their end, it was their constant practice in the *Indies* to sow the seeds of division among those princes; an instance whereof is given us by *Maffæus* himself, in his history of the *Indies*.

The king of *Cota* had three sister's sons, who (according to the custom of the country) being his legal heirs, began to be very uneasy at the long life of their uncle, found means to remove him out of the way, and to divide the country betwixt them; but *Parea Pandar*, the eldest of the three, having murdered the second, *Maduyn* the youngest began also soon after to conceive a jealousy at his brother's proceeding, complaining that he was not rewarded according to his deserts, as having been the adviser and executer of the murder of their uncle. *Parea Pandar* finding his brother dissatisfied, thought it his securest way to fore-arm himself against him, and therefore entered into a treaty with the king of *Portugal*, to settle the succession of the crown upon his daughter's son, (with the exclusion of *Maduyn*,) directly contrary to the custom of that country. *Maduyn* exasperated to the highest degree at this proceeding, denounced open war against his brother; and after having ravaged the country through which he passed, laid siege to *Cota*. *Differences betwixt two brothers, fomented by the Portuguese.*

The elder brother disdaining to be attacked in his city, marched out against *Maduyn*, and pitched his tent in an advantageous post: he had a troop of *Portuguese* in his camp, one whereof (whether hired thereunto by *Maduyn*, or by chance, is uncertain) shot him through the head. After his death, the *Portuguese* set his daughter's son upon the throne with the usual solemnities; but in consideration of his youth, and the weakness

Baldæus. weakneſs of his title, introduced contrary to the cuſtom of the country, they much feared the hatred of the people, backed by the intereſt of *Maduyn*; they ſent therefore for ſuccours to *Noronha*, who ſoon after arrived with a good ſquadron of ſhips and three thouſand men, under pretence of aſſiſting the young king, (as *Maffæus* expreſly tells us,) but in effect to make himſelf maſter of the treaſure buried at *Columbo*, one hundred thouſand crowns of which he carried off along with him.

In the mean while *Maduyn* fortified himſelf with all poſſible diligence in the city of *Ceta-Vaca*, nine leagues from *Columbo*, (according to *Maffæus*;) but *Noronha* having with little oppoſition taken and burnt the ſaid place, returned victorious to *Goa*. What further became of *Maduyn*, is not mentioned by *Maffæus*, or any other hiſtorian.

What was found in Columbo.

Thus we have ſeen the beginning of *Columbo* under the *Portugueſe*, and its ſurrender to the *Dutch* 1656. They found about ſix or ſeven loads of muſty rice in the place, ſome packs of cinnamon, good ſtore of *Areek*, ſome good, ſome not; twenty four light frigats, nine whereof were ſunk; one thouſand five hundred guilders ready money coined in the city; thirty three packs of clothes; twenty five bells of metal; ſixty braſs, and ſixty eight iron pieces of cannon, one mortar, and ſix leſſer pieces; ten thouſand cannon bullets of different ſizes and weight; ſix thouſand five hundred pound weight of good gun-powder, and one thouſand one hundred fifty bad; a good quantity of brimſtone and ſaltpeter. No ſooner were we in poſſeſſion of *Columbo*, but *Raja Singa* ſhewed his diſſatisfaction by the following letter. *Baldæus.*

Raja Singa's letter.

"YEſterday and the day before yeſterday, it was reported at our court, "that there was a treaty on foot with the "*Portugueſe* about the ſurrender of the "city, ſince which I have received intelli- "gence, that the ſame is brought to effect. "If it be true, you ought to have given "notice thereof to our imperial majeſty, "which is the reaſon, I cannot as yet give "entire credit to it: But in caſe it ſhould "be ſo, I deſire to know with all poſſible "ſpeed the articles of the ſaid treaty. "Whilſt our beloved director-general was "alive, I writ to him concerning certain "matters he promiſed ſhould be perform- "ed, which I deſire you to remember."

From our imperial court at *Reygamwatte*, May 11. 1656.

Signed,

Raja Singa Rajou, Moſt potent emperor of *Ceylon*.

CHAP. XLI.

Deſerters ſeverely puniſhed. Raja Singa *forbids all Commerce with the* Hollanders. *His Letter of Complaint. Divers* Portugueſe *Ships taken.* Raja Singa *ravages and plunders the Lands and Subjects belonging to the Company.*

Deſerters puniſhed with death.

IT was now thought high time to puniſh ſuch as had deſerted our ſervice during the ſiege. Among theſe *Simon Lopes*, a *Portugueſe* by birth, who had fifty guilders *per* month pay in our ſervice, and after we were repulſed in the general aſſault was gone over to the enemy, did lead the van, and was, notwithſtanding all the interceſſions of the *Portugueſe*, hanged on a gibbet. Two other *Europeans* (whoſe names we will paſs by in ſilence) underwent the ſame fate; and another was ſeverely whipped, and forced to ſtand with a rope about his neck for twelve hours under the gallows.

The next thing to be done was to take care of the tranſportation of the *Portugueſe*, among whom the eccleſiaſticks and inhabitants of *Columbo* were ſent beyond ſea to Mr. *Laurence Pit* our governor, who was to diſpatch them further to the iſle of *St. Thomas*. About that time we received a letter from *Raja Singa*, wherein he ſufficiently teſtified his diſſatisfaction. *Walraven Thomas* our book-keeper ſent word from *Montual*, that he had ſent the corporal *Hans Jacob Lambert*, ten *Mardykers*, and a ſerjeant to the paſs of *Nacclegamme*, with orders to oppoſe the forces gathered thereabouts by the diſſaves of *Ouwa*, of the four and of the ſeven *Corles*; which not agreeing with the ſentiments of the general and his council, they ordered the ſaid corporal to ſend back the *Mardykers* to *Montual*, and not to ſtop the paſſage of any of the royal forces, for fear of giving any occaſion of offence to the emperor.

Raja Singa's effects of the diſſatisfaction of *Raja Singa*, who having cut off all means of receiving ſupplies by land from the *Sabandar*, *Don John*

Baldæus. *John de Costa* was dispatched to the dissaves of *Saffragamme*, and those of the four and seven *Corles*, who told him, that their people were at their full liberty (though we knew to the contrary) to bring their provisions to our market, but that they durst not give a visit to the general, without express orders from court.

20 yachts come before Columbo. The 22d of *March*, the yachts the *Mars* and *Lion* came to an anchor in the road of *Columbo*, aboard one whereof was the vice-commodore *Roothaus*, who (upon the receipt of a letter from our head-factor, Mr. *Reynier Scrooskerke*, intimating that a small yacht laden with provisions, upon the king of *Cochin*'s account, was gone from thence to *Columbo*) had left the yachts *Flissingen*, *Popkensburg*, *Sea-Coney*, the *Haddock*, and the *Roman*, with two other vessels on that coast, who were supplied with fresh provisions by the inhabitants of *Caylpatnam*. The inhabitants thereof being very desirous to renew their commerce with our company, they were then equipping two frigats there.

Cingalese grieve to the emperor. About the same time notice was given us, that *Cannangere Aratchie*, a faithful servant of the company, had (to our great dissatisfaction) submitted to the king of *Candy*, and that ninety of the *Lascaryn* deserters had taken the way of *Angretotte*. These proved the forerunners of many ensuing misfortunes. In the mean while *Raja Singa* urged stiffly the surrender of *Negumbo* and *Columbo* into his hands, under pretence that these places belonged to him, by virtue of an agreement made betwixt him and the late director-general Mr. *Gerard Hulst*; upon which account he writ the following letter:

Court of Columbo writes to the emperor.

"OUR imperial majesty being very desirous to introduce the *Dutch* nation into our dominions, *Adam Westerwold* came on this coast with a squadron of ships just as we had made our selves masters of *Batecalo*, when we thought fit to conclude a peace with him; which being confirmed by oath, was but slenderly observed by some officers afterwards; as for instance, by captain *Burchart Kocks*, alias *Coque*, (who was afterwards killed by a soldier at *Puntegale*,) and commissary *Peter Kiest*, who being sent as plenipotentiaries to our court, did confirm the before mentioned peace by oath: pursuant to which at their departure for *Gale*, they took along with them one of our dissaves, in order to deliver into his hand, the country of *Mature*. But at his coming there, they found means to render the same ineffectual, by finding out certain difficulties, which made the said dissave return to our court, to our great dissatisfaction. It was about that time that our beloved director-general did come into our kingdom from *Holland*, with full power to act as he should find it most suitable to our service, and to the establishment of a firm peace and friendship: pursuant to which, he desired us by word of mouth to bury all passed miscarriages in oblivion, promising at the same time, in the name of the prince of *Orange* and the *East-India* company, full satisfaction for the same; as also that the fortresses of *Negumbo* and *Columbo* (when taken) should be delivered into the hands of our imperial majesty, and certain *Hollanders* to be allotted in the said places for our service. It is upon this account that we sent our auxiliaries to assist our dearly-beloved *Hollanders* in the taking of *Columbo*; which being taken since, they are become forgetful of their promise, and do continue to do so to this day. Your excellency is left at your own liberty to do what you think fit, till notice of this proceeding can be given to the prince of *Orange*, and the honourable company: but I would have you remember that such as do not know God, and keep their word, will one time or other be sensible of the ill consequences thereof: I am sensible I have God on my side.

Baldæus.

By way of Postscript was writ.

"TWO letters have been dispatched from our imperial court. Your excellency has writ in *Dutch* to *George Bloem*, but without mentioning any thing relating to our service. Your excellency may write such frivolous pretences to whom you please, but ought not to impose them upon our imperial majesty; it being in vain to alledge, that the director-general had received his instructions from *Batavia*, whereas he brought his full power along with him out of *Holland*. Such sinister dealings, as they create no small jealousy, so I cannot see with what face you can expect any further credit from us. I have taken care to have this translated into *Dutch*, that you may have no reason to plead ignorance. *George Bloem* shall stay here, till I receive your answer, when I intend to send him back with a letter. No more, *&c.*

From our imperial Court at *Reygamwatte*, *May* 11, 1656.

Baldæus. Unto which was annexed the following account, not thought fit to be inſerted in the imperial letter.

"THIS day, being the 22d of *March*, "his imperial majeſty having ſent "for me, ordered the letter writ in *Por-* "*tugueſe* to be tranſlated into *Dutch*, to "be ſent, among others, to your excellen- "cy. When I ſhewed the tranſlation to "his majeſty, he told me, That after the "arrival of the director-general in *Cey-* "*lon*, he had ſent word to him, That "ſeveral rebels ſheltered themſelves in "and about *Columbo*, eſpecially one *Caſ-* "*par Figeiro*, who had done conſiderable "damage to his majeſty's lands; as alſo "concerning certain preſents ſent to his "court by the viceroy of *Goa*; ſome "whereof were ſent only by the ſaid "director-general. His majeſty further "deſired me to give you to underſtand, "That it had been agreed not to recede "in the leaſt from the literal ſenſe of the "treaty, eſpecially in what related to "that article concerning any city or place "taken with the aſſiſtance of his majeſ- "ty's forces; whereas your excellency "had not as much as taken the leaſt care "(ſince the taking of *Columbo*) to ſend "to his majeſty his rebellious ſubjects, "nor any of the preſents, except two *Per-* "*ſian* cats, a ſhip, *&c.* delivered by me "to his majeſty. The not ſending of "the rebels has been very ill reliſhed "here."

Raja Singa *is angry with the* Dutch.

Our general took care to ſend a moſt obliging anſwer to the emperor's letter; which, however, was ſo far from giving any real ſatisfaction to *Raja Singa*, that, on the contrary, he conceived ſuch a hatred againſt the *Dutch*, as made him engage with the *Portugueſe* againſt them. For notice having been ſent to our council by *Anthonio de Motte* and *Manoel Fonjeque de Montis*, two *Portugueſe*, that they had been ſollicited by *Raja Singa* to enter into his ſervice, with promiſes of vaſt rewards, and the full enjoyment of the ſame revenues they had been poſſeſſed of before in their moſt flouriſhing eſtate, it was ordered that none of the imperial ſoldiers ſhould be for the future admitted into the city, except ſuch as ſhould be ſent in the quality of meſſengers from the king, or any of his diſſaves, to the general and council: thirty two men were alſo commanded to guard the paſſes near *Caleture*. Moſt of the *Portugueſe* at *Columbo*, were ſent under a convoy of a whole company to *Gale*; and upon a ſcrutiny of the muſter-roll, it was found that there were three hundred men miſſing from among the *Laſcaryns* of *Matule*, and many more followed their footſteps ſoon after. *Baldæus.*

The 30th of *May*, early in the morning, four frigats being diſcovered near the ſhore, towards the ſide of *Galkiſſe*, we took in our prince's flag, in order to entice them into the road. The commodore, who led the van, perhaps began to ſuſpect the matter; and therefore ſteered his courſe to the north; but the other three were no ſooner come within the reach of our cannon, but we ſent out our ſmall veſſels to fetch their officers aſhore. Theſe told us, That they left the bay of *Goa* the 22d with ſix frigats; and that two of them being ſeparated from the reſt by a moſt violent tempeſt near *Coulang*, were either loſt, or perhaps had ſaved themſelves in ſome port or other, one of them having been ſeen without maſts. They added, that a *Portugueſe* caravan was come to an anchor in the river of *Goa*. Theſe ſix frigats had aboard ſixty eight ſoldiers, beſides good ſtore of proviſions, ammunition, and all other neceſſaries, intended for the relief of *Columbo*, in caſe the ſquadron under *Franciſco de Seixa* ſhould miſcarry. Their cargo ſtood us in great ſtead, conſidering the ſcarcity that was among us at that time. *Three Portugueſe frigats taken.*

The 1ſt of *June* we took another frigat and a yacht; the officers whereof being likewiſe brought aſhore, told us, That the city of *Cochin* had contributed a good ſum of money towards the relief of *Columbo*. Their letters being opened, contained nothing material, except that they were embroiled with the king of *Cochin*. *Another yacht and frigat taken.*

Certain advice was brought to the governor, That the day before, as the beforementioned ſhips of *Cochin* were paſſing along the ſhore of *Galkiſſe*, the imperial diſſaves of *Matule* and *Ouva* had been ſeen to give them a ſignal with a white cloth, and had taken abundance of pains to get aboard them, offering four hundred *Larynes* to the fiſhermen, if they would carry them aboard of one or the other; that they had got ready two boats, but durſt not venture through the waves. Conſidering the pains the emperor had lately taken to entice away ſome of the beſt officers belonging to the company, and divers outrages committed by the king's *Laſcaryns* in the park of the company; theſe together, I ſay, ſeemed to us the infallible forerunners of the enſuing broils.

For it was not long before *Cornelius van der Duyn*, deputy-governor of *Mature*, ſent word from thence, that the king's officers and ſoldiers had forbid all the inhabitants thereabouts to furniſh the *Hol-*

Baldæus. landers with provisions, or to obey their orders, but to retire into the king's dominions; where they should have full liberty to make their excursions into our dominions, as they had done already at *Billigam*, *Mallimande*, and *Baigam*.

To prevent such like outrages for the future, three companies of forty men each were sent out of *Gale*, two of which were ordered towards *Accuras*, to protect the inhabitants against the inroads made by the king's soldiers, in the quiet possession of such lands as were granted to the company by the emperor; for by this time we began shrewdly to suspect, that most of the great ones were entered into a confederacy with the king against us; this appeared by the tergiversations of the *Adigar*, who passing by the way of *Augretotte* to *Mature*, pretended he was come by orders from our general, which was a manifest falshood: some of their proceedings may be seen out of the following letter.

"*Attepitty Apuhamy* is come to *Mallimanda*, from whence he has sent an *Ola*, or letter, intimating, that he was come by the king's special order, to take possession of the country of *Mature* in his majesty's name, and to enjoin all the inhabitants, not to supply the *Dutch* with any provisions, or otherwise. *He further said*, that he had intended to have been with them before this; but being now come with full authority, he exhorts them to obey the emperor's orders, for the honour of his court, and of the dissave of *Mature*, which if they do, they may assure themselves of all imaginable favour from the court. The dissave of *Saffragamme* has sent the dissave of *Mature*, to assist you upon all occasions."

In *Pasdum-Corle* and *Caleture* things went at the same rate, where they had taken *Cotteneynde*, his mother, and brother, (besides many others,) prisoners, and carried them to the pass of *Caleture*. Their intentions appear by the following *Ola*.

"*Tudoculle Mandonna Apohami* makes known to all the *Aratches*, *Lascaryns*, and the chief *Majorals* and colonels of *Caleture*, *Macoene*, and *Barbaryn*, That as soon as this *Ola* comes to their hands, they shall not keep the least correspondence with the *Dutch*, nor pay any duties to them, from the villages, (formerly granted to them,) or furnish them with labourers to work on their fortifications. Those that shall act contrary to the tenour of this, must expect to be severely punished; wherefore come, and join with me." *Baldæus.*

Manoel Andrado (who signaliz'd himself before *Jafnapatnam*, of which anon) was likewise advertised by a letter from his brother-in-law, That the king's forces had wounded a woman and a slave near the pass of *Caleture*; and that therefore he should keep a watchful eye over his *Lascaryns*. About *Negumbo* they play'd the same game, and *Raja Singa* had made his addresses to *Patangatti*, the colonel of *Coquielle*, in hopes by great promises to bring him over to his party. On a certain tree near the church of *Guia de Lobo*, was affixed the following paper:

A paper affixed to a tree.

"THE city of *Columbo* is now taken; and was according to agreement to be surrendered to his majesty, but has not been performed; if any fatal consequences attend this breach of promise, we declare ourselves innocent thereof: but as we are well assured of his majesty's good inclinations towards the *Dutch* nation, so if you intend to send any deputies to treat with him, you shall have liberty so to do, and a passport for them."

Contents of the letter sent to Raja Singa.

Our general and council finding themselves under an absolute necessity of representing to *Raja Singa* the injustice of his proceedings in a letter, they told him, That these proceedings being directly contrary to their mutual intentions of annoying the *Portuguese*, and consequently tending both to his majesty and the company's prejudice, they desired that all hostilities might be laid aside, and instead thereof their former good correspondence be renew'd. They desired *Raja Singa* to send his answer, and with it an envoy, or one of his dissaves, unto whom they would deliver the fortress of *Negumbo*, after the fortifications are demolished. And to leave no room for any further pretences, the general acquainted the emperor, That in case his majesty would let him know what further satisfaction he required at his hands, he would be ready to comply with his majesty's demands, provided the same could be done without great prejudice to the company's service. But that in case his majesty thought fit to persist in his unjust oppressions of the *Dutch*, and others under our jurisdiction, he protested and declared, in the presence of God, and to all the world, That he was innocent of all the calamities and effusion of blood that needs must be the consequences of such proceedings, which must

Baldæus. muſt oblige us (though much againſt our will) to have recourſe to ſuch means as God had put into our hands for the defence of our ſubjects. With this letter they ſent a falcon and a ſparrow-hawk, with a *Perſian* falconer, as a preſent to the emperor.

Outrages committed by the Laſcaryns.

Advice was brought at the ſame time from *Caleture*, That the king's *Laſcaryns* were very troubleſome to our ſubjects, who were forced to leave their habitations for fear of being carried away; and that they had wounded ſome, and purſued them to the river-ſide; that the two *Aratches Cannangere* and *Pittikeri* lay incamped near *Alican*, and had ſummoned the country thereabouts to join with them within three days; that ten of our *Laſcaryns*, and forty two labourers ſent from *Caleture* to *Columbo*, were carried away by a party of vagabonds. To prevent the like for the future, and eſpecially to protect our workmen imploy'd in the peeling of the cinnamon, (called *Chalias*,) two hundred ſoldiers were ordered to *Benitot*, under the command of *Martin Scholtes*, *Peter Chample*, and *Joris Hervendonck*, who, for their better ſecurity, were to be joined by the *Laſcaryns*, under the captain of *Galecorle*. *Two hundred men ſent againſt them.* *Baldæus.*

CHAP. XLII.

A Feaſt appointed. Two Caffers *come over to us.* George Bloem *eſcapes from* Candy. *A Skirmiſh betwixt the* Dutch *and* Cingaleſe. *Robbers puniſhed. News of the* Portugueſe *Squadron. The Arrival of ſome* Dutch *Ships: Their Miſtake. A ſtrange Notion among the* Indians *concerning* Columbo's *being impregnable.* Negumbo *taken, and retaken.*

IT being now a month ſince the ſurrender of *Columbo*, a thankſgiving day was appointed, to give thanks to God Almighty for this great ſucceſs, and to implore his mercy to bleſs our arms for the future. The ſaid day is kept ever ſince on the 12th of *May*.

Raja Singa's *anſwer to no purpoſe.*

Raja Singa did ſend an anſwer to the general's letter; but ſaid ſcarce any thing in relation to the matter in hand, declaring only his ſatisfaction about the preſent, and deſiring that the *Perſian* falconer might ſtay with him, which the general (to gratify the emperor) did conſent to, at leaſt till ſuch time that the ſhips ſhould be ready to return to *Gamron*. However, theſe civilities did not anſwer the end for which they were intended; *Raja Singa* ordering ſoon after his *Laſcaryns* to take all the *Dutch* they could light on priſoners, and to cut off the noſes and ears of all the negroes, *Cingaleſe*, *Moors*, and ſlaves that ſerved the *Hollanders*; but the two hundred before mentioned ſoldiers ſtruck ſuch a terror into the king's forces, that they retreated back, and gave liberty at leaſt to a thouſand of the inhabitants to return to their houſes.

Raja Singa in the mean time continued now as before his hoſtilities, one of his parties having lately carried away a *Duria* and two labourers within half a league of *Columbo*, which obliged us to be continually upon our guard. The *Dutch* ſtill reſiding at *Candy* being afraid they ſhould be detained there againſt their will, writ to the general to haſten the departure of the *Perſian* falconer with the hawks, in hopes that thereby the king might be brought into a good humour to let them depart.

About the ſame time a certain meſſenger named *Chitty Maley*, came to *Columbo* with ſome hawks and other preſents for the emperor; ſix hawks more with their falconers were alſo brought from the coaſt of *Coromandel* for the ſame purpoſe.

Two Caffers come over to us.

The 20th of *July* two *Caffers* came over to us, one whereof having been the king's trumpeter, the other a drummer, they reported that his majeſty continued ſtill in his camp at *Reygamwatte*, but intended ſhortly to break up for *Ruanelle*, the diſſave of *Matule* having been ſent before already to take care of the highways, through which they were to paſs. They further told us, That the emperor having granted to divers *Portugueſe* certain goodly villages, this had created ill blood among the courtiers.

Our interpreter eſcapes from the camp of the emperor.

Our interpreter *George Bloem* was forced to continue there till he found means to make his eſcape in the night-time from the camp of *Reygamwatte*, by means of a *pretty*, or boat, wherewith he got to *Montual*, having deceived his guards, by giving them a good doſe of ſtrong liquors. Five other *Dutchmen*, who had deſerted our ſervice, continued with the king at court.

News

Baldæus.

News was brought at the same time, that some of the king's forces, having got intelligence that Mr. *Rabel*, a brave *Cingalese*, a native of *Mature* in our service, was absent from *Hakman*, with a serjeant and most of the soldiers, having left only a guard of ten *Europeans* and fifteen *Lascaryns* in the place; they to the number of a hundred men, attacked them on a sudden, in hopes to carry the place by surprize, but were notwithstanding so hotly received, that they were glad to retire.

The Cingalese in vain attacked.

Things began thus to grow worse and worse, without hopes of amendment, because we were frequently bit by our own dogs, I mean the perfidious *Cingalese* under our jurisdiction, who gave constant intelligence of all our designs, so that we could not send abroad the smallest party but the enemy had before-hand notice thereof; whereas we could never discover the least of their intentions, of which we were sufficiently convinced by divers intercepted letters.

The king's forces having surprized a serjeant, named *Peter Joosjon*, a native of *Dantzick*, with some inhabitants of the country, and four soldiers wives, they carried them before the diffave of the seven *Corles*, who told them, That they had been long enough in the *Dutch* service, and must resolve now to be his majesty's slaves.

Two hundred men sent against them.

Two robbers executed.

The 2d of *August* we received a letter from *Laurence Haurwyk*, our under-factor at *Caleture*, that several robbers had been seen about *Boemboele*, who had cut down the fruits of the earth; that *Andrado* being sent after them with some *Lascaryns*, had met only with two of them, who refusing obstinately to confess by whom they were sent out to cut down the rice, they had cut off their heads, and set them upon poles near the place where they had spoiled the rice.

Two Caffers come over to us.

The 13th of *August* being sunday, the yacht called the *Columbo* came into our road, having left *Tutecoryn* the 11th: she brought letters from the commodore to the general, intimating, That the enemy's squadron, composed of fifteen frigats, had escaped his hands the 7th of *July*, taking the opportunity of the night, and the advantage of the flats betwixt the isles; that they were pursued by our ships as far as *Pambanaar*, which could not come up with them by reason of the sands. He further told him, That suspecting the *Tewver* or governor of the country to have been corrupted with money, and to have given them a free passage betwixt *Manaar* and *Jasnapatnam*, (which he commands by either laying in, or removing certain stones from the entrance thereof,) he had been obliged to return to *Tutecoryn*.

The Portuguese squadron gets clear of the Dutch.

We had at the same time advice of the arrival of our ships, the *Amsterdam*, the *Avenhorn*, *Saphir*, *Haddock*, *Worcum*, *Pelican*, *Patience*, and *Black Bull*, upon the coast of *Coromandel*: but it was no small mortification unto us, that the *Saphir* (contrary to the general of *Ceylon*'s orders) had left the prisoners and *Portuguese* soldiers (who, according to the articles of surrender, were to have been carried to *Batavia*) afhore near *Negapatnam*; and that she had not touched in the southern harbours, where there was a considerable cargo of clothes and other commodities ready, which could not be disposed of otherwise: and by the first overfight, the enemy had been reinforced with eighty brave soldiers, contrary to the intention of the agreement.

Overfight of the ship the Saphir.

We had at the same time letters from the factor *Adrian van Newland*, dated in the *Danish* fort called *Tranquebare*, whereby we understood that the before-mentioned *Portuguese* frigats were passed through the *Streights* (by the assistance of the governor) to *Jasnapatnam*, from whence *Anthony Amiral de Menesses* (afterwards killed by one of our cannon-balls near *Manaar*) had sent his forces in boats to *Negapatnam*, in order to gather a body (at the request of *Raja Singa*) in those parts, which, as the case then stood, might have proved very dangerous to us, had not God through his mercy prevented their designs.

During all these troubles, our general kept a watchful eye upon the enemy's motions, and ordered Mr. *John van der Laan* with three hundred men to scour the country: these differences continued for a considerable time, *viz.* to the year 1665. and though some glimpses of peace appeared at certain intervals, yet is it certain that *Raja Singa* is not reconciled to us to this day, and perhaps never will whilst he lives.

We have hitherto treated of *Columbo*; we now will pass the river at *Montual*, and take our course higher up to *Negumbo*. But before we come thither, I cannot forbear to say a word or two concerning the general opinion of the *Indians*, *viz.* That *Columbo* was impregnable. Hence it was that the *Portuguese* boasted in all places, that the king of *Portugal*, and viceroy of *Goa*, would never suffer so strong a fortress to fall into the hands of the hereticks, especially after we were repulsed in the first general assault. I happened to be then at *Macassar*, where the *Portuguese* father, and some missionaries lately come from *China*, used to make this siege their sport; and one *Francisco Vieiro*, one of the richest merchants in the *Indies*, offered to lay vast wagers that it was not taken by the *Hollanders*.

Opinion concerning the strength of Columbo.

Baldæus. The king of *Celebes* and *Macaſſar* (the capital city of that iſle) had the ſame opinion concerning the ſtrength of *Columbo*, he and moſt of his courtiers being much inclined to the *Portugueſe* ſide. But within three months, juſt at my return to *Batavia* (after the concluſion of the peace betwixt us and the king of *Macaſſar*) we had the news of the ſurrender of *Columbo* brought to *Batavia* by *Peter Bitter*, to the general ſatisfaction of the people.

But after this digreſſion it is time to come to *Negumbo*; which lies about two leagues and a half, or five good hours walking, along the banks of the river to the north. I am not able to tell you the exact time of its beginning, the *Portugueſe* hiſtorians being ſilent as to this point, being no more than a fort built for the conveniency of protecting the country, which abounds in cinnamon.

I told you before how *Adam Weſterwold* made himſelf maſter of *Batecalo*; after which *Anthony Caan* took, 1639. the fort of *Trinquenemale*, the moſt ſpacious harbour on the eaſt ſide of *Ceylon*. *Philip Lucas*, the *Dutch* director-general in the *Indies*, took *Negumbo* the firſt time, *Feb.* 9. 1640. and ſoon after (as has been told before, *viz. March* 13. following) our commodore *William-Jacob Koſter* took *Gale* by ſtorm; but was afterwards treacherouſly murdered by ſome of *Raja*'s people, with four of his guards.

For the ſaid Mr. *Koſter* coming to *Candy* in perſon, was detained there with vain promiſes, without the leaſt probability of ſucceſs, till growing impatient, he began to utter threats and very harſh words (a great piece of imprudence) againſt ſome of the great ones at court; which coming to *Raja*'s ears, he was diſmiſſed without the uſual marks of honour, and conducted towards *Batecalo*, but murdered by the way by the *Cingaleſe*, his conducters. This was the reward beſtowed by *Raja* upon *Koſter*, who had reduced *Trinquenemale*, *Gale*, and *Mature*, with all the countries thereunto belonging, to his juriſdiction. *Baldæus.* *Mr. Koſter treacherouſly murdered.*

Certain it is, had *Raja* been ſincere, we might with his aſſiſtance eaſily have made ourſelves maſters at that juncture of *Columbo*, when all their regular forces being ſent to the relief of *Gale*, there were but a few old ſoldiers, prieſts, and citizens left for the defence of the place. But *Raja* thought it better to play the trimmer betwixt two *European* nations, than to be in danger of being conquered by one, and ſo thought it his beſt way to give opportunity to the *Portugueſe* to recover a little breath.

For the *Portugueſe* having received a ſtrong reinforcement from *Goa*, found means to regain the fort of *Negumbo*; which done, they ſat down before *Gale*, but were bravely entertained by *John Thyſſen*, who gave them many a bruſh; *Raja Singa*

The Murder of Mr Koſter by the Cingaleſes.

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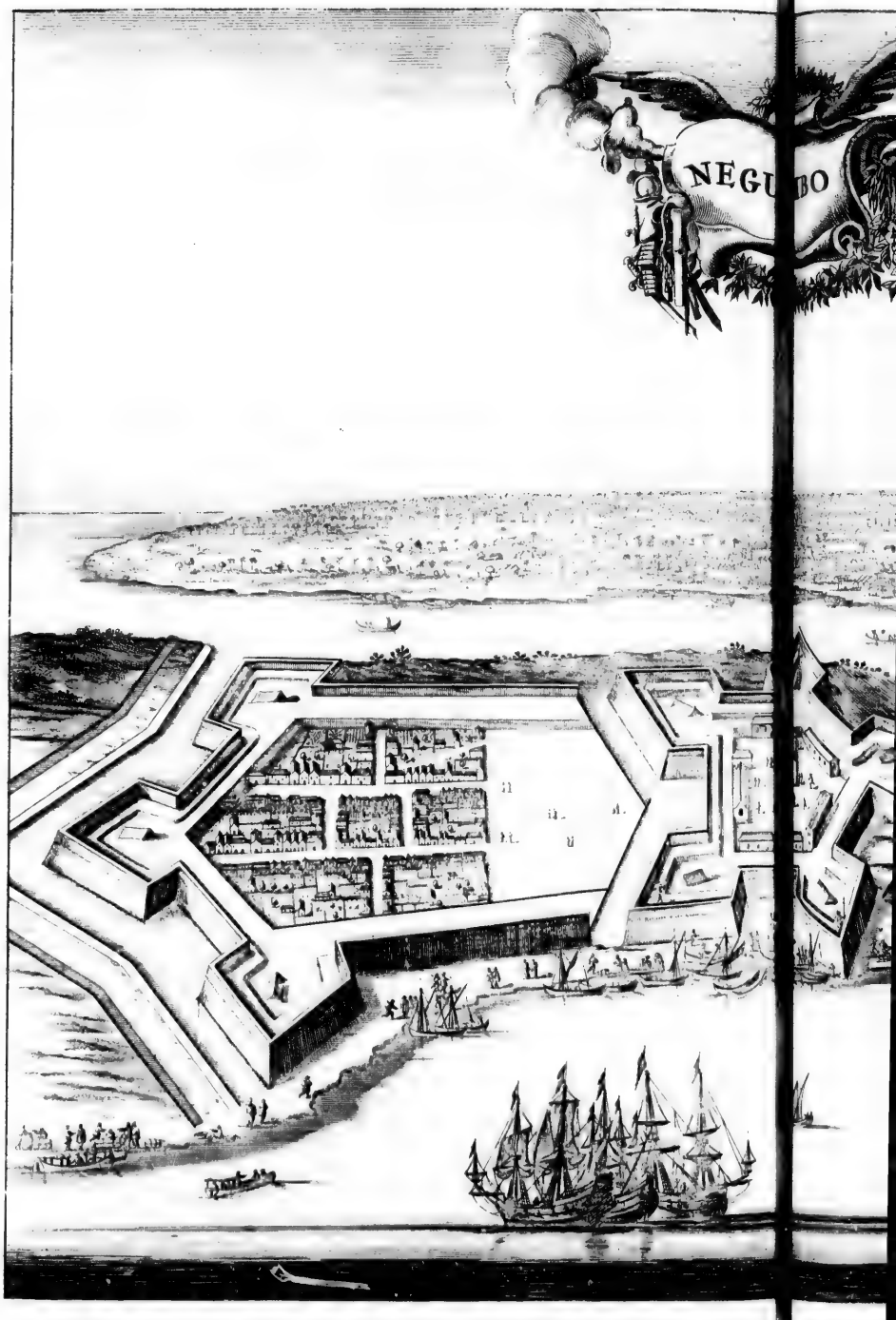
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CHAP. XI

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Baldæus. sitting all this while by like a spectator, though the *Portugueſe* remained maſters of all the *Low-Lands*, though we delivered *Batecalo* into his hands, and made much greater offers by *Peter Borrel* our ambaſſador. Things continued in the ſame ſtate till the year 1644. at the beginning whereof *Francis Caron* took *Negumbo* from the *Portugueſe* a ſecond time; and having ſtrengthened it with four new baſtions of earth, ſurrounded with ſtrong palliſadoes, left a garriſon of five hundred men there for its guard. After the departure of our fleet, and ſome detachments ſent to *Gale*, and other places, *Don Philippo Maſcarenhas* made an attempt upon the place; but being bravely repulſed, was glad to retire in confuſion to *Columbo*. It was about this time that Mr. *John Maatzuyker* (now governor-general of the *Dutch Eaſt-Indies*) coming to *Goa*, entered into a treaty with the *Portugueſe* viceroy, *John de Silva Telles de Meneſes*, earl of *Aveiras*, concerning the limits betwixt both nations in the iſle of *Ceylon*; which being brought to a concluſion 1645. the ſaid Mr. *Maatzuyker* remained in thoſe parts in the quality of governor of *Puntegale*.

Negumbo taken a ſecond time by the Dutch.

Baldæus.

The Portugueſe attempt in vain to recover it.

CHAP. XLIII.

Raja Singa *treats underhand with the* Portugueſe: *His Tame Elephants detained.* Raja *declares againſt the* Portugueſe. *The* Dutch *loſe* Angretotte. *Both the* Portugueſe *and* Dutch *are reinforced. Engagement near* Tiboene. Caleture *deſerted.* Portugueſe *worſted both by Sea and Land.* Manaar *taken.*

Raja ſides with the Portugueſe.

RAJA Singa, at the inſtigation of the *Portugueſe*, being grown very jealous of the *Dutch* being in poſſeſſion of the ſeven *Corles*, connived at the robberies that were commited in thoſe parts by his people, which at laſt obliged Mr. *John Thyſſen* to proclaim open war againſt them; and accordingly *Nicholas Jacobſon Overſchie*, governor of *Negumbo*, and overſeer of the *Dutch* limits (who died afterwards at *Voorburgh*) cauſed all the king's tame elephants to be ſeized; which ſo exaſperated his majeſty, that he drew all his forces together, and entered the ſeven *Corles*, where our people had the worſt of it, becauſe they ſurrendered without being reduced to the utmoſt extremity. However, after the return of Mr. *Maatzuyker*, *Negumbo*, *Gale-Corle*, and *Mature*, with the countries thereunto belonging, were ſoon ſecured againſt all further attempts; the cinnamon was gathered and peeled as before, the wild elephants tamed, and every thing elſe ſettled for the advantage of our company: nay *Raja Singa* himſelf was appeaſed, who retreated with his forces, though without doing any harm to the *Portugueſe*; an infallible ſign that there was no ill underſtanding betwixt them.

Ele phants ſeized.

Matters thus continued till 1649. when Mr. *Maatzuyker* redeemed all our priſoners; and by a meſſenger, ſent with ſome preſents, brought matters to an honourable compoſition. In the beginning of the year 1650, Mr. *Rampot* left *Gale* and *Mature*, to the great diſſatisfaction of *Raja Singa*, who, however, was ſo far from breaking with us upon that account, that when we entered into a war with the *Portugueſe*, 1652. *Raja* declared againſt them, laying hold of the opportunity that preſented itſelf, by a late munity among the *Portugueſe* ſoldiers, and chief inhabitants of *Columbo*, raiſed againſt *Manoel Maſcarenhas Homem* their governor, whom they had taken into cuſtody.

Mutiny at Columbo *againſt their governor.*

Theſe mutineers having gathered what forces they were able near *Columbo* marched on a ſudden with eight hundred *European* ſoldiers and as many negroes towards our fort of *Angretotte*, which they obliged to a ſurrender the 8th of *January* 1653. after a ſiege of eleven days, in which they loſt a conſiderable number of men, ninety eight *Germans*, twenty four *Javaneſe*, and a greater number of *Laſcaryns* were made priſoners of war, under condition that they ſhould be diſmiſſed for a reaſonable ranſom. The ſame afternoon a body of three hundred men were ſent to their relief, who happened to come too late; though as the caſe ſtood, their endeavours would have proved in vain, conſidering the enemy was twice as ſtrong and advantageouſly poſted; and we had not come off at ſo cheap a rate, had not *Raja Singa* given the enemy a ſtrong diverſion near *Cottegore*, whereabouts they attacked the paſs near *Columbo* with ſuch vigour, that the governor and deputy-governor were glad to ſend for their forces from *Reygam* and *Paſdum-Corle* to oppoſe the imperialiſts. Theſe were no ſooner retreated,

Angretotte *loſt by the* Dutch.

Raja *makes a diverſion in favour of the* Dutch.

Baldæus. treated, but the *Portugueſe* attacked our outguards near *Negumbo*, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the four and ſeven *Corles*, but *Raja Singa* rallying his forces, marched from *Ouva* to *Saffragamme* (the capital city of the five *Corles*) the *Portugueſe* diſſlave was glad to retreat with his forces to *Gurbeville*, and thereby gave us opportunity to join our forces, and ſecure the countries of *Gale* and *Mature*.

The Portugueſe are reinforced. In the mean while, *viz.* the 10th of *May*, the *Portugueſe* in *Columbo* received a reinforcement of twelve frigats, with a good number of officers and ſoldiers from *Goa*, under the command of *Franciſco de Melo de Caſtro*; our cruizers being ſcarce two days before (to our great misfortune) forced to retreat from their ſtations by ſtreſs of weather into the harbour of *Gale*. Notwithſtanding which they made no conſiderable attempt againſt us, being contented to ſecure only their workmen employed in peeling of the cinnamon, and other inhabitants of the country, againſt our parties.

Raja Singa finding that in 1653. in *September*, the *Portugueſe* had received a freſh ſupply from *Tutecoryn*, whereas our four ſhips did not bring one ſingle ſoldier to relieve the reſt; that our governor *Jacob van Kittenſtein* had obtained leave to depart; and that when commiſſary *Ryklof van Goens* touched with his four ſhips towards the latter end of *October* in *Ceylon*, in his way to *Perſia* and *Suratte*, without bringing us the leaſt ſuccours, he retreated with his half-ſtarved tattered troops from *Caravanella*, through the ſeven and four *Corles* to *Candy*, to refreſh themſelves.

The *Portugueſe* finding themſelves ſecure on that ſide, did appear with all the forces they could bring into the field before *Columbo*, in hopes of drawing our forces out of the fort; but finding themſelves fruſtrated in their hopes, they retreated in the beginning of 1654. towards *Reygam* and *Paſdum-Corle*, whence they ſent frequent parties to take away our cattle, and to ſpoil the fruits of the earth. But major *John van der Laan* was always at hand with a good body to obſerve them.

The 20th of *March* our governor, *Adrian van der Meyden*, marched from *Gale* to *Caleture*; and being joined there the 23d by all his forces, he followed the *Portugueſe* through *Berberin*, *Dodangodde*, and *Tiboene*, where he attacked them the 26th in the morning, in their advantageous poſt: The engagement was very fierce for a whole hour; when our forces feigned a retreat, in hopes to draw the enemy from his poſt: but they were too wiſe to follow us; they had more men ſlain on their ſide than we.

An engagement betwixt the Portugueſe and Dutch.

After our forces had refreſhed themſelves a little while at *Tiboen*, we marched to *Caleture*, and the enemy retreated out of our dominions croſs the river to *Columbo*. *Baldæus.*

Soon after five galeons, with one thouſand *Portugueſe* landmen aboard them, arriving upon our coaſt, engaged three of our yachts called the *Greyhound*, the *Rhinoceros*, and *Dromedary*, and purſued them to the flats of *Negumbo*, but took none of them, our veſſels retiring under the cannon there, and the *Portugueſe* to *Columbo*, having loſt their captain-major and many others in this engagement. *Five Portugueſe gallies engage three Dutch yachts.*

A council being called to conſult what to do in this emergency, it was reſolved to leave *Caleture*, and to employ our whole force in the defence of *Negumbo*, without which we were not in a condition to maintain that fortreſs, which was of the greateſt conſequence to us. Accordingly *Negumbo* being well provided with what forces we were able to gather, the enemy (whoſe forces were conſiderably encreaſed by the late reinforcements) marched from *Galkiſſe* to *Caleture*, and thence to *Alicaon*, where they pitched their tents: to oppoſe which we brought into the field about two hunrded *Europeans*, eighty *Javaneſe*, and a good number of *Laſcaryns*, wherewith we made a ſhift to defend our country as well as we could. *Beat the Portugueſe.*

About this time commiſſary *Van Goens*, in return from *Perſia* and *Suratte* to *Ceylon*, had the good fortune to beat the galeons near the cape *du Ramos*, and thereby to releaſe twenty of our people made priſoners at *Angrctotte*, who were ſet aſhore at *Puntegale*. This was the reaſon that the *Portugueſe* could not ſpare many men for the uſe of their frigats, having ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs of them in the late engagement with Mr. *Van Goens* near *Arbiera*; neither were they ſo active in the field till the enſuing *July*, when we having received ſome reinforcements, appointed our rendezvous at *Bentotte* in ſight of the enemy, having only a river betwixt us and them. We killed the *Portugueſe* about thirty *Europeans* in divers skirmiſhes, and took from them divers boats; which made them not ſo eager afterwards to attack our countries, in order to ſpoil our cinnamon and *Areek* harveſt, and the taking of elephants, wherein conſiſts the chief revenue of this iſle, belonging to the company. *Van Goens beats the galleons.* *Raja's troops routed.* *The Portugueſe routed at ſea.*

The 13th of *September*, the yachts the *Turtle-Dove*, the *Red-Lyon* and the *Hadſtock*, arrived with freſh ſupplies and fifty ſoldiers. The fourth of *December* the yacht *Some ſupplies brought to the Dutch.*

the

Baldæus. the *Kanien* brought to a supply of fifty four soldiers more; besides which, one hundred fifty nine seamen were taken out of four ships, (come with the director *Henry van Gent* into *Gale*, to provide themselves with fresh water;) all which being joined with our forces, encamped at *Bentotte*. We embarked the 16th of *December* all our forces, six hundred ninety strong, (including officers) composed of seamen, land-soldiers, *Javaneses*, and *Cingaleses*, in twenty *Catapaneels*, or land-boats, and thus passed the river *Alicaon*,

The Dutch pass the river Alicaon.

But scarce had we reached the opposite bank of the river, but we met with so warm a reception from three hundred chosen *Portuguese*, and some *Topasses* and *Cingaleses*, that most of our *Indian* forces betook themselves to their heels: but being rallied again upon the bank of the river, returned to the charge; and being bravely seconded by the rest, forced the enemy to retreat, leaving one of their cannon of one thousand pounds weight behind them, sixty slain, and many more wounded. They behaved themselves bravely; but were forced after this defeat to retire by the way of *Malvane* to *Columbo*.

Beat the Portuguese.

The *Portuguese* finding us not ready to attack *Caleture*, (after they had given the usual pay to the soldiers,) they broke up in the beginning of 1655, and surprised *Raja*'s forces, under the command of the dissave of the four *Corles*; and being reinforced by some other forces from *Jafnapatnam* and *Manaar*, besides a good number of *Lascaryns*, they pursued the dissave of the seven *Corles* as far as to the straits of *Candy*, plundring all the country through which they passed; which so exasperated the king, that he ordered all his forces to appear in the field; but his van being routed in *April* near *Attapitin* by *Caspar Figeiro*, the king quitted the field full of dissatisfaction.

Raja's troops routed.

It happened, to our good fortune, that the new governor and *Portuguese* admiral, *Anthonio de Souza Coutinho*, (under whose government *Columbo* was lost) coming with eight frigats and five hundred landmen into these parts, was the 18th of *May* forced towards the coast of *Gale*: we sent out two yachts, *viz.* the *Lion* and *Kanien*, who, coming up with them, took two, with all the men and provisions, and forced three or more four ashore; so that two or three of them got safe to *Columbo*; and *Coutinho* himself was forced to take his course round the point *das Pedra* to *Jafnapatnam* and *Manaar*; from whence he came with a good troop by the way of *Putelaon*, *Calpentyn*, and the seven *Corles*, in *August* to *Columbo*; where he was no sooner established in his dignity, but he

The Portuguese routed at sea.

visited with *Anthonio Mendes d'Arangie* the fort of *Caleture*, where he left a garison of three hundred *Europeans*, and a good number of negroes; but resolved to keep *Caspar Figeiro* near his person. *Baldæus.*

By that time the director-general *Gerard Hulst* came in company of Mr. *John van der Laan* (a person well versed in the affairs of *Ceylon*) into those parts. About the middle of *September* three yachts were dispatched from cape *Comoryn*, in order to observe the frigats sent from *Columbo* to *Tutecoryn* for provisions, and either to take them, or to block them up betwixt the islands. It was also resolved to force the *Portuguese* to quit *Caleture*, whilst the enemy were yet under apprehension of the strength of the forces come along with the director-general, and lately landed at *Negumbo*; from whence he intended to give the enemy a visit on the other side of the river at *Montual*.

However, the *Portuguese* squadron, consisting of twenty frigats and some barks, loaden with all sorts of necessaries at *Jafnapatnam*, and some other places on the *Indian* coast, made shift to pass by with full sails within sight of *Negumbo* (where our ships lay at anchor) and to our signal regret got into *Columbo*. Mr. *Hulst* received at the same time advice, by a small advice-boat, that a new viceroy was arrived at *Goa* with three galeons, one yacht, and a good number of landmen. A council being called, it was thought convenient to try whether these galeons might not be surprised near *Marmagon*, or *Agoada*, (two castles in the bay of *Goa*.) At the same time Mr. *Hulst* came with four ships and a good number of soldiers before *Berberyn*; where having landed and joined his forces with the rest the 28th of *September*, he soon after made himself master of *Caleture*, an account whereof has been given before.

A new viceroy comes to Goa with some galeons.

But it is time to leave *Negumbo*, provided with a good garison, (first by major *John van der Laan*, and afterwards by the head-factor *Edward Hauw*,) and to go towards *Manaar*. In the year 1661. I undertook a journey over land from *Jafnapatnam* to *Columbo*, forty nine or fifty leagues distant from one another; which I accomplished in seven days.

Distance betwixt Jafnapatnam and Columbo.

From *Negumbo* you travel by the way of *Cajuel* to the river *Chilauw*, and so through the countries of *Madampe* and *Putelaon*, leaving the isle of *Calpentyn* to the left; then through *Aripou* (where the christians have a church) to *Manaar*; thence to *Wannias*, the church of *Mantotte*, and so to *Jafnapatnam*; of which more hereafter. We made this observation in this

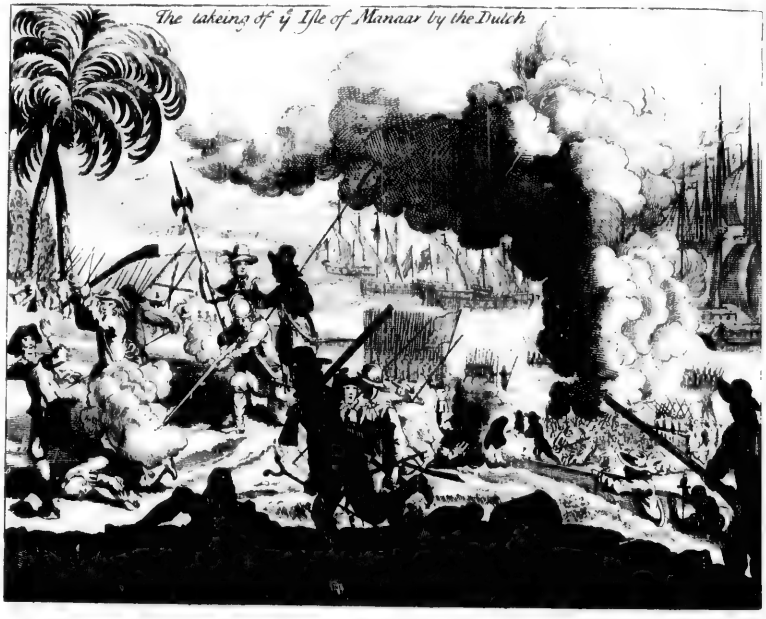
Baldæus. journey, that no cinnamon grows, except on the other ſide of the river *Chilauw*, and beyond *Jafnapatnam*. For the reſt, all theſe before-mentioned countries have a very fruitful ſoil, (except *Calpentyn*, which is ſomewhat barren,) eſpecially about *Madampe*, but are deſtitute of inhabitants; the buffles feeding here in vaſt herds; which makes me believe, that it would afford plenty of every thing, were it well cultivated.

Goodneſs of theſe Countries.

We will now proceed to give you ſome account of the iſle of *Manaar*, which formerly adhered to the continent, as ſufficiently appears by the ſand-bank, called *Aaam's-Bridge*. Next unto this lies the iſle of *Rammanakoyel*, where is to be ſeen a rich and famous *Pagode*, belonging to the *Teuver*, or governor, who has a fort on the continent. At certain ſeaſons there is a paſſage with ſmall boats through ſome depths of this *Adam's Bridge*, one whereof I had once occaſion to paſs myſelf. *Baldæus.*

The ſaid iſle was reduced by the *Hollanders*, 1658. in the following manner, by Mr. *Ryklof van Goens*. The *Portugueſes* had made entrenchments all along the ſhore; which were defended by one thouſand choſen men, and twelve frigats, to hinder the approach of our boats. Our great ſhips were ordered to advance as near as they could; under favour of which, our boats landed the men. Serjeant *Henry van Wel* (ſince a lieutenant) was the firſt who ſet foot on ſhore; and being bravely followed by the reſt, were as couragiouſly received by the *Portugueſe*, who did all that men could do to ſecond their comrades: but our cannon from the ſhips, together with our ſmall arms, made ſuch

The iſle of Manaar taken by the Dutch.



a havock among them, that they were forced to quit their entrenchments. Here it was that *Antonio Amiral de Meneſes*, the *Portugueſe* general, loſt his life by a cannon-bullet, and *Anthonio Mendes d'Arangie*, a famous ſoldier, was mortally wounded, with many other brave officers.

On our ſide we loſt an enſign; and before our landing, (when the long-boat of the ſhip *Naarden* was taken,) the brave lieutenant *Block*, which we returned them with full meaſure; all their frigats, as they paſſed by our ſquadron, being either ſunk or taken, with a great ſlaughter of their men. Major *John van der Laan*, (though he had a heavy fall before our landing, being a very large and fat perſon) did nevertheleſs behave himſelf upon this occaſion

Baldæus. occasion with incredible bravery, breaking through the thickest of the ranks of the enemy, whereby he made good the title bestowed upon him long before, of being *the terror of the* Portuguese.

Portuguese *leave the fort* Manaar. After this defeat, the *Portuguese* not thinking themselves secure in the fort *Manaar*, retired over the water to *Jafnapatnam*, leaving only *Andrew Villosa* with a very moderate force in the castle of *St. George*. They would not have escaped our hands at so cheap a rate, had we not been stopped by the great rains and tempests.

St. George surrender'd. The 22d *Andrew Villosa*, being deserted by most of his men, was obliged to surrender the castle of *St. George* upon reasonable terms. We took about two hundred prisoners, both *Europeans* and negroes, and among them a *Caffer*, (or *African* negro,) who pretending to be a captain, was so stubborn, that he would not take up his arms, or arise from the ground, (as he was commanded to do,) without a good bastinado.

The 24th of *February* I preached the thanksgiving-sermon in the great church upon the text of 1 *Sam.* vii. 7. for the most fortunate reduction of this isle, whereof our general might say with *Cæsar*, *Veni, vidi, vici*, being beyond all question one of the greatest actions that ever happened betwixt us and the *Portuguese* in the *Indies*, considering we were forced to attack the enemy's forces, composed of veteran *European* soldiers, and to chase them from their advantageous posts; and that only with eight hundred men, and consequently with the utmost hazard; being resolved either to overcome or die in the attempt, because we had quite drained the garrison of *Columbo*, leaving only a few, and those infirm persons, to guard that place, because we expected hourly the arrival of the ship the *Salamander*, with some hundreds of soldiers, and good store of ammunition and provision, having aboard the commodore *Peter de Bitter*, the factor *Edward Ooms*, and captain *Peter Wasch*. The same having been detained by calms and tempests for near six months, and endured great hardships about the *Maldive* islands, arrived at last safely at *Columbo*; but was soon after ordered by the governor, *Adrian van der Meyden*, to sail to *Manaar*; where she came to an anchor immediately after we had made ourselves masters of that isle, and were just then preparing to march towards *Jafnapatnam*. But before we leave *Manaar*, we must add something concerning the true condition of this island.

Baldæus.

The Salamander brings a supply of Men and provisions.

CHAP. XLIV.

A Description of Manaar. *How the Christian Religion was planted, and might be further promoted there. A Description of the Country of the* Wannias. *Our March towards* Jafnapatnam: *We pass the River, rout the* Portuguese, *and take the Water-Fort.*

Manaar, whence it got its name. MANAAR derives its name from the *Malabar* language, from the word *Man*, i. e. *Sand*, and *Aar*, *a river*, signifying as much as a *Sand-River*, it being observable, that both the *Cingalese* and *Malabar* languages are spoken in the isle of *Ceylon*. The first is used beyond *Negumbo*, viz. at *Columbo*, *Caleture*, *Berberyn*, *Alican*, *Gale*, *Belligame*, *Matura*, *Dondere*, &c. But in all the other parts of this isle opposite to the coast of *Coromandel*, and all along the bay, they speak the *Malabar* tongue; whence it seems very probable, that that tract of land (as the inhabitants of *Jafnapatnam* themselves believe) was first of all peopled by those of *Coromandel*, who brought their language along with them; it being certain, that in the inland countries, about *Candy*, *Vintane*, *Ballaney*, &c. they speak only *Cingalese*.

The Cingalese and Malabar tongues both used in Ceylon.

Situation of Manaar. The isle of *Manaar* is situate at nine degrees of northern latitude, its length being about two and a half *German* leagues, and one broad, including the salt-water river, (as you will see in the map,) which reaches as far as the great church called *Carcel*. The castle is seated upon a canal able to bear small yachts, which draw three, four, or five foot water, and can go from thence to *Jafnapatnam*. This castle was strengthened with some additional fortifications, and surrounded with a deep ditch, after we had taken it from the *Portuguese*. The whole isle has no more than seven churches, unto each whereof belong divers considerable villages: the first is the *City Church*, next

Its churches

that

Baldæus. that called *Tottavaly*, then *Carcel*, *Erkelampatti*, St. *Peter's* church belonging to the fiſhermen, *Peixale*, and the laſt *Tellemanaar*, lying at the furthermoſt, and near the ſea-ſide.

Pearl-fiſhery at Manaar. This iſland was formerly celebrated for the *pearl-fiſhery*, as well as the city of *Tutecoryn*; but no pearls having been taken there for theſe ten years laſt paſt, the inhabitants are reduced to great poverty; whereas the ſumptuous edifices, churches, and monaſteries, with their ornaments, are ſufficient demonſtrations of its former grandeur.

In the year 1666. (after my departure,) our company ordered the firſt time the pearl-fiſhery to be renewed again, with no ill ſucceſs; and according to ſeveral letters I have received from thence, they took a conſiderable quantity of pearls the ſecond time, in the year 1669.

The inhabitants of Manaar ſpeak alſo Portugueſe. The inhabitants of *Manaar* ſpeak (beſides the *Malabar*) moſt generally *Portugueſe*, being long ago converted to the chriſtian faith; for which reaſon they have ſuffered moſt cruel perſecutions from the kings of *Jafnapatnam*, who baptized many of the new converted chriſtians with blood, after they had received the baptiſm with water. Many of them fled for this reaſon to *Goa* by land, being above a hundred leagues, and among them a young gentleman of royal extraction, who embraced chriſtianity there.

Perſecution of the chriſtians in Manaar.

It was *Franciſcus Xaverius* who converted the inhabitants here, as well as thoſe on the cape *Comoryn*, and the *Paruas*, as we have told you before in the deſcription of the *Indian* coaſt, and in the account of his life. The ſaid *Xaverius* eſtabliſhed among them certain teachers, called *Canacappeis*, who were to inſtruct the inhabitants in the firſt rudiments of the chriſtian religion, as the ten commandments, the creed, our father, *&c.* which they did with indefatigable care and induſtry. Theſe were ſucceeded by the jeſuits, (called *Paulites* here, becauſe they were ſent into the *Indies* by pope *Paul* III.) who in their way of teaching both the old and young ones, did far exceed the *Franciſcans*, and all other orders among the *Romaniſts*. And I am very free to confeſs, that I have frequently followed their footſteps in reforming the churches and ſchools in *Manaar* and *Jafnapatnam*, as far as they were conſiſtent with our religion, and conſonant to the genius of theſe nations; it being abſolutely neceſſary that he who undertakes this task, ſhould be well acquainted with the method to be uſed among theſe people in the infancy of their converſion, intricate queſtions and myſteries being more apt to confound, than to inſtruct them; for which reaſon it is moſt proper to teach them the naked truth of the goſpel in as few points as poſſibly can be done, (the youth being very apt to retain here what they have been told,) to catechiſe frequently the young-ones in the preſence of their parents, thereby to excite in them a laudable emulation to follow their footſteps. St. *Paul* himſelf leads us the way, when he ſays, That you muſt firſt lay the foundation of the doctrine of Chriſt, before you can raiſe the edifice of the church.

What method is moſt proper for the converſion of theſe nations. *Baldæus.*

It is alſo abſolutely requiſite that the ſame catechiſm that has been at firſt introduced among the native chriſtians, ſhould be retained without any alteration; which, as it would over-charge their memory, ſo it would breed nothing but confuſion inſtead of profit. It was for this reaſon, that when by order, from the ſupreme magiſtrates, the reformation of theſe churches was committed to my care, I reduced the chief points of the chriſtian doctrine into queſtions and anſwers, which were afterwards introduced into the churches of *Jafnapatnam*, *Manaar*, *Gale*, *Columbo*, *Negumbo*, and *Mature*, and received by the ſucceeding miniſters, by ſpecial command from the general and council of the *Indies*, and the governor of theſe places; and were afterwards confirmed by the general aſſembly of the clergy of *Ceylon* held at *Columbo*, 1659. from the 24th of *February*, till the 3d of *March*.

The catechiſm once introduced among the natives, muſt not be altered.

They had had enough of the miſchiefs that enſued upon theſe alterations, introduced by new miniſters into the iſle of *Formoſa*, who inſtead of following the footſteps of *Robert Junius* and *George Candius*, (miniſters of the goſpel there,) would introduce certain novelties. I found it alſo abſolutely neceſſary to have theſe queſtions and anſwers put not only in the *Portugueſe*, but alſo in the *Malabar* tongue, ſeveral copies whereof were ſent to our brethren at *Columbo*, *Gale*, and *Negapatnam*.

It is beyond all diſpute that the *Low Dutch* tongue is not ſo proper to propagate our religion here as the *Malabar* and *Portugueſe*; and conſequently, that the miniſters of the goſpel ſent into thoſe parts ſhould rather apply themſelves to theſe languages, than to impoſe their own upon the new converts, which always meets with great difficulty, and cannot be introduced without vaſt trouble and charges: beſides, that it is much more reaſonable one man ſhould accommodate himſelf to many, than theſe to one man. It is furthermore requiſite, that as the miniſters ought to pay all due reſpect to the magiſtrates, ſo theſe ſhould treat them with all imaginable civility

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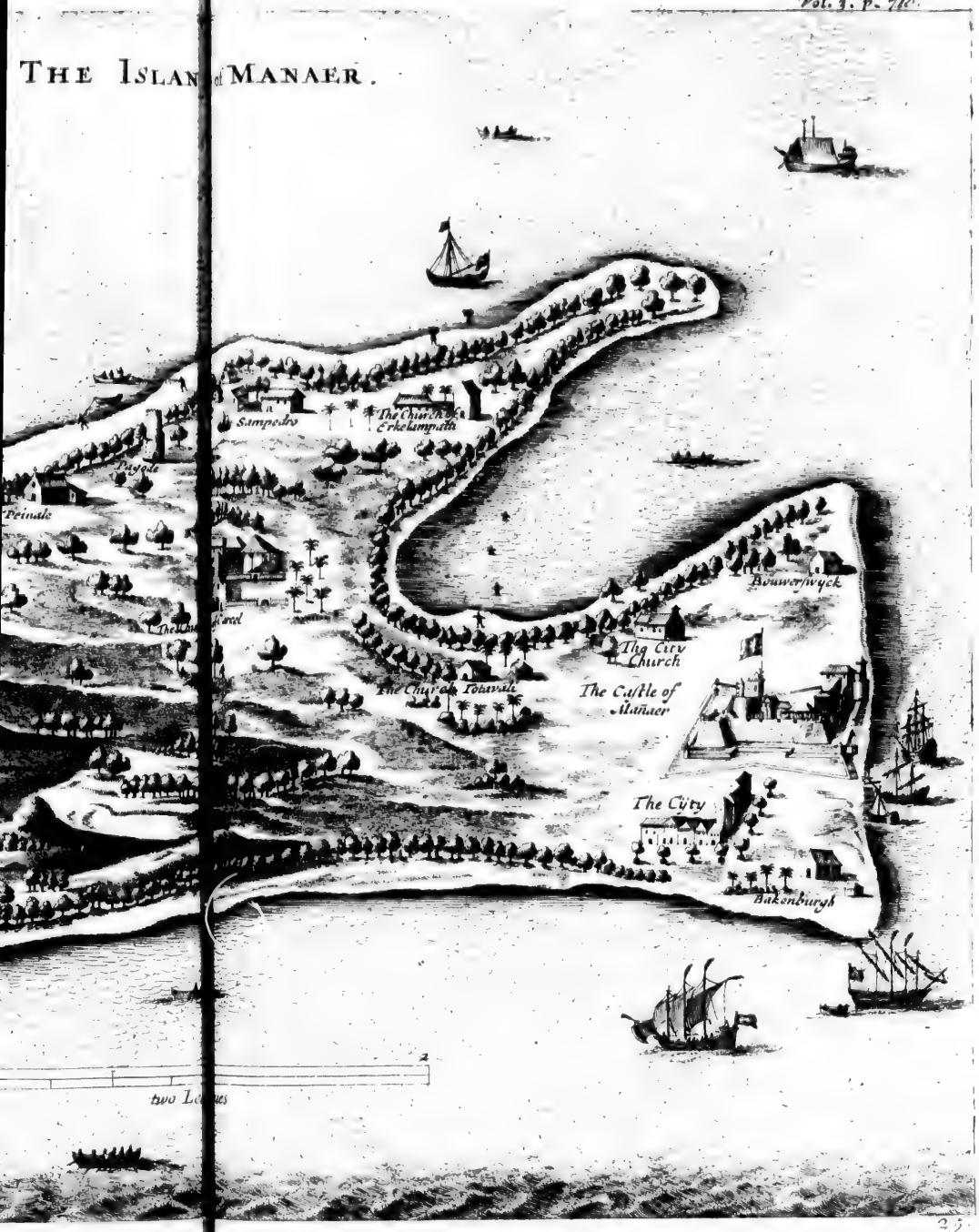

Baldæus. civility and honour, to acquire them the more authority among the natives.

Manaar has plenty of fish. The isle of *Manaar* abounds in fish to such a degree, that the inhabitants here (as well as at *Negumbo*) dry and send them into other parts in vast quantities. They

A peculiar kind of fish. have here a peculiar fish (properly a sea-calf) of an amphibious nature; the females have breasts, and give suck; and the flesh, when well-boiled, tastes not unlike our sturgeon, and might easily be mistaken for veal.

But it is time we pass the river of *Manaar* towards *Mantotte*. This river is not very deep, nay, on that side where you come to it over the canal near the castle, it is so shallow, that you may wade through it with ease, the water scarce coming up to your knees, though it is so broad, that it will take up half an hour before you can pass it. The country on the other

The country of the Wannias. side is called the country of the *Wannias*, under the jurisdiction of our company; their churches make up, together with those of *Manaar*, no less than fourteen, and are under the inspection of the minister who resides in the isle of *Manaar*, and duly visits them once a month. This country, though it acknowledges the jurisdiction of our company, pays the usual taxes, furnishes them with elephants, *&c.* yet must they be mildly treated, it being their general maxims to disoblige neither *Raja Singa*, nor the company.

In the year 1658. in the beginning of *March*, (after the taking of *Manaar*, and providing it with a good garrison,) we marched into that country towards *Jafnapatnam*. *Mantotte* begins to the north of the salt-river, near the village of *Peringaly*, extending to the south along the seashore, as far as the river *Aripouture*, where *Mousilipatte* begins, near the village of *Aripou*, extending further southward to the mountains of *Condremale*, which face the bay, opposite to the isle of *Calpentyn*, and cross the country *Mantotte*, stretching to *Settecoulang*, six villages whereof belong to *Manaar*, six to *Jafnapatnam*, and five to *Mantotte*.

The rest of *Mantotte* and *Mousilipatte* extends to the east to the great forest, (the boundary of the country on that side.) *Mantotte* itself has sixty four villages, *Mousilipatte* twenty four, and that part of *Settecoulang* six, amounting in all to eighty four. All these countries are very fertile, especially in rice, which produces a hundred-fold crop; but the worst is, the elephants do great mischief in those parts that are not very populous.

It is very remarkable what *John de Lucena* observes in the life of *Xaverius*, *viz.* that on the cape *Comoryn*, and all along that tract of the *East-Indies*, whilst it is summer and dry season on the west-side of the cape, the winter and rainy season appears on the opposite side. The same is to be observed in the isle of *Ceylon*; for whilst the winter continues about *Jafnapatnam*, the *Wannias* and *Manaar*, during the months of *October*, *November*, and *December*, it is summer in all the other parts. On the contrary, in the months of *April* and *May*, whilst it is summer about *Jafnapatnam*, which continues six or seven months, it is winter and rainy weather at *Columbo*, *Gale*, and the countries thereabouts. In the low-lands, remote from the mountanous part of *Ceylon*, there blow only two winds; but about *Columbo*, *Gale*, and some other places, you have duly a day and night wind, as upon the coast of *Coromandel*. From *April* till *October* the wind blows constantly a brisk gale from the south, with a clear air and bright sunshine; as does the north wind from *November* till *April*. In *January*, *February*, and *March*, it is generally very calm, with intolerable heat; but a dew falls in the night; which being very unwholesome, the inhabitants return with sun-set into their houses: and were it not for these dews, and the strong winds which cool the air, the heat would be unsupportable here.

Winter and summer at once in divers parts of Ceylon.

Our march from Manaar to Jafnapatnam. As we marched through the country of *Wannias*, we kept a most exact discipline; and as we had no great plenty of provisions, we allowed only a small measure of rice every day to each soldier, rather than incommode the inhabitants; and finding our forces to be extremely tired by long marches, and consequently uncapable of engaging with the same advantage with the enemy, in case they should be attacked, it was resolved instead of marching up to the head of the river through the sandy ground, to pass the river in boats, though it would require near an hour and a half for every boat to pass it.

Passage over the river. The worst was, that upon our arrival on the other side of the river, we expected the enemy ready to give us a warm reception, because we could not transport above two hundred, or at most three hundred men at once over the river, and that the bank was very muddy; for I remember that some years after two elephants passing over to the *Jafnapatnam* side, one of them stuck in the mud, and was killed by the inhabitants, nothing being more common than for the elephants to come cross the river to feed upon the fruits of the palm-trees, to come at which they trample the roots of the trees so long with their feet till they loosen, and afterwards throw them down with their bodies, and so eat the fruit.

Baldæus. However the firſt troop of our forces got over without any oppoſition; and no ſooner had put themſelves in order of battle, but received intelligence that the enemy were retreated from thence the day before, in order to expect us at the head ſpring of the river.

We march towards Jafnapatnam.

After we had tranſported all our forces over the river, the inhabitants treated us very civilly, and furniſhed us with plenty of proviſions and fruits. The firſt place we came to was the chief church of the province of *Tenmarache*, called *Chavagatzari*; where after we had refreſhed ourſelves with a good dinner, we marched forward the ſame day with two field-pieces to *Navacouli*, (two hours from *Jafnapatnam*,) where we encamped that night.

The next day (after morning-prayer) we marched on to the river, where we expected to meet with a vigorous oppoſition; but finding no reſiſtance, we advanced by degrees towards the caſtle near the church of *Sundecouli*, where in the evening we had a ſmart skirmiſh with the *Portugueſe*, of whom we killed many upon the ſpot, and poſted ourſelves that night round about the before-mentioned church.

A skirmiſh with the Portugueſe.

The next following day we advanced to the city; which being without any fortifications, we broke through the wall and houſes; and purſuing the enemy from ſtreet to ſtreet, under the favour of our cannon, which opened us the way, we advanced towards the caſtle. The 9th of *March* we made ourſelves maſters of the jeſuits church and college at the weſt-end of the city, and the 18th following of the church and monaſtery of the *Dominicans* on the eaſt-ſide: which made us give publick thanks to God Almighty for his bleſſings, the text being the 7th verſe of the 20th *Pſalm*.

Baldæus. *The city of* Jafnapatnam *taken.*

The enemy being thus forced to quit their houſes, had no other way left than to retreat to the caſtle, which they did in great diſorder, many of the inhabitants of the country thronging in among the *Portugueſe*; ſo that the caſtle was ſo crowded with people that they had not room enough to diſpoſe them to any advantage.

But the better to ſtraiten the caſtle of *Jafnapatnam*, and take away from the garriſon all hopes of relief, it was thought neceſſary to attack a certain out-work, or redoubt, built upon a ſmall iſle in the middle of the river, not far from its entrance, which it commands. This fort was built by *Anthonio Amiral de Meneſes*, and may juſtly

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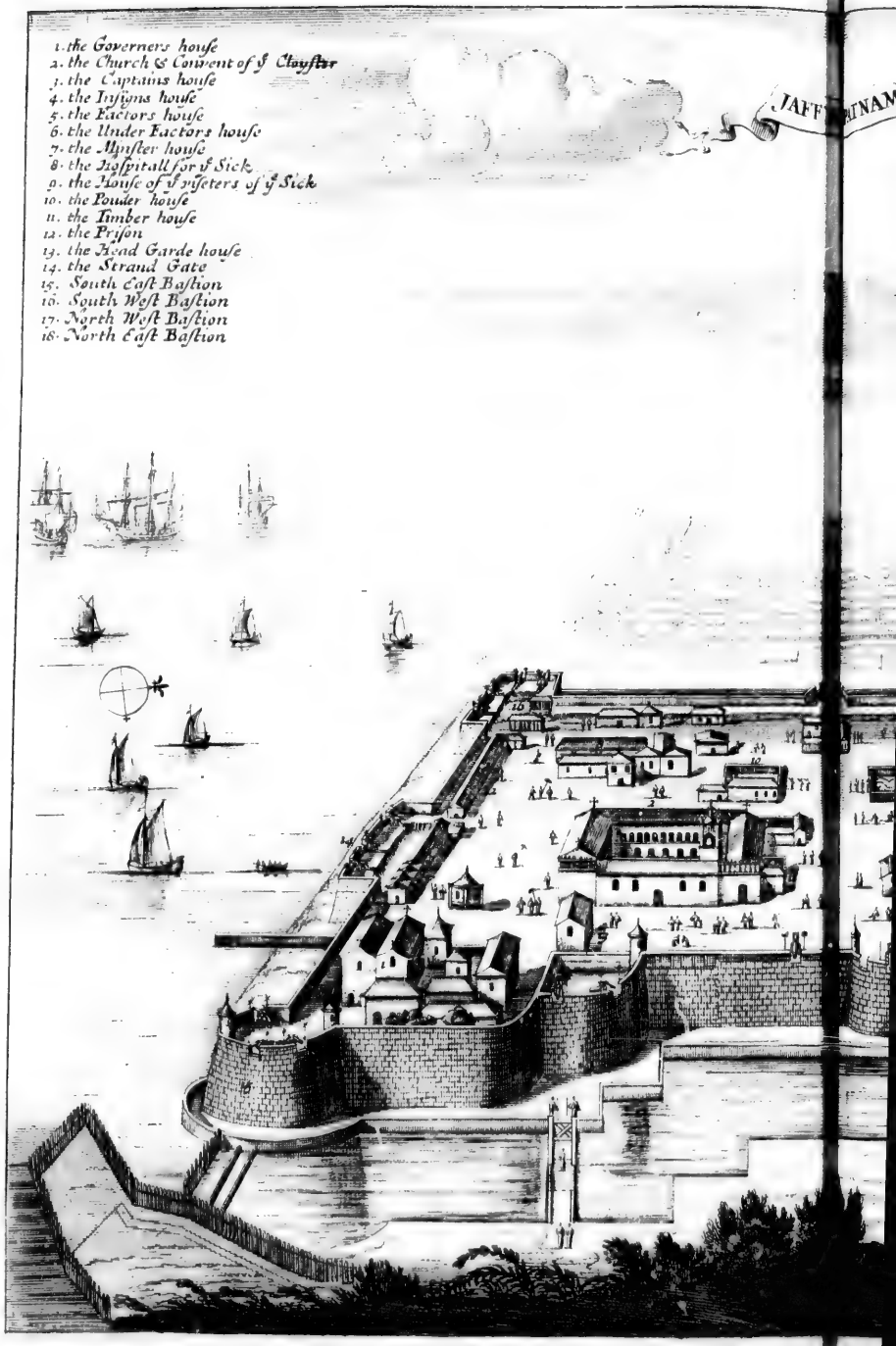
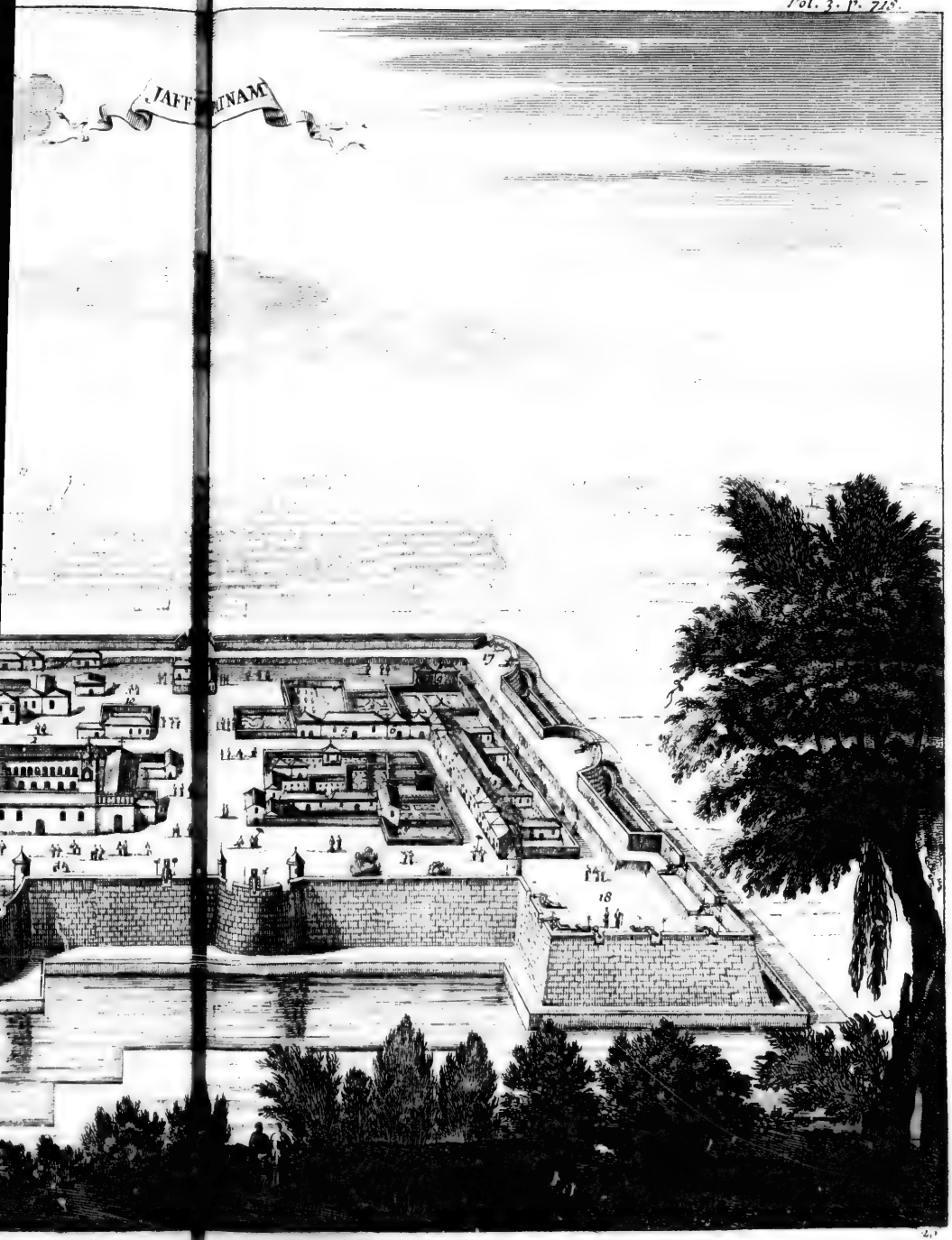
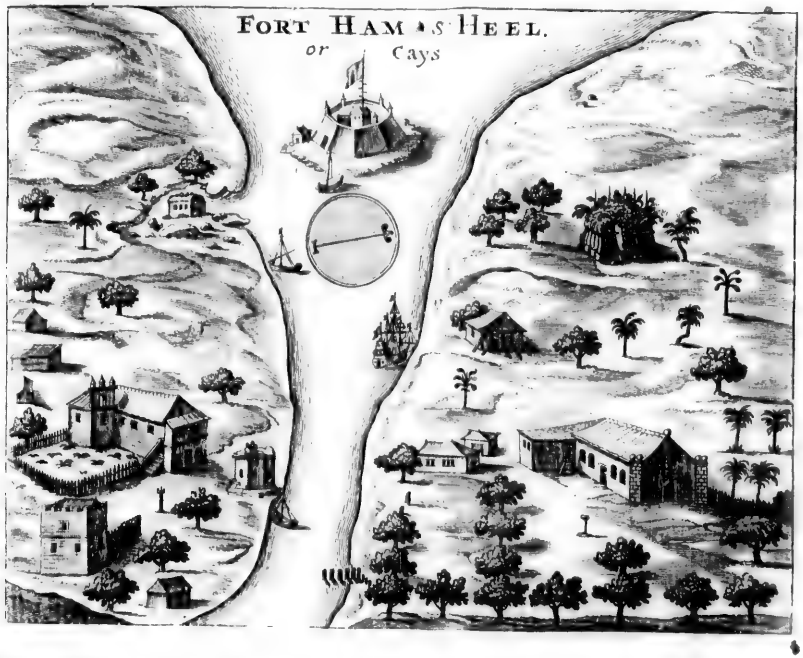
4. the Jnsions house
5. the Factors house
6. the Under Factors house
7. the Minister house
8. the Hospitall for St Sick
9. the House of Jnfecters of St Sick
10. the Pouder house
11. the Timber house
12. the Prison
13. the Head Garde house
14. the Strand Gate
15. South East Bastion
16. South West Bastion
17. North West Bastion
18. North East Bastion




JAFFANAM
17
18

Baldæus. be called the key of *Jafnapatnam*; and if ſuch another were made on the point of *Calmom*, no veſſel could approach the caſtle without leave.

Accordingly we detached a good body of men to the iſle of *Ouratura*, in order to attack the ſaid fort, in which at that time commanded one *Hieronimo de Paiva* with a good garriſon. The iſle of *Ouratura* (where formerly the *Portugueſe* had a caſtle, the ruins of which are yet to be ſeen) lying at ſome diſtance from this water-fort, we were forced to raiſe our batteries againſt it upon the iſle of *Caradiva*; but finding that by reaſon of the diſtance betwixt us and them, and the ſtrength of the wall, we could make no breach in it, it was reſolved to aſſault the place by the help of certain veſſels provided with breaſt-works and cannon. But before we thought fit to venture at ſo deſperate an attempt, it was reſolved to ſend the following ſummons to the commander of the fort. *Baldæus.*



The fort Cays ſummoned to a ſurrender.

"IT having pleaſed Almighty God to bleſs our arms with ſuch ſucceſs, that "there is no poſſibility left for you to "reſiſt us, or defend yourſelf againſt our "attacks: it is therefore that we have "thought fit to let you know (as is uſual "upon ſuch occaſions) that we are come "to ſummon the fort of *Cays*, in the name "of the ſtates-general of the *United Pro-* "*vinces*, of the governors of the *Eaſt-* "*India* company, and his excellency *John* "*Maatzuyker* governor-general, and the "council of the *Indies*; as by theſe pre- "ſents I ſummon the ſaid fort, not queſ- "tioning but that after you have given "ſufficient proofs of your courage, you "will now conſider how unable you "are to reſiſt our force. Do not there- "fore obſtinately reſiſt God's will, and "our ſtrength, ſince we offer you ſuch "conditions as are generally allowed to "brave ſoldiers. But in caſe you will be "obſtinate in making trial of our ſtrength, "we proteſt before God and the chriſtian "world, that we are innocent of all the "fatal conſequences and miſeries that are "likely to befal you; being reſolved on "our ſide, (if God grants us victory,) "to treat you after the ſevereſt manner, "according to the cuſtom of war, and "not to hearken to any conditions. You "have given ſufficient proofs of your "courage

Baldæus. " courage to admiration; it is time therefore you ſhould now act with prudence, " and conſult your ſafety. We expect " your poſitive anſwer within three hours " by the bearer of this, or whom your excellency ſhall think fit to ſend to us, " who ſhall return ſafely upon our word " and honour: ſubſcribing my ſelf (as " you think fit) either your friend or " enemy."

From the camp, 10 *April* 1658. The admiral and general of the *Dutch* forces, both by ſea and land.

This letter being tranſlated into *Portugueſe*, was ſent into the fort; the commander whereof remembring the old verſe,

Fiſtula dulce canit, volucrem dum decipit auceps,

ſent the following anſwer.

The anſwer thereupon. " THAT the fort belonging to nobody but to the king of *Portugal* his maſter, he was obliged to maintain " the ſame for his majeſty till the laſt " drop of his blood. That he could do " no more than what pleaſed God to permit him; but neither he nor his men " were to be terrified by threats.

This bold anſwer made us think of nothing elſe but force; ſo that we were preparing every thing for an aſſault; which would have coſt us many a brave fellow, had not the want of freſh water in the fort obliged them to come to a capitulation. For having no other freſh water in the fort, but what was preſerved in a large wooden ciſtern, part whereof was taken away by the ſhips, that tranſported ſome women of quality with their riches from *Jafnapatnam* to *Negapatnam*, and the reſt being ſpoiled by our bombs, they were glad to accept ſuch articles as we were willing to give them, which however were very honourable, the ſoldiers being allowed to march out with all the marks of honour, and to be tranſported into *Europe*. The commander, who had a wife and children, was permitted to go to the *Indian* coaſt, or that of *Coromandel*. The 28th of *April* I preached the thankſgiving ſermon for this ſurrender, upon the text out of the 48th *Pſalm*, *ver.* 8. Upon this occaſion captain *Cornelius Rob*, the younger, (who died two years after at *Amſterdam*,) captain *Peter Waſch*, (who was killed afterwards before *Cochin*,) and Mr. *Van der Rheede*, gave moſt ſignal proofs of their courage. Since that time divers vaults for freſh water have been made in this fort, and in *Manaar*.

Baldæus. *The fort ſurrender'd.*

CHAP. XLV.

Continuation of the Siege of Jafnapatnam. *Sea-fight before* Goa. *Divers Engagements betwixt the* Dutch *and* Portugueſe. Jafnapatnam *ſurrendered. Some* Portugueſe *living among the* Hollanders *there, plot againſt them: Are betrayed by a* Topas. *The Provinces and Churches of* Jafnapatnam.

Strength of the caſtle of Jafnapatnam. BUT it is time to return to the caſtle of *Jafnapatnam*, which being built upon a rock, and ſurrounded with a ſtrong triple wall, ſeemed to defy both our mines and cannon, eſpecially ſince we were not ſo well provided with gun-powder as we ſhou'd have been; wherefore we thought it our ſafeſt way to expect that from time, which force was not likely to procure, reſolving in the mean while to annoy the enemy as much as poſſibly we could with our bombs, which killed them abundance of men.

The Portugueſe endeavour in vain to fetch proviſions. The enemy finding themſelves in a little time reduced to great ſtraits, ſent out divers boats to fetch ſome freſh proviſions from the iſlands, but were always forced to return without ſucceſs. Upon this occaſion *Ybrand Getskens* born at the *Hague*, then director of the company in *Perſia*, and *Barent Clebont*, then a lieutenant, ſince a captain at *Jafnapatnam*, behaved themſelves bravely, being both wounded, one near the mouth, the other in the knee.

The *Portugueſe* in the mean while living in hopes of ſuccours from *Goa*, ſent a letter by a certain *Topas* from *Trinquemale*, named *Ignatius Feras*, to their admiral; but this negro coming over to us with the letter, we ſent a good body of our beſt forces to prevent their landing, but we heard of none.

A Topas comes over to us with a letter.

On the other hand, we received the joyful news, that commodore *Adrian Roothaus* had, *March* 23. in an engagement with

The Dutch worſt the Portugueſe at ſea.

Jafnapatnam ſurrendered. *The conditions.* *They march out.*

Baldæus. with the *Portugueſe* near *Goa*, burnt one of their biggeſt galleons, called the *St. Thomas*, and had ſo diſabled the reſt, that they had but little hopes left of relieving *Jafnapatnam*. For which victory we gave publick thanks to God the 26th of *May*, 1658. The text was taken out of *Exodus* xv. 9.

Several ſea voyages between them. About the ſame time I received a letter from the reverend *Theodoro Sas*, (ſince miniſter at *Malacca*,) then in the *Dutch* fleet before *Goa*, intimating, That the 20th of *January*, in the ſame year 1658. the *Portugueſe* attacked us with ten galleons and ſome frigats: the engagement laſted till night, without any conſiderable damage on our ſide. That on the 27th and 29th of the ſame month, another combat enſued, without any great loſs on both ſides. The 3d of *February* the enemy attacked us once more; but were chaſed under their caſtle. In all theſe three engagements the *Dutch* had no more than nine men killed, and a few wounded. The letter was dated aboard the *Phenix*, cruiſing before the bar of *Goa*, *February* 11. 1658.

In the mean while our forces having ſo cloſely ſurrounded the caſtle of *Jafnapatnam* with their lines and works, that they could not ſtir even with the leaſt boat, without being taken or ſunk; and being now deſtitute of all hopes of relief, they hung out the white flag the 21ſt of *June* on the ſouth-eaſt baſtion. The capitulation was agreed upon the next following day, under theſe conditions: That the garriſon ſhould march out with their arms, colours flying, drums beating, *&c.* and take along with them one piece of cannon, and to be tranſported to *Europe*: the head-officers ſhall be civilly treated, and to be conducted to one or other of their forts, and the eccleſiaſticks to the coaſt of *Coromandel*. All gold, ſilver, and other precious moveables, ſhall be left to the diſpoſal of the conquerors; the inhabitants ſhall likewiſe be tranſported to what part of the *Indies* they like beſt, moſt of whom went afterwards by the way of *Malacca* to *Batavia*.

Jafnapatnam ſurrendred.

The conditions.

They march out. Accordingly *John de Melo*, *Leonardo d'Oliveiro*, *Vador de Fazendas*, and *Anthonio Mendes d'Aranha*, marched out of the caſtle with the reſt of the head-officers, *Rodrigo Boralho* delivering the keys at the ſame time to major *John van der Laan*; but they were ſo weak, that they did not think fit to carry along with them their piece of cannon, though they ſpent two whole days in marching out. A conſiderable number of ſoldiers laid down their arms and colours before the ſtandard of the company, as did many of the inhabitants, (among whom was *Caſpar Figeiro*, the ſcourge of the *Cingaleſe*,) with their wives and children, negroes, forty or fifty eccleſiaſticks, *Franciſcans*, *Jeſuits*, and *Dominicans*; notwithſtanding that during the ſiege (which laſted three months and a half) they had loſt near one thouſand ſix hundred men by the ſword and mortality. *Baldæus.*

Immediately after commodore *Peter de Bitter* was ſent to *Batavia*, by the way of *Malacca*, to bring this joyful news to Mr. *John Maatzuyker* our general, and the council of the *Indies*. The 23d of *June* I preached a thankſgiving-ſermon out of *Exodus* xvii. 15. which was continued every year on the ſame day.

When we entered the caſtle, we found it all battered to pieces by our bombs; and ſuch was the ſtench, that for ſome time no body could abide there. We took care to have the ſprings cleared, the dung removed, the churches, houſes, and walls repaired; three hundred cocoa-trees were alſo to be planted, and many houſes that ſtood too near the ditch of the caſtle, to be broken down; and to incourage the inhabitants of the country to ſettle here, the cuſtom upon tobacco was taken off, and *Jacob Rhee* our head-factor, a very underſtanding perſon, conſtituted, *pro tempore*, commander in chief here. *The caſtle repaired.*

Things being thus diſpoſed, our forces were ſoon after tranſported to the coaſt of *Coromandel*, in order to reduce the city of *Negapatnam*. We left but a ſlender garriſon at *Jafnapatnam*, compoſed for the moſt part of *Portugueſe*, who had taken ſervice among us; beſides which there was a conſiderable number of priſoners in the caſtle.

Theſe, in conjunction with ſome of the natives, (not without the conſent of *Rajaja Singa*,) framed a plot againſt us. Their deſign was to murder all the officers in the caſtle, whilſt I was preaching in *Portugueſe* in the city; which done, certain perſons of their gang ſhould attack and kill the guard, and thus to make themſelves maſters of the caſtle. *A treacherous deſign formed againſt the Dutch at* Jafnapatnam.

It happened by accident, That whilſt I was preaching, *Don Manoel Andrado*, one of our *Cingaleſe* captains and *Modeliar*, coming with eighteen of his followers (who generally attended him) to the church, remained in the porch, where he could hear as well as within the church. He was not a little ſurpriz'd (as he himſelf told me afterwards) to ſee the *Portugueſe* remain ſtanding likewiſe without the church door, and laying their hands upon their ſwords; yet not being able to gueſs the true reaſon thereof, this treachery was not diſcovered

Baldæus. diſcovered till ſome days after, when the whole deſign being laid open to Mr. *Jacob Van der Rhee*, he took care to double the guards, to ſhut the caſtle gates, and to ſecure all ſuch as had a hand in the plot. The next thing was to ſend for me by a letter, (I being then viſiting the churches in the country.) Upon the receipt whereof I returned immediately to the caſtle; where with great aſtoniſhment I had an account given me of the whole deſign; how it had been diſcovered; and the traitors ſecured: for which delivery I preached a ſolemn thankſgiving-ſermon in *Low-Dutch* the 15th of *September*, 1658. out of the book of *Eſther*, *Chap.* ix. 20, --24. *Baldæus.*

Is diſcovered.

Not long after moſt of the traitors having confeſſed their crimes, ſome were condemned to be hanged, others to be beheaded, and ſome to be laid upon the wheel. The three chief heads of this conſpiracy, were a certain inhabitant of *Manaar*, one *Don Louys*, and another *Portugueſe*: theſe three were laid upon the wheel, or a croſs; and after they had received a ſtroke with the ax in the neck and on the breaſt, had their entrails taken out, and the heart laid upon the mouth. *The traitors executed.*

A certain jeſuit, named *Caldero*, a native of *Malacca*, was beheaded. This unfortunate perſon being prevented by ſickneſs from going along with the reſt of the *Portugueſe* clergymen, had not been concerned in this treacherous deſign, much leſs given his conſent to it: but ſome of the traitors having given notice thereof to him by letters, wherein they ſtiled him the *Father of their ſouls*, he was unwilling to betray his countrymen, for which he paid now with his head: eleven more were hanged, and afterwards expoſed in the open country on trees; but the heads of the ringleaders were fixed upon poles in the market-place.

The caſtle of *Jafnapatnam* is of a quadrangular figure, and ſtrongly fortified with very high and thick walls. It is bigger in circuit than the caſtle of *Batavia*, being the capital city of the whole kingdom. *Philippo de Olivero*, after having defeated the *Cingaleſe* near *Achiavelli*, not far from the great pagode, (the ruins whereof are to be ſeen to this day,) took the ſame from the emperor of *Ceylon*. Hard by this pagode is to be ſeen a moſt miraculous ſpring, twenty four rods in circum- *The Portugueſe conquer Jafnapatnam.* *A miraculous ſpring.*

ber, Chap. ix. *Baldæus.*

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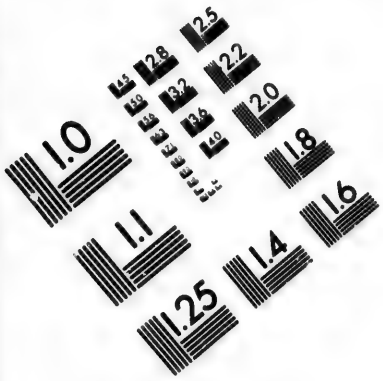
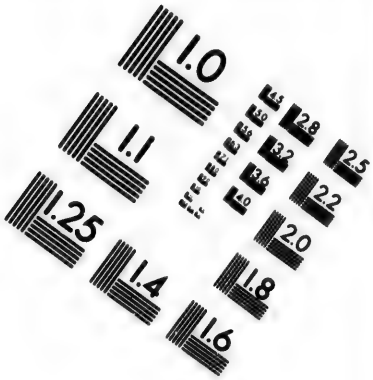
Vol. 3. N. 720.





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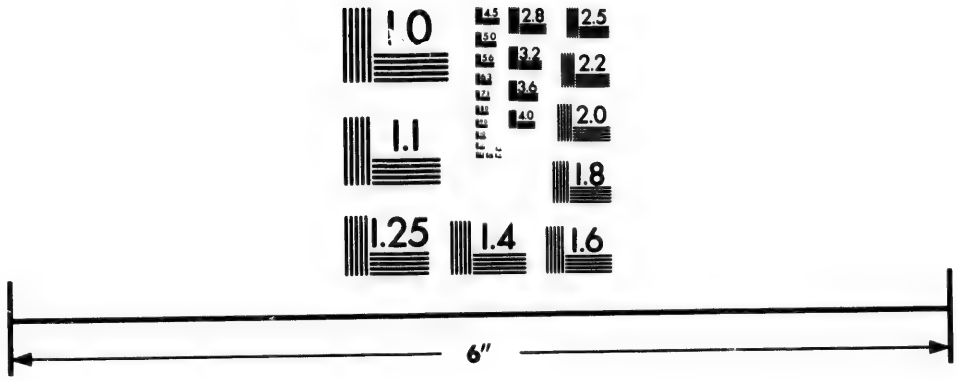

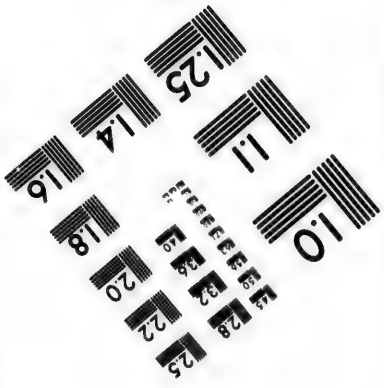

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The sacra-ment first administered to the Indians here.

Baldæus. circumference, cut out of an entire rock, or, as the inhabitants will have it, opened by a thunderbolt; of which more hereafter, when we ſhall treat of the iſles of *Jafnapatnam*. We took it after it had been forty years in the poſſeſſion of the *Portugueſe*.

Jafnapatnam is divided into four provinces, which are very populous: its whole length is about ſix *German* leagues, and its breadth three, being well inhabited and adorned with villages and churches. The whole number of the villages amounts to one hundred and fifty nine, of their own churches thirty four, beſides the *Dutch* and *Portugueſe* churches. *Jafnapatnam*, is on the northſide waſhed by the gulph of *Bengale*, and borders to the ſouth of a river, which makes it a kind of an iſland, and exonerates it ſelf in two different channels into the ſea. *Baldæus.*

The provinces of *Jafnapatnam* are *Belligamme*, *Tenmarache*, *Waddemarache*, and *Patchiarapalle*. The province of *Belligamme* has fourteen churches, the chief whereof is *Telipole*, a large ſtructure, with a double row of pillars; the houſe thereunto belonging is the work of the jeſuits, beautify'd with a pleaſant garden, handſome court, and moſt delicious vineyards, affording moſt ſorts of *Indian* fruits, and watered with ſeveral ſprings.

Provinces of Jafnapatnam.

The church Telipole.

In *Auguſt* 1658. the reformed religion was the firſt time (as in all other churches of *Jafnapatnam* and *Manaar*) introduced and taught here by me. The 12th of *January*, 1661. the holy ſacrament was the firſt time adminiſter'd to twelve communicants of the natives. The 19th of *April*, in the ſame year, their number increaſed to fifteen, and before my departure to thirty. In the year 1665. we had above one thouſand ſchool-boys, among whom were four hundred and eighty who could anſwer all the queſtions relating to the chief points of our religion. I nave had ſometimes no leſs than two thouſand auditors in this church.

The ſacrament firſt adminiſtered to the Indians here.

A certain *Indian*, named *Michael Fonſeca*, asked me once a very odd queſtion, *viz. When* John *baptized Chriſt, whether he baptized him in the name of God the Father,*

Baldæus. *Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt?* and being anſwered *Yes*, he reply'd, *That thus Jeſus Chriſt was baptized in his own name; which he could not well comprehend.* I told him, there was not the leaſt abſurdity in the matter, ſince *Jeſus Chriſt* was not baptized upon his own account, or as God alone, nor as a bare man, but as being endowed both with the divine and human nature. That the *Son of God* could not be baptized otherwiſe but in the name of God; and that under the word God, was not only comprehended the father, but alſo the ſon and holy ghoſt: that Jeſus Chriſt was the ſame in eſſence with the father and the holy ghoſt; and that there were no degrees in the deity; for though the father was the firſt, yet were the ſon as well and truly God as the father and holy ghoſt: wherewith he was well ſatisfied. For the *Indians* being generally very ingenious, they will ask many acute queſtions, as concerning the *creation and end of the world, the immortality of the ſoul, hell*, and ſuch like.

Theatres near the churches. Moſt of the churches here have certain ſcaffolds or theatres near them, eſpecially that of *Telipole*, where the jeſuits uſed to repreſent certain hiſtories of the bible to the people on holidays.

The church Mallagam. About half an hour thence ſtands the church *Mallagam*, of good brick-work, with an adjacent houſe built upon two arches, and a handſome pair of ſtairs leading to the top of it. The church was begun by the *Portugueſe*; but finiſhed by the *Dutch*. It has two hundred ſchool-boys; but not above ſix hundred auditors.

The church Mayletti. The church *Mayletti* is about five quarters of an hour from *Telipole*. Here are ſeven hundred fifty ſchool-boys, all taught by one maſter, who has more work than the two at *Telipole*: the auditors of this church amount to one thouſand five hundred, or one thouſand ſix hundred. The church is a large ſtructure of ſtone: the houſe belonging to it is lofty, with a balcony on the top of it, affording a very fine proſpect into the main ſea; ſo that it may well deſerve the name of *Belle videre*. The church is not above half a mile from the ſea-ſide. They abound here in fiſh, ſuch as crabs, ſoles, plaice, &c. as likewiſe in hares and partridges. *Baldæus.*

Church A. chiavelli. The church *Achiavelli* lies about two hours from *Telipole*: it is a large and lofty ſtructure built of ſtone, capable of containing two thouſand perſons; it was not finiſhed till in our time. The village lies extremely pleaſant among the woods, ſtored with vaſt quantities of turtle-doves, which coo at certain hours three times a day, and ſerve the inhabitants inſtead of a clock, to know the time of the day. They have alſo plenty of hares, ſtags, and wild-boars; but are alſo annoyed by the ſerpents. *Pleaſantneſs of the village.*

As divers old *Brahmans* live in this place, ſo were the inhabitants not ſo forward in embracing the chriſtian religion; the antient *Brahman*, named *Philippo*, does not want the knowledge of the fundamentals of our religion; but is more inclined to the hiſtorical, than the doctrinal part. Among others there lived here a certain *Brahman*, a learned perſon, with whom I uſed to have frequent converſation, whilſt I lived at *Achiavelli*: he was baptized at laſt in the 46th year of his age, and afterwards writ the *Hiſtory of the Life and Paſſion of our Saviour*, in a lofty poetical ſtile, in the *Latin Malabar*, called *Hanſcreet*, which is quite different from the common *Malabar* characters. The ſchool here has about four or five hundred boys; and the church ſeven eight or nine hundred auditors.

The church Ondewil. About an hour from *Telipole* ſtands the church *Ondewil*, in a great plain, with an adjacent large ſtone-houſe, formerly the habitation of a *Franciſcan* fryar. The ſoil is very luſcious here, and fertile in rice, *Naceny*, and other eatables. The ſchool-boys amount to ſix hundred, and the auditors to nine hundred or one thouſand.

The church Battecotte. Two hours diſtant from the caſtle is the church *Batecotte*, with a lofty adjacent houſe, flat on the top, and adorned with a pleaſant garden, well ſtored with trees; the fields round about it are extremely fruitful. It is ſeated near the *Salt River*, and abounds in fiſh and all manner of other proviſions. Of ſchool-boys they have here about eight or nine hundred, and of auditors in the church near two thouſand.

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Pleaſant- neſs of the village.

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The church Ondewil.

The church Batecotta.

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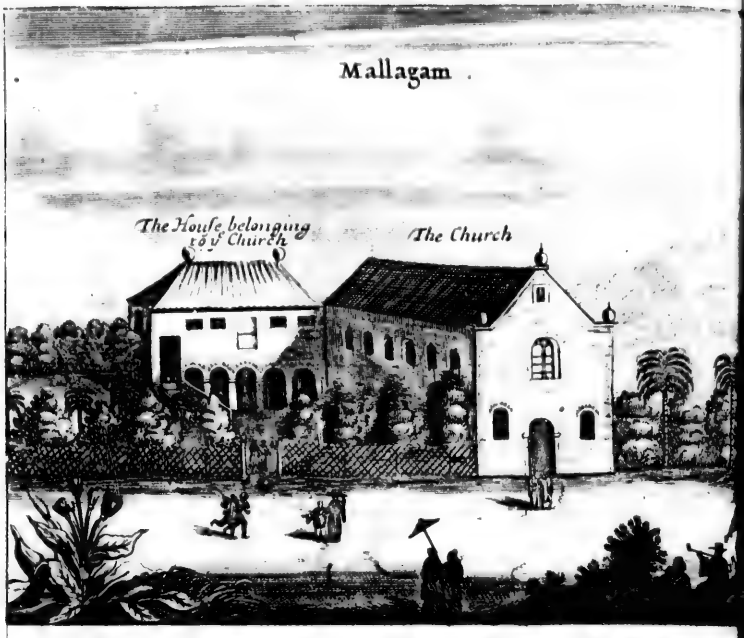
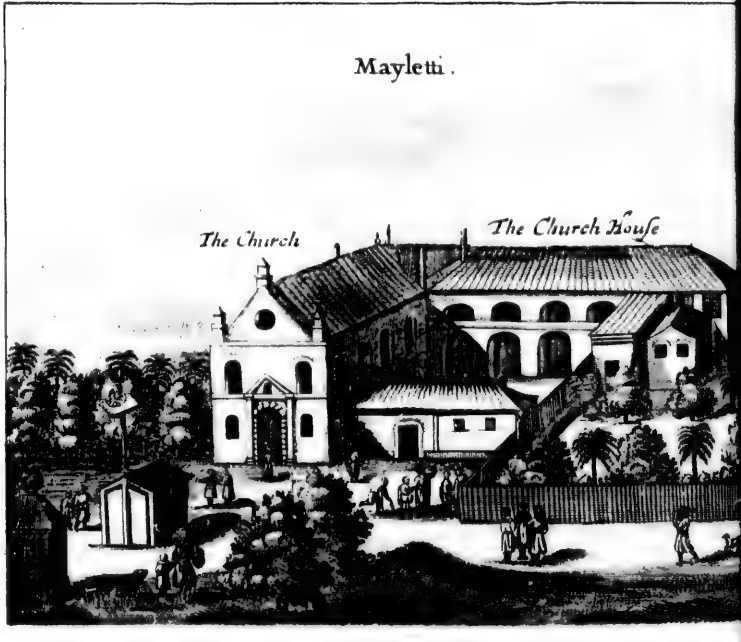
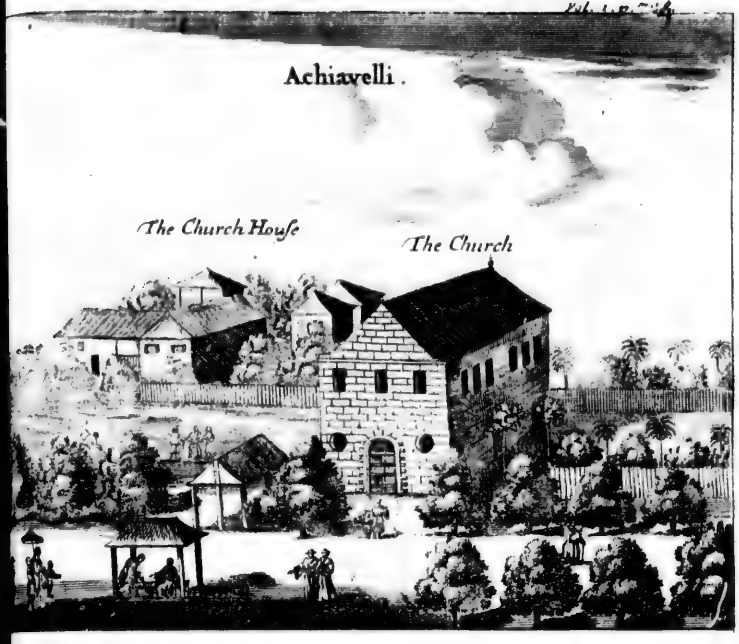
Mallagam.

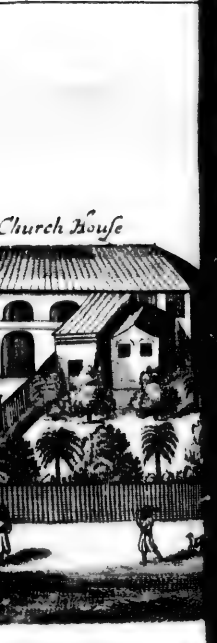


Mayletti.



Achiavelli.





Oudewil.

Paneteripou
The Church
The Church house

Changane
The Church
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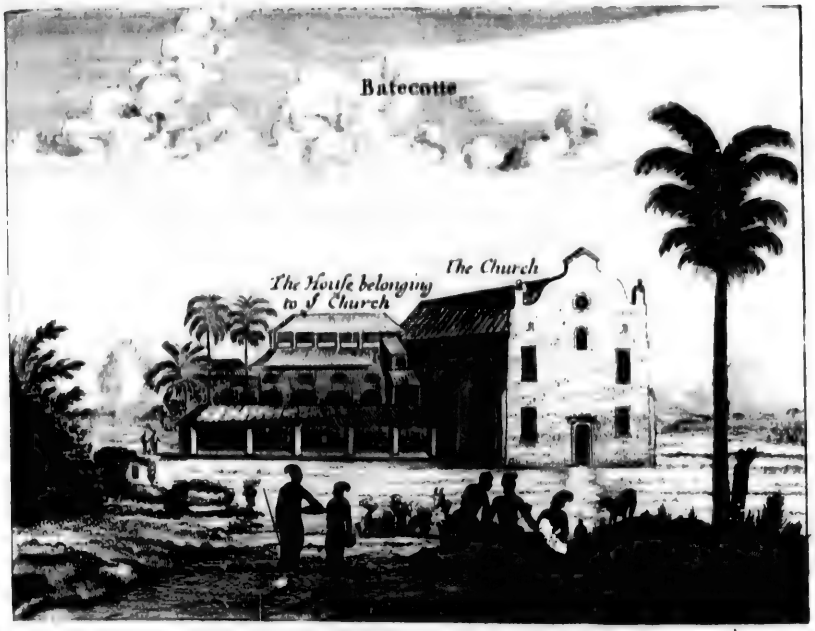
Manipay
The Church
The Church house

Vanarpone
The Church



Baldæus. About half an hour from *Batecotte* is the church *Paneteripou*, a neat and magnificent edifice of ſtone, with a pleaſant houſe near it built upon arches, with two ſpacious rooms and a gallery, fine gardens, and a delicious fiſh-pond, or ciſtern. The ſchool is frequented by ſix hundred boys, who in my time had made ſuch conſiderable progreſs, that they could refute the popiſh errors concerning purgatory, the maſs, indulgences, auricular confeſſion, *&c.* Mr. *Andrew* the ſchool-maſter, and his uſher, being perſons very diligent in their ſtations. The inhabitants are very devout here, and at ſermon-time ſeldom leſs than twelve or thirteen hundred come to church.

The church Paneteripou.

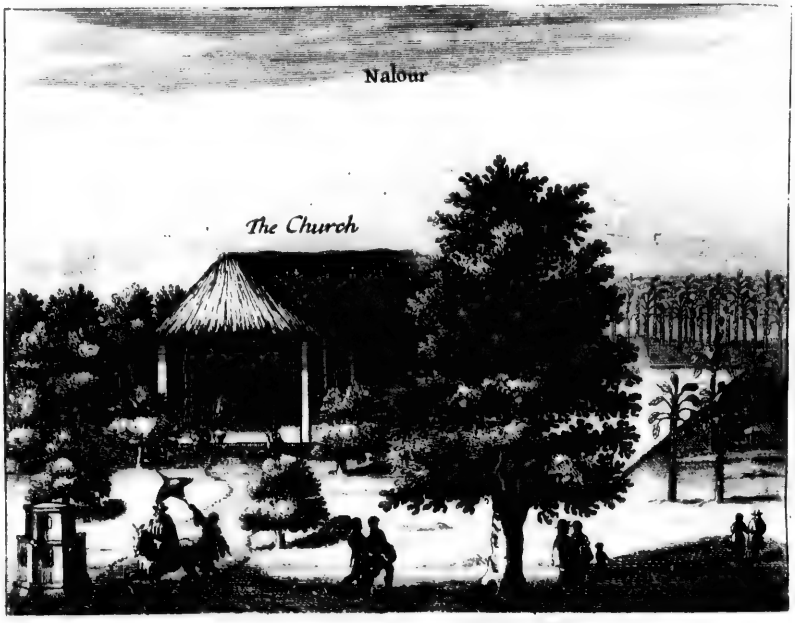
The church Changane. The church *Changane* is not above a good mile from *Paneteripou*, lying with this and *Batecotte* in a triangle, almoſt at an equal diſtance from one another. Both the church and adjacent houſe are built of ſtone, as is alſo *Paneteripou:* they are very conveniently built with a court before, ſurrounded by a brick wall; behind is an orchard of *Cocoe* and *Portugueſe* fig-trees, beſides *Potatoes*, *Bananoes*, &c. The ſchool is frequented by ſeven hundred boys, who are carefully inſtructed by their ſchool-maſter named *Ambroſio*. The inhabitants flock to church with ſo much zeal, that there is ſcarce room to contain them all. *Baldæus.*

The church Manipay. Two hours from *Jafnapatnam*, and one from *Changane*, ſtands the church *Manipay*. About five hundred ſixty children are educated in this ſchool. It is ſcarce to be imagined, that at ſo ſmall a diſtance there ſhould be ſo great a difference betwixt the people, the inhabitants here being a malicious generation, ſuperſtitious, and ſtill much inclined to paganiſm. The church is big enough to contain two thouſand ſouls, but ſeldom above ſeven or eight hundred come to hear the ſermons. The houſe is built only of clay, and covered with palm-tree leaves. Juſt before the church is a fine pond or ciſtern with freſh water, near which ſtood formerly one of their *Pagodes*. This place is inhabited by ſeveral of the family of *Madapoli*, who were concerned in the plot (lately mentioned) with *Don Louys*.

The church Vanarpone. The church *Vanarpone* ſtands juſt under the caſtle of *Jafnapatnam*, moſt inhabited by waſhers, *Vanar* ſignifying as much as a waſher in the *Malabar*. It is not very big, nor has a houſe belonging to it. The ſchool-boys amount to two hundred,

Baldæus. and the auditors in the church to about five or ſix hundred ſouls.

The church Nalour. Juſt by *Vanarpone* is the church *Nalour*, built only of clay, and ſlenderly covered. Here alſo ſtood formerly a *Pagode*. The ſchool is frequented by about five hundred and ninety children, who are not ſo well verſed in the points of the chriſtian religion as moſt of the reſt, the people here retaining ſtill a ſtrong inclination to paganiſm, eſpecially ſince ſome years ago about an hundred printers of callicoes were tranſplanted hither from the coaſt of *Coromandel*, to the no ſmall prejudice of the chriſtian religion, though the company were no great gainers by it; ſince it is evident, that for want of good water at *Jafnapatnam*, the ſame cannot be brought to their true perfection, and therefore are much better bought and tranſported from the coaſt of *Coromandel*. *Baldæus.*



This is certain, that this generation is very miſchievous to the chriſtians here, it being frequent to ſee them appear in publick painted with *Cinza*, or aſhes, (accounted holy among them,) and to carry their beads; beſides that, the *Moors* have their publick ſchools allowed them of late years. I muſt confeſs that whilſt Mr. *Anthony Paviljoen* (at the time of my being there) was governor of *Jafnapatnam*, he did all in him lay to aſſiſt me (at my requeſt) in ſtopping the progreſs of the pagan ſuperſtitions, and was not well pleaſed to ſee the callico printers introduced here, it being (not without reaſon) to be feared that in time they may (by promiſcuous marriages) increaſe to ſuch a number as may endanger both the church and ſtate, eſpecially if they are allowed the burning of their dead, and ſome other pagan ceremonies they much inſiſt upon.

It is further to be feared, that in time there may be a promiſcuous copulation betwixt the chriſtians and pagans, which muſt needs produce direful effects in the church. It may be objected, that ſevere puniſhments will put a ſtop to that evil, (ſome having already been puniſhed with death upon that account;) but this does not altogether removed the danger: beſides that, it ought to be conſidered whether ſuch a ſeverity be conſonant to the word of God, or not.

The

Baldæus. The laſt church, not far from the city, is called *Sundecouli*, belonging to the *Cinvias*, or chairmen and water-carriers. The church is a neat ſtructure; but the inhabitants an idle and baſe generation. About four hundred and fifty children belong to the ſchool; but ſeldom frequent it, becauſe they generally go abroad a fiſhing with their parents. Seldom above four hundred come to church; whereas there are about fifteen hundred inhabitants. It is a pleaſant place, deliciouſly ſeated among trees of a conſiderable bigneſs. Thus far we have ſpoken of the province *Belligamme*, *Baldæus.*

The church Sundecouli.

and its churches, unto which belong likewiſe *Copay* and *Pontour*, containing about eight hundred ſchool-boys, and two thouſand ſouls. The children in theſe ſchools are diſtinguiſhed into ſeveral forms, according to their reſpective degrees of proficiency; ſo that thoſe who have learned (for inſtance) the *Creed* and *Our Father*, teach thoſe that ſcarce know to ſay *Our Father*. Among theſe boys, they have ſome they call *Merinbos*, who take an account of ſuch as are abſent, and return them to the maſter, or the head *Merinbo*.

CHAP. XLVI.

The ſecond, third, and fourth Provinces, with their reſpective Churches, belonging to Jafnapatnam. *The Iſles of* Jafnapatnam. *Vaſt Number of Chriſtians. The Author's Zeal in promoting the Chriſtian Religion.*

THE ſecond province of *Jafnapatnam* is *Tenmarache*, which contains five churches, with the villages thereunto belonging. The firſt is the church *Navacouli*, ſeated in a pleaſant plain, abounding in cattle and fruit, as the woods afford great ſtore of apes and monkeys, and all ſorts of veniſon and wild fowl. Both the church and adjacent houſe are only of clay, and covered with palm leaves. The ſchool

The church Navacouli.

Baldæus. is frequented by four hundred children, and the church by ſeven or eight hundred auditors.

The church of Chavagatzery. An hour from *Navacouli* ſtands the church of *Chavagatzery*, the biggeſt of the whole province, and the adjacent houſe very ſtrong and well-built, having a pleaſant proſpect towards the ſea, with fine gardens, well ſtored with all ſorts of *Indian* fruits: they abound in fiſh, for they live upon husbandry and fiſhing. The ſchool is frequented by a thouſand children, who are inſtructed by two maſters and an uſher, and the church by betwixt two and three thouſand ſouls. *Baldæus.*

The church *Cathay* is an hour from *Chavagatzery*, through ſandy and difficult ways, but full of ponds ſtored with wild ducks; beſides which they abound in ſnipes, herns, *Indian* ravens, and all ſorts *The church Cathay.*

of ſmall birds. The church and houſe are only of clay, and covered with leaves, like that of *Navacouli*. The ſchool has five hundred and fifty children, and the church eleven or twelve hundred auditors.

The church Waranni. Betwixt *Cathay* and the church *Waranni* are ſandy and difficult ways. The church ſtands in the midſt of a ſmall wood of areek, coco, palm, banano's, mango's, cajou, and guiavo-trees. This place affords, beſides the ordinary melons, the moſt delicious water-melons in the *Indies*. The church is but ſlenderly built, and incloſed with a wall of earth, as is likewiſe the houſe; yet has it divers ſpacious apartments, and a handſome entrance. The ſchool has about eight hundred children, and the church two thouſand five hundred auditors.

HAP. XLVI.

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Kopay
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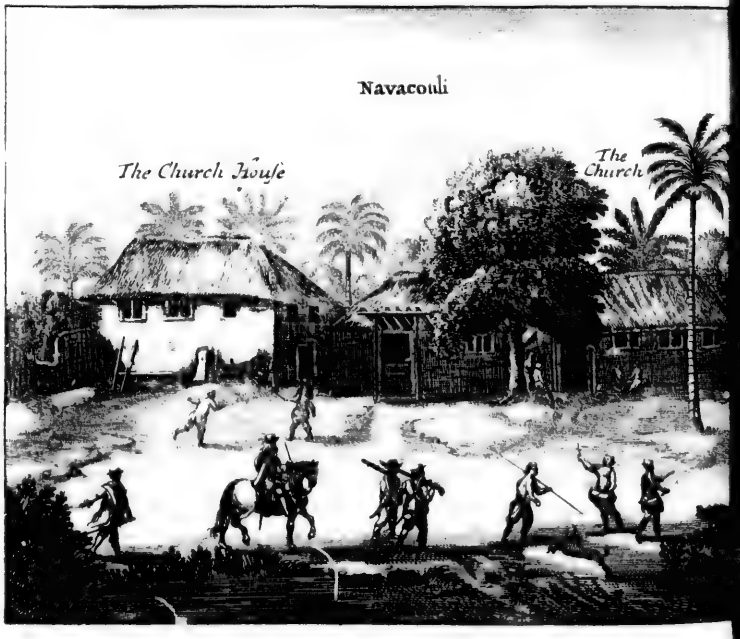
Navaconli
The Church House
The Church

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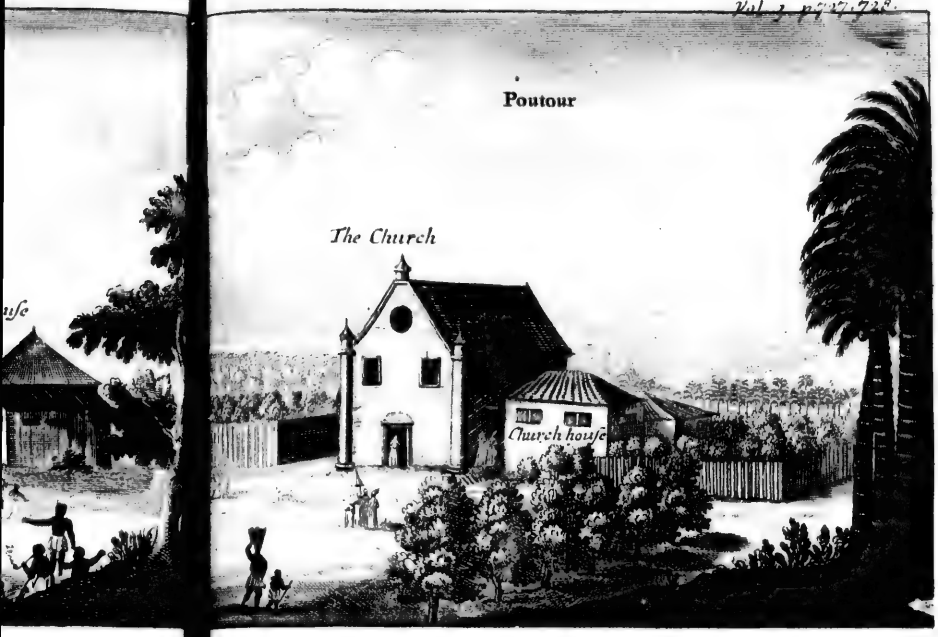
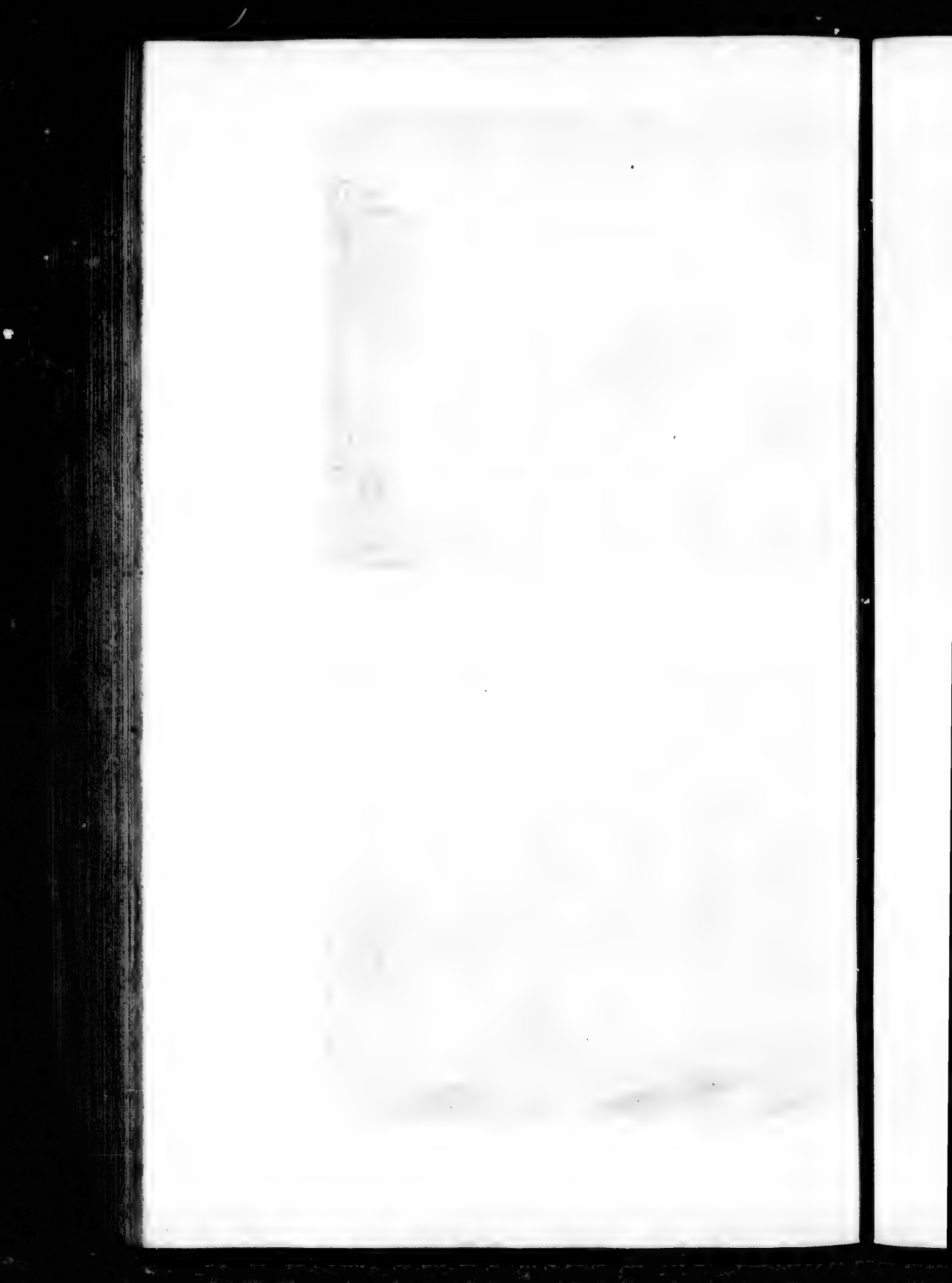
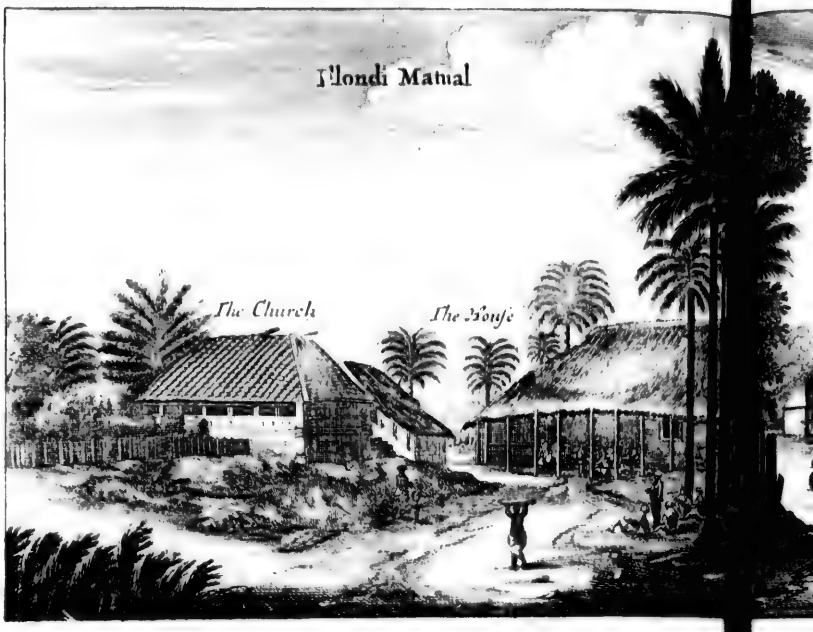


Chavagatzeri

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The Church
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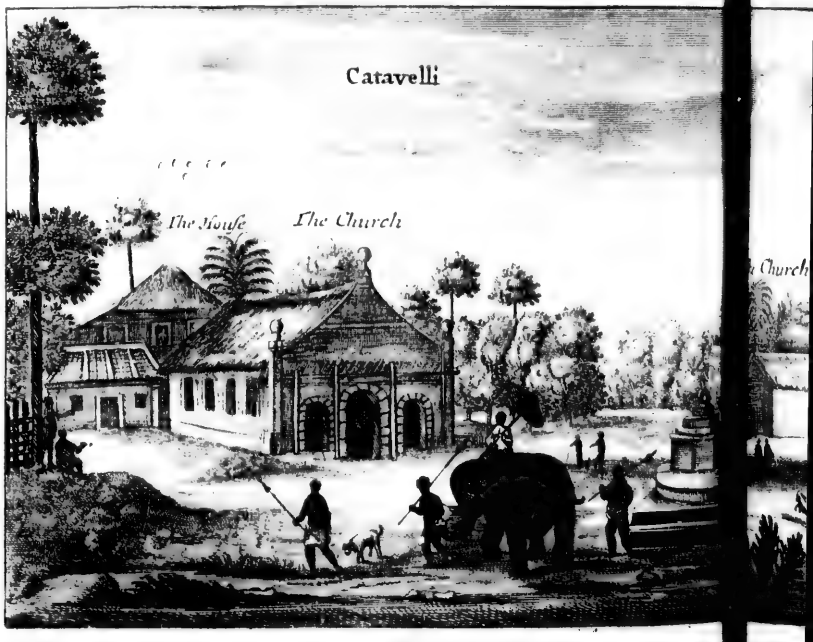
Catavelli
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Paretiture
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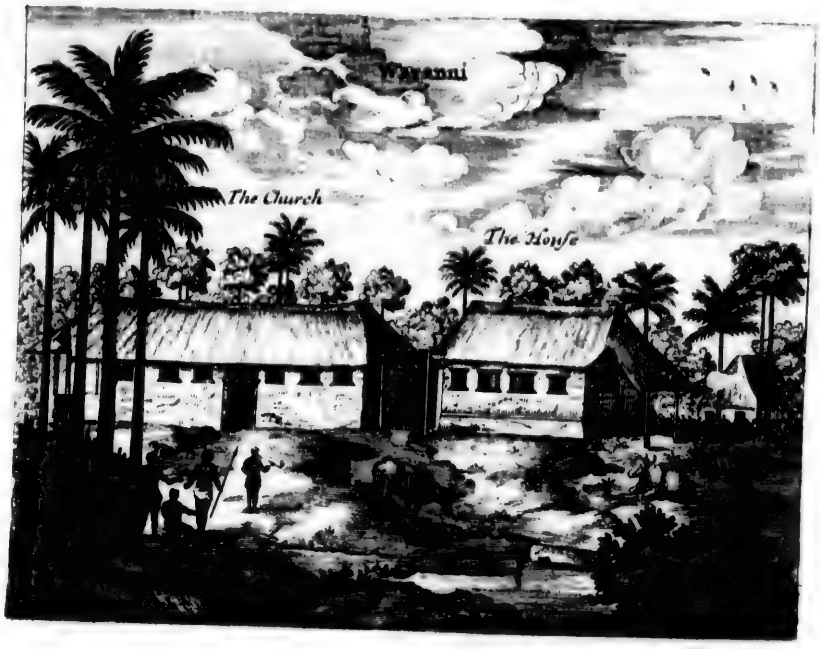

Baldæus. The laſt church of *Tenmarache* is that of *Illondi Matual*, unto which belongs the village of *Nagar Kojel*, famous for a large pagode that ſtood there formerly. The church is only of clay; but the adjacent houſe of ſtone, unto which you aſcend by ſteps: it has three large apartments, a neat entrance, and a fair proſpect. Hereabouts are great numbers of peacocks; and ſometimes they ſee ſome elephants in this tract of land. The company alſo maintains here ſome tame elepnants, as in divers other places, they being ſeparated at ſome diſtance for the better conveniency of their fodder. Unto this ſchool belong about ſix hundred and fifty children, and to the church eleven or twelve hundred auditors.

The church Illondi Matual.

The former Waddemarache. The third province is called *Waddemarache*, having only three churches. It affords ſuch plenty of paſture, of cows, ſheep, goats, fowl, pigeons, and partriges, that you may buy a ſheep for eight pence or ten pence, ſixty eggs for three pence, and four good pullets for a fanam, or five pence.

The church Catavelli. The firſt church is called *Catavelli:* the church and adjacent houſe are both of brick, the laſt having a ſummer-houſe on the top of it, from whence you have a delightful proſpect into the plain. The ſchool has ſix hundred children, and the church ten or twelve hundred auditors.

Baldæus.

The ſecond church is *Ureputti*; the village is inhabited by a ſet of vagabonds and thieves, of the family of the *Nalloas*, not much inclined to religion. The ſchool is frequented by ſix hundred and ninety children, and the church by eight or nine hundred auditors, leſs or more. The children are taught here to make their letters in the ſand.

The church Paretiture. The church *Paretiture* is the fineſt and largeſt of this province, called by the *Portugueſe Punta das Pedras*, or the *Rocky Point*. *Paretiture*, ſignifies in the *Malabar* tongue, as much as *Cotton's Harbour*, from the great quantity of cotton that grows thereabouts on ſmall trees. Not long ago, whilſt we were engaged in war with the *Engliſh*, a fort was ordered to be erected here. During the war with *Portugal* the *Dutch* carried off from hence one of their prieſts, and plundered *Manaar* at the ſame time. Hereabouts alſo happened a ſmart engagement betwixt the *Portugueſe* and us, wherein we were hard put to it, and

A ſmart ſkirmiſh betwixt the Portugueſe and Dutch in this place.

Baldæus. and toſt, among others, captain *John Hooghſaten*. During the ſiege of *Jafnapatnam*, the *Portugueſe* expected the landing of their ſuccours in this place.

A good road. The road is ſo good here, that ſhips may ride ſafe at anchor for ſeven or eight months; but they muſt take care to depart before the northern *Mouſſon*, which renders this ſhore very dangerous: ſo ſoon as any ſhips are diſcovered at ſea, a flag is put out on a long pole for their direction. The church was much decay'd, but has been repaired of late. Juſt before the church ſtands a tall tamerind tree, which affording a very agreeable ſhadow in the heat of the day, the people are often inſtructed by the miniſter, to the number of three thouſand. The ſchool has about one thouſand children. *Baldæus.*

Great numbers of chriſtians at Paruture.

A large Tamarind tree under the ſhade whereof they frequently hear Sermons.

The laſt and furthermoſt province is called *Patchiarapalle*, which has four churches, and as many ſchools. This province is very ſandy and unwholeſome, wants good water, and is much infeſted by the elephants, by reaſon of the vaſt quantity of wild palm trees that grow here, and afford food to the poorer ſort of inhabitants, though the elephants throw down ſome hundreds every year, being very greedy after the fruit when it comes to maturity. At a certain ſeaſon of the year the children are ſeized here with a certain ſwelling in the belly and groin, which ſweeps away a good number of them. They are alſo afflicted with certain fevers, (like thoſe of *Manaar*,) which regulate their fits according to the moon, and kill in a little time. The itch and ſmall-pox, are alſo very common here: The inhabitants being very poor, and feeding moſt generally upon unwholeſome diet, ſuch as dried fiſh, pounates, kelenges, and a little rice. As this province borders upon *Raja Singa*'s country, ſo they are ſubject to the incurſions of the *Cingaleſe*, which is the reaſon that the houſe belonging to the church of *Poelepolay* (the firſt in this province) is ſurrounded with a high wall, with port-holes in the nature of a redoubt. The ſchool has about three hundred children, and the church ſix hundred auditors. Here are certain women who have a way to play upon earthen veſſels, or mugs, (called *Callangs*,) by blowing into them, as into a trumpet.

The province of Patchiarapalle unwholeſome.

The church Poelepolay.

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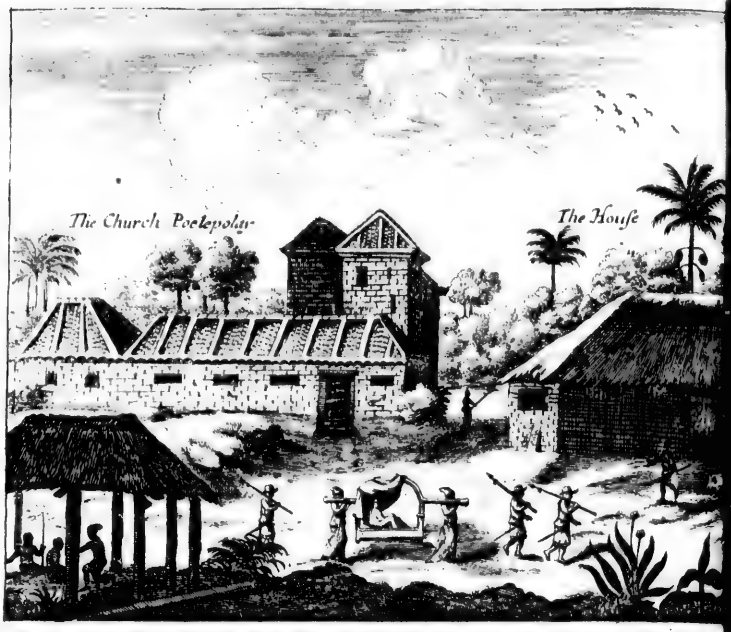
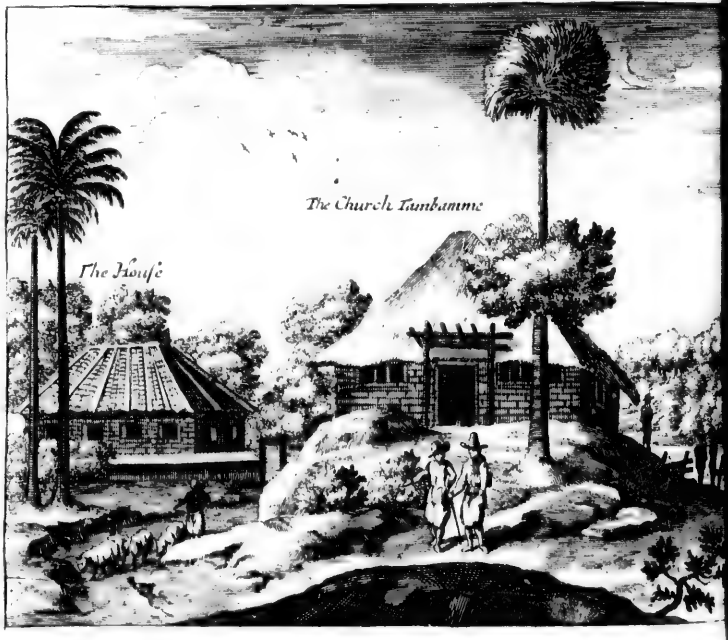

The Church Poelepolay
The House


The Church Tambamme
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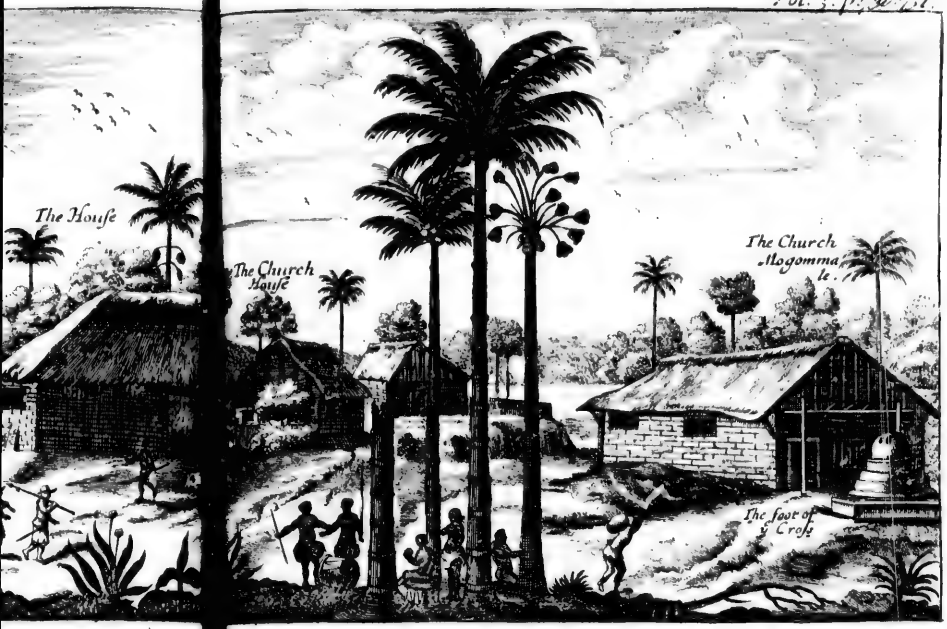
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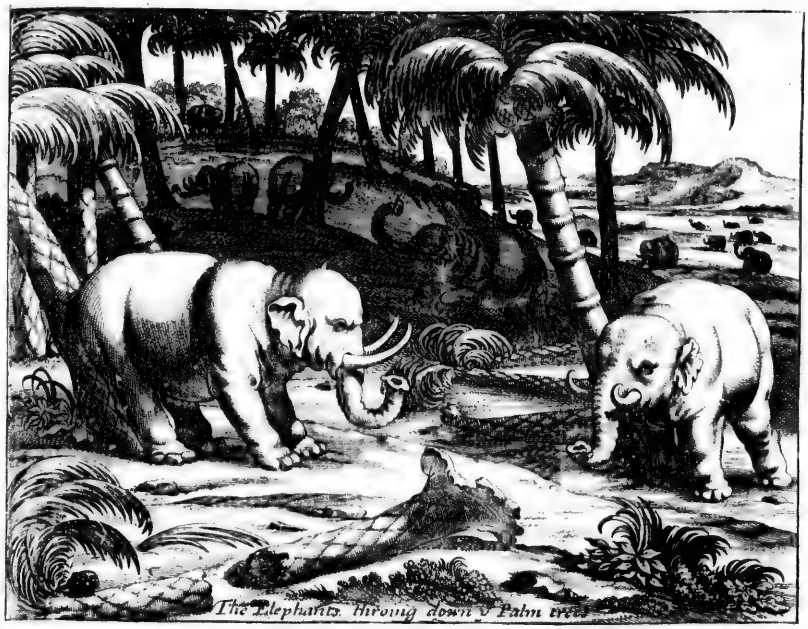


The Elephants throwing down y Palm trees

Baldæus. This province affords a kind of wood, called *Jager's-Wood*, (or *Hunter's-Wood*,) which for its goodneſs is tranſported to the coaſt of *Coromandel*.

The church Mogommaic. Two good hours from *Poelepolay* ſtands the church of *Mogommale*, in a wood, with an adjacent houſe, both well built; the ſchool has about four hundred and fifty children, and the church nine hundred auditors.

The church Tambamme. The church *Tambamme* is the largeſt and beſt ſeated in the whole province. The ſchool has five hundred children, and the church nine hundred auditors.

The church Mulipatto. *Mulipatto* is the laſt church, about a day's journey from *Jafnapatnam*, near the head of the river, called *Paſſo Seco*, or the *Dry Paſſage*, where we have a *Palenka* guarded with ſome ſoldiers. The church-houſe is provided with port-holes for its defence; but the church is mean and ſmall. The ſchool has no more than two hundred and fifteen children, and the church ſcarce three hundred and fifty auditors.

Thus far of *Jafnapatnam*, and its provinces, churches, and ſchools: we will now paſs over into the adjacent iſles, which are ſix in number.

The firſt of theſe iſles is *Ourature*, which has three churches, *viz. Aleputti*, *Welane*, and *St. John*, or *Ourature*; all which have together about eight hundred ſchool-boys, and two thouſand ſix hundred auditors. This iſle has been ſubject to great floods both before and in the time of the *Portugueſe*, to ſuch a degree, that the people were forced to ſave themſelves on the tops of the trees. Of this we ſaw an inſtance in the year 1658. when a moſt furious tempeſt, accompanied by a hurricane, raiſed the waters beyond the ſhore to ſuch a height, that it broke into the water-gate of the caſtle, throwing down every thing that ſtood in the way; the tiles were all blown from the houſes, the trees tore up by the roots, and unſpeakable damage done, both to men and cattle. After the fury of the tempeſt was ſomewhat allayed, ſeveral fiſhes were taken in the church-porch, which had been carried along with the water over the cortin. This iſle has plenty of fiſh and ſtags: it produces alſo a certain ſmall root, called *Saye*, uſed by the dyers to dye red cloths. They make alſo very good butter here, and have ſtore of larks, and ſome ſea-gulls.

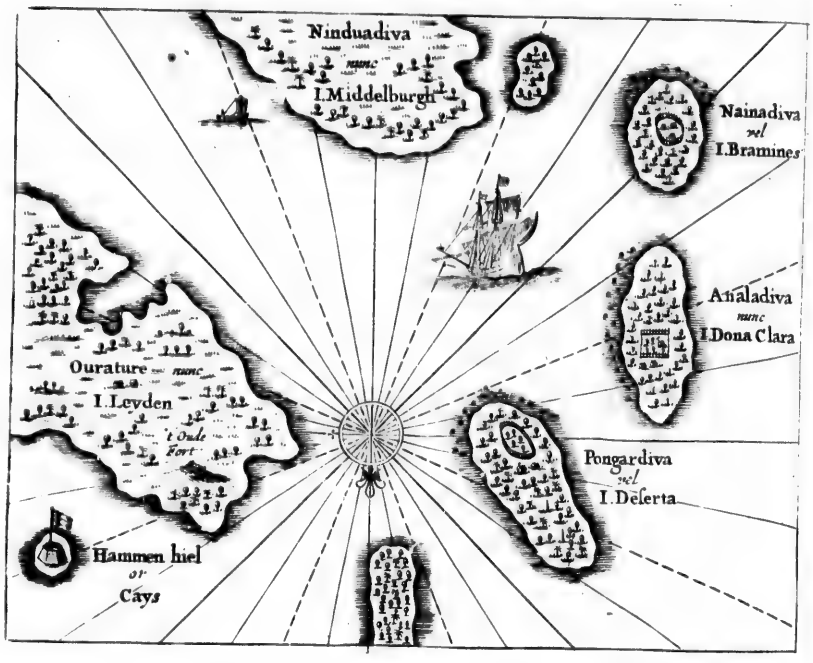
Baldæus. *Ourature the firſt iſle of Jafnapatnam.*

An inſtance of a flood.

The products of this iſle.

The

Baldæus. The iſle of *Ourature* and *Caradiva* are ſeparated by the river; in the midſt where-
The iſle of Caradiva. of lies the fort *Cays*, (or *Ham's-Heel*,) of which we have ſpoken before. From this iſle the elephants are embarked by means of a bridge, and tranſported to *Coromandel* and *Bengale*. This iſle is ſuppoſed to produce the beſt *Saye* in the *Indies*. It has a well-built church and houſe be-
Baldæus. longing to it of ſtone: the church was finiſhed in my time, as was that of *Ourature*, which was ſet on fire by the *Portugueſe*. The ſchool is frequented by four hundred and ninety children, and the church by ten or eleven hundred perſons.



The Deſert Iſland. Somewhat further into the ſea to the right, as you ſail to the iſle *Pongardiva*, lies a little iſland called *Ilha Deſerta*, i. e. the *Deſert Iſland*, by the *Portugueſe*. This iſle, as well as that of *Carativa*, abounds in ſerpents, and furniſhes our ſhips with fuel.

Pongardiva. *Pongardiva* is a large iſle; but the ground being rocky, produces but little for the ſuſtenance of mankind, except ſtags, hares, and peacocks, in great quantities; they abound alſo in fiſh, and eſpecially in large oiſters, which are better to ſtew than to be eaten raw. The men are generally much taller here than in any other part of the *Indies*. The ſchool has two hundred children, and the church eight hundred auditors.

Analativa, or D. Clara. The iſle *Analativa* is ſmall, but produces vaſt plenty of oiſters. The inhabitants of both ſexes amount to about eight hundred, and two hundred children. It has a little church and convenient houſe near it. It was formerly called *Donna Clara*, from a certain lady that lived there, and was miſtreſs of it in the time of the *Portugueſe*. They ſtill ſhew there a chair wherein ſhe uſed to ſit, which is big enough to hold conveniently two perſons at once.

Nainativa. The iſland *Nainativa* has got its name from the great number of *Jackals* that are found there; of which more anon. It is very ſmall, and inhabited by *Brahmans* turned chriſtians, who lead very ſober lives. The ſchool has ſeventy children, and the church three hundred auditors. The church is very ſmall, yet has an adjacent houſe fit to ledge ſtrangers in.

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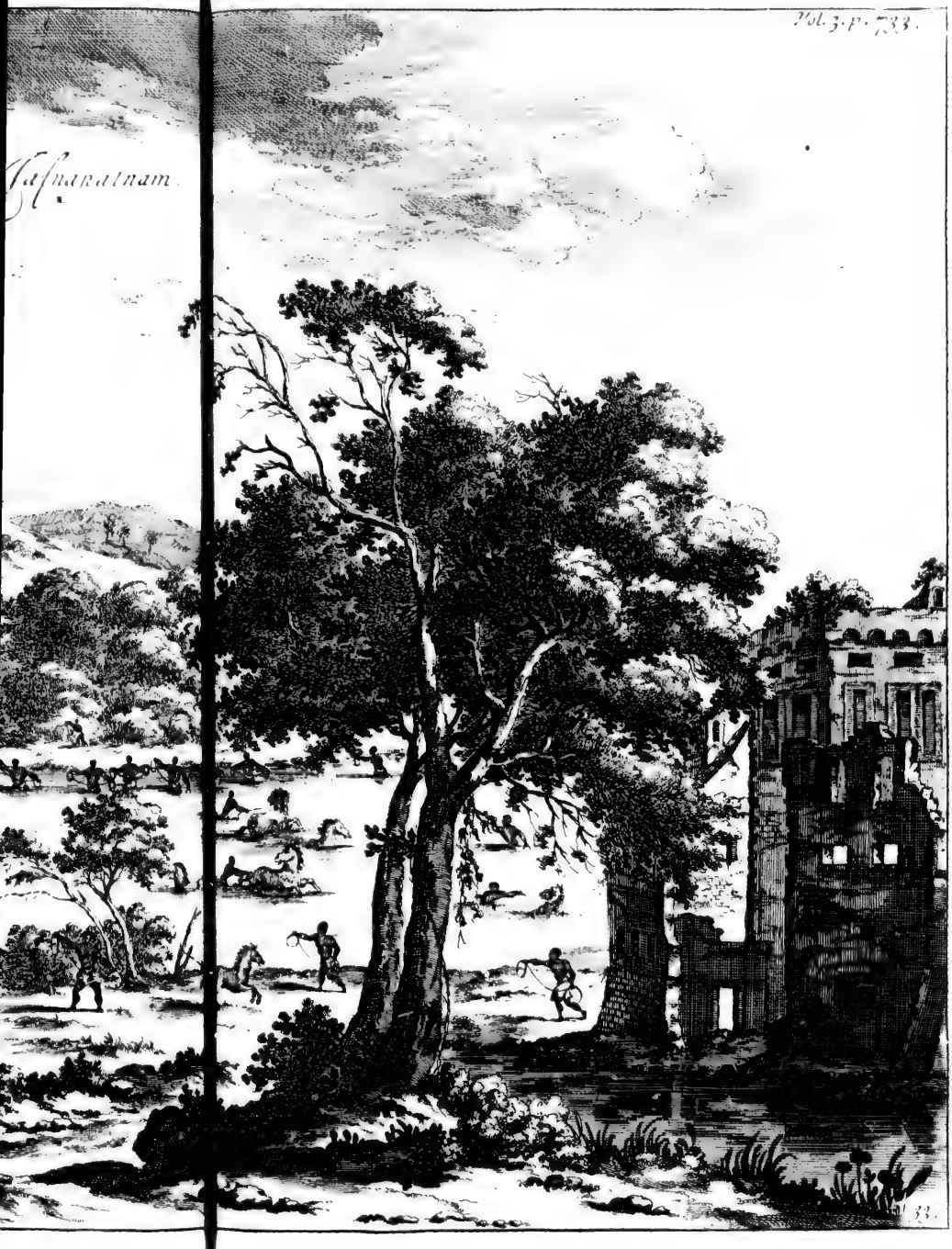
Nindundiva

The Catching of Horses in Jafnapatnam

Vol. 3. p. 733.

Jafnapatnam.



Baldæus. *Nindundiva*, or the *Long Iſle*, from its length, which is about ſix leagues, is called *Ilha das Vacas*, i. e. the *Cow Iſland*, by the *Portugueſe*, becauſe abundance of cattle are tranſported thither from *Tonday*, which makes cattle ſo cheap there, that you may buy a good cow for four *Dutch* ſhillings, (or half a rixdollar;) but their oxen and cows are not near ſo big as thoſe on the continent of *Jafnapatnam*. Oftentimes a mortality happens among the cattle, becauſe the ground being hot and dry, produces divers venomous herbs, which they feed upon. The inhabitants are very poor, and live upon miſerable diet: I remember that being once eight days in this iſle, I and my company could ſcarce get proviſions for our ſuſtenance. The iſle is of difficult acceſs, becauſe the ſhore is rocky, and has no bays, but only a few narrow creeks, where there is no coming in except in very calm weather; otherwiſe the ſea beats with ſuch violence againſt the rocks, that there is no coming near them, though there be ſometimes five or ſix fathom water. For which reaſon there is no coming at it except in the calm ſeaſons, which happen twice a year at the change of the *Mouſſons:* For the ſouth-wind forces you upon the rocks, and with the north-wind the ſhore is too ſhallow to approach it. The *Portugueſe* had formerly a fort here; the ruins whereof are to be ſeen to this day. They alſo brought ſome horſes into this iſle; which multiplying, in time produced a certain kind of horſes that are very ſmall, but hardy, and very fit to travel on ſtony and rocky grounds: They live in the wilderneſs, and are taken by forcing them unto the bank of a river or pond, where they catch them in ſnares or ropes. This iſle produces alſo a certain kind of goats, out of which they take bezoar-ſtones; but they are none of the beſt. It has about nine hundred inhabitants, and one hundred and ſeventy children.

Nindundiva, or Ilha das Vacas.

Great mortality among them.

A remarkable ſpring. It is very remarkable that there is no freſh water in all this iſle, except what is found in one place among the rocks, being above half a mile in circuit. If we may credit the inhabitants, theſe rocks were ſplit by a thunderbolt, which occaſioned theſe ſprings, ſome whereof have not above half a foot, others a foot deep water: the entire rocks ariſing betwixt theſe ſprings, have often caſt men and beaſts down the precipices.

There are ſome other iſlands near this ſhore; but being very ſmall and not inhabited, (as the *Paletiva*, and the two brothers, ſince called *Hoorn* and *Enchuyſen*,) are not worth our particular obſervation.

In the year 1663. I and my collegue, Mr. *John à Breyl*, ſent the following account to Mr. *Maatzuyker*, general of the *Indies* for our company, *viz.* that in *Jafnapatnam* were at that time fifteen thouſand and twelve children under the tuition of the reſpective ſchool-maſters there, being all natives, not reckoning thoſe of *Manaar* and the country of the *Wannias*, where, in my viſitation 1665. in *March* and *April*, I found in thoſe of *Poenery*, *Polveraicatti*, to *Peringale*, *Mantotte*, *Natatam*, and *Aripou*, all churches belonging to the *Wannias*, and in the churches of *Manaar*, viz. *Totavalli*, *Karſel*, *Irkelampatti*, *Tellemanaar*, *Peixale*, the fiſhers and city churches, one thouſand three hundred and fifteen children of the natives. Such as were come to age of maturity amounted in the *Wannias* to four thouſand five hundred and thirty three; and in the iſle of *Manaar*, to three thouſand five hundred and twenty, not including two hundred and fourteen ſlaves lately converted, who had already learned certain forms of prayers. According to the church-regiſters, (called here *Patolas*,) in the year one thouſand ſix hundred ſixty three, there were of chriſtian men and women in the kingdom of *Jafnapatnam* ſixty-two thouſand five hundred and fifty eight, not including the ſlaves, whereof there were two thouſand five hundred and eighty ſeven: the numb r of the baptized children from 1658, till 1661, *viz.*. in three years and a half, in the church of *Jafnapatnam*, amounted to five thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety nine children, and thirty ſix that were come to age of maturity. During that time were married two thouſand one hundred and fifty eight couples, not reckoning thoſe baptized and married in the *Low-Dutch* and *Portugueſe* churches. At the time of my departure the number of the children in the ſchools was riſen to eighteen thouſand, and that of the baptized children in 1663, to twelve thouſand three hundred eighty ſeven. From the year 1651, till 1661. the whole burden of viſiting all the before-mentioned churches lay upon my ſhoulders, till Mr. *Breyl* was joined with me; who dying in his return to *Holland* (his corps being interred at the *Cape of Good-Hope*) 1665. Mr. *Bartholomew Heyne* ſucceeded in his place.

Baldæus.

Chriſtians in the Wannias and Manaar.

Number of chriſtians in Jafnapatnam.

In the churches of *Jafnapatnam* the ten commandments, written in large *Malabar* characters, are hung up on a table, on both ſides whereof are the *Our Father*, and the *Creed*. Every ſunday the people come to church about ten a clock, and after they have ſung a pſalm, the ſchool-maſter reads a ſermon in the *Malabar* lan-

How the religious worſhip is performed.

Baldæus. guage; for which purpoſe a certain number of ſermons are allotted to each church, to be read in the abſence of the miniſter. This done they conclude with ſinging another pſalm.

But the greateſt trouble that belongs to a miniſter in theſe parts, is the inſtruction to be given both to young and old by way of mouth, which is beſt done by way of queſtion and anſwer, which makes the deepeſt impreſſion into the minds of theſe tender chriſtians. Beſides, as the *Malabar* tongue is ſo difficult to attain to, that none of our miniſters dare pretend to the perfection of it; ſo on the other hand, they may learn without much trouble, as much as is requiſite for the inſtructing them in the main points of our religion. Add to this, that our miniſters undergo much more fatigue in their ſtations than the *Romiſh* eccleſiaſticks, who preach very ſeldom, and each church having its peculiar attendant, they are not obliged to travel from place to place as we do. Beſides that, they bring the *Portugueſe* language commonly along with them, which ours are forced to learn upon the ſpot, not without great difficulty; not to mention ſeveral other diſadvantages on our ſide, ſufficient to convince thoſe who extol the merits of the *Romiſh* clergy upon that ſcore, and vilify ours: theſe I would have conſider, that at this time there are no more than two or three miniſters belonging to all theſe churches, which had no leſs than forty in the time of the *Portugueſe*; and we have three ſermons every ſunday, and one in the week; beſides the conſtant viſitations of the churches in the country.

The Dutch miniſters in the Indies undergo more difficulties than the Romaniſts.

Before my departure, I took care to have the next following pieces tranſlated (the ſame being reviſed by me before) out of the *Portugueſe* into the *Malabar*, by *Francis de Fonſeca*, a member of the reformed churches.

" The goſpel of *St. Matthew:* the leſſer " catechiſm: inſtructions for communi- " cants: queſtions and anſwers out of " the new teſtament: ſhort queſtions and an- " ſwers concerning the chief matters contain- " ed in the old teſtament. [This was not quite perfected at the time of my departure.] " Conſolations for the ſick: for- " mulary of baptiſm, both for children " and others: morning and evening prayers; " as alſo devotions to be uſed both before " and after ſermons, and before and after " meals: prayers for rain and a fruitful " ſeaſon: thankſgivings on account of " victories obtained againſt our enemies: " prayers to be uſed in the army before an " engagement: prayers for criminals be- " fore execution: formulary and prayers " of marriage: ſome pſalms of *David* " ſet in metre after the *Malabar* faſhion: " ſome ſermons, *viz.* upon the nativity " of chriſt, upon his paſſion, and death, " reſurrection and aſcenſion; upon the " ſending of the holy ghoſt, the circum- " ciſion of our ſaviour, the hiſtory of " the wiſe men of the eaſt, the reſurrecti- " on and day of laſt judgment; upon " charity due from one chriſtian to ano- " ther, out of *Luke* x. *Who is our neigh- " bour?* the rejoycing of the angels in " heaven for the converſion of a ſinner; " upon the queſtion of the phariſees, " *Matthew* xx. 38. and ſuch like. *Baldæus.*

I had abundance of other ſermons by me in the *Portugueſe* language; but for want of a good interpreter (whom I mentioned before having his hands full with the reſt) the ſame was fain to be deferred till another opportunity; though at the ſame time I never thought it convenient to overcharge theſe people with many books, purſuant to the opinion of Mr. *John Maatzuyker* our general, in his letter ſent to me from *Batavia*, September 18. 1662.

" I could not without an extreme ſa- " tisfaction underſtand the happy con- " dition of the churches in *Jafnapatnam*, " and the effects of your induſtry. God " almighty bleſs your endeavours and zeal " to the honour of his holy name, and " the ſalvation of many thouſand ſouls. " Being in great want of books for the " churches and ſchools of this country, it " is impoſſible to gratify your deſire, eſpe- " cially ſince many of theſe books are ve- " ry ill managed by ſome people. I hope " you are pretty well provided by this time, " but that your good intentions may not be " diſappointed for want of them. Though " in my opinion reading and writing are " things not ſo abſolutely neceſſary for the " edification of theſe poor wretches, as " that they may be inſtructed in the " fundamentals of religion, which con- " ſiſts in few points. For in caſe we " pretend to propagate chriſtianity by " reading and writing, I am afraid it " will prove both tedious and chargeable " to the company. To promote this " holy work we have ſent three mini- " ſters; whereof two are gone with the " ſhips to *Malabar*, and the third is late- " ly arrived with the yacht the *Achilles:* " they are all three young men, and " not long ago came from *Holland*, and " conſequently moſt likely to do conſi- " derable ſervice for a long time, provi- " ded

Baldæus. " ded they are indued with due zeal, as " I hope they are for the benefit of the " iſle of *Ceylon*, and the places thereunto " belonging. We have alſo ſent a miniſ- " ter to *Negapatnam*. So recommending " you to the protection of Almighty God, " I reſt, *Baldæus.*

Your affectionate Friend,

From the Caſtle of *Batavia*, 18. *Sept.* 1662. John Maatzuyker.

CHAP. XLVII.

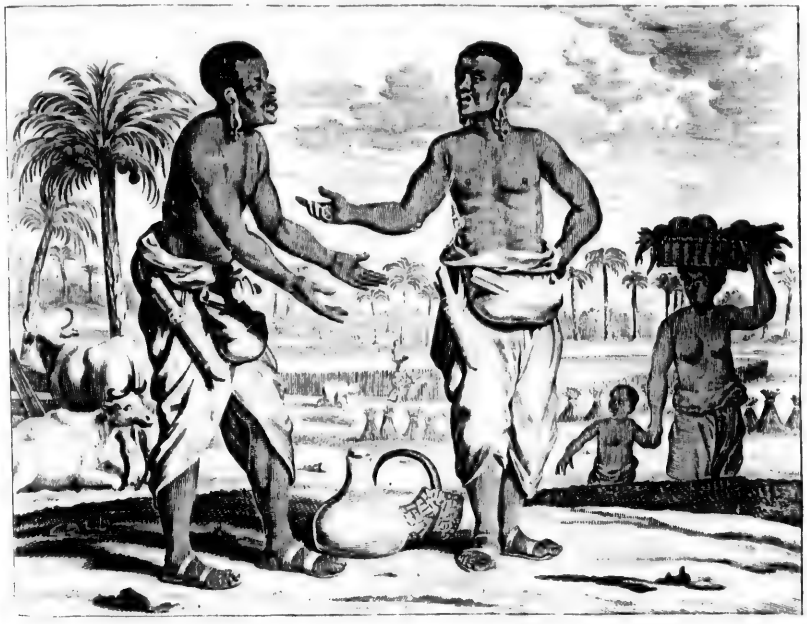
The Nature and Qualifications of the Inhabitants of Jafnapatnam. *The* Bellales; *and their Manner of living. The* Brahmans: *Their Doctrines ſhewn and refuted.*

Qualifications of the inhabitants of Jafnapatnam.

IT is time to ſay ſomething of the inhabitants of *Jafnapatnam*; which done, we will return to *Batecalo*, and ſo leaving the iſle, we will turn ourſelves another way.

In *Ceylon* are divers clans, or families, as well as on the coaſt of *Coromandel*. The generation of the *Bellales* is the chiefeſt here, ſince chriſtianity has been introduced, the *Brahmans* challenging the firſt rank among the pagans.

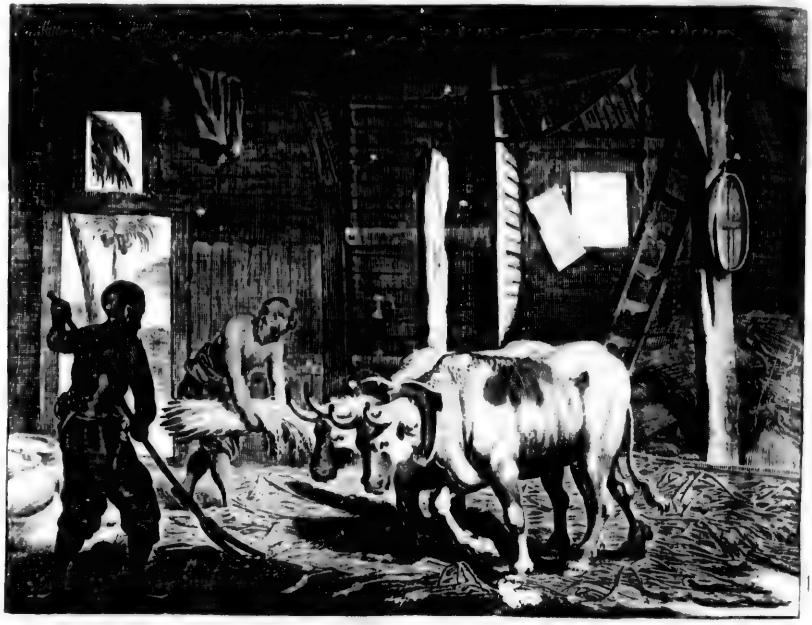
The *Bellales* wear a kind of garment from above the navel, turning betwixt the legs like a pair of drawers. They alſo *The habits of the Bellales.*



make uſe of *Scripous* (or ſoles) tied to the bottom of the feet with leather ſtraps, the upper part of the feet being bare to prevent their ſweating. Upon the belly they have a kind of a bag, (called *Maddi*,) being part of their garment rolled together, wherein they keep their *Areek* and *Betel*, and ſome paper to make uſe of upon occaſion. On the right ſide they carry a kind of a knife in a ſheath, and an iron pen pointed with ſilver, as is likewiſe the ſheath, in which they keep alſo a piece of ſteel

Baldæus. ſteel to ſharpen their knife upon. They make holes in their ears from their infancy; which being adorned with golden pendants, draw them down to their ſhoulders.

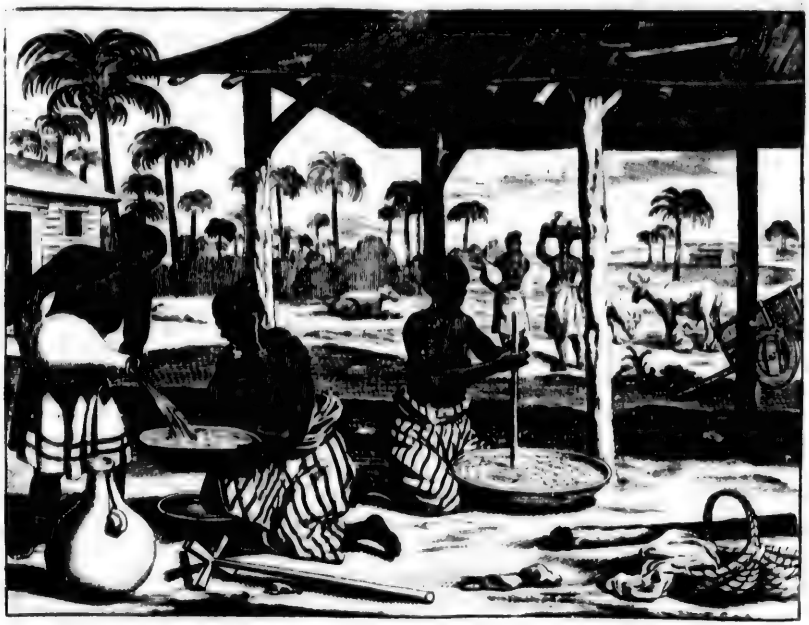
Are rich in cattle. They live upon husbandry, and are rich in cattle, ſuch as cows, oxen for the plow, ſheep, goats, and bufflers. Their habitations are both convenient and neat, with pleaſant gardens, well planted with *Betel*, and furniſhed with excellent ſprings, which furniſh them (during the dry ſummer-ſeaſon) with water for the watering of the gardens. Their harveſt is in *January* and *February*; their winter or rainy ſeaſon being in *November* and *December*. In ſome places, *viz.* in the low marſhy grounds, they have harveſt twice a year: they threſh their corn (after the manner of the *Iſraelites*) with oxen not muffled: theſe tread the ſeed out of the ears. *Their manner of threſhing the corn.* *Baldæus.*



Great rains. During the rainy ſeaſon it rains with ſuch violence, that the fields are all overflown; and I remember, that in my time a conſiderable part of the *Cortin* of the caſtle was waſhed away by the rains. This continues for two months; and it happens oftentimes, that for eight months after it rains not above three times, which is the reaſon that they are obliged even to water the coco-trees till they are ſix years old. If you dig about two foot deep you meet *The ground rocky.* with rocky ground; ſo that if you will have a ſpring, you muſt cut them out of the rocks with vaſt charge.

Their way of making butter. The before-mentioned *Bellales* make likewiſe butter; but not after the ſame manner as we do in *Holland*. They take a kind of a mill made like a ſtar at the bottom: this they roll betwixt both hands (as we do with our chocolate) till the butter comes. Some of our *Dutch* women make alſo good cheeſe; but it is not regarded among the inhabitants; but butter is in great eſteem among them, as well as among the *Moors*, nay, the family of *Commely* uſe butter like drink. Milk turned to curds (called by them *Tayr*) is alſo in great requeſt with them, and uſed like a cooling medicine in fevers, and the ſmall-pox, which are very frequent here.

How they manage their cattle. Their cattle they keep both day and night in the field; though towards night they drive them into a certain incloſure: they are never houſed in the winter, but feed in the grounds where the corn firſt ſprouts forth, and afterwards are fed with hay till harveſt-time. If the cattle happen to break into a neighbour's field, the



Baldæus. owner is obliged to make good the damage. The *Bellales* are generally the richeſt of the country: they do not marry except in their own family, and commonly in the ſpring, as the *Romans* did formerly in *May*, and the *Perſians* in the ſpring. If it happens to be a fruitful year, they are the more inclined to marry: they are very litigious, and will go to law for a trifle, becauſe they are conſtantly envious at one another.

Are litigious.

The Brahmans.

The *Brahmans* living in *Jafnapatnam*, or any other part of the *Indies*, are for the moſt part men of great morality, ſober, clean, induſtrious, civil, obliging, and very moderate both in eating and drinking: they uſe no ſtrong liquors, waſh or bathe twice a day, eat nothing that has had, or may have life, yet are much addicted (like all the reſt of the *Indians*) to pleaſure. Notwithſtanding they are chriſtians, they carry ſtill certain beads, and (as *Rogerius* obſerves, fol. 71.) like thoſe of *Coromandel*, never marry out of their families, but frequently their brothers and ſiſters children; though elſe they are great enemies to incest, but excuſe this near alliance by the great value they put upon their generation, which they deduce from *Bramma*, and ſome learned men from *Abraham* and *Ketura*, whoſe children, according to *Gen.* xxv. 6. *went into the eaſtern country.* *Baldæus.* *From whence deſcended.*

Though they bear the name of chriſtians, and know how to diſcourſe rationally of the ten commandments, and the other points of the chriſtian doctrine, they ſtill retain many of their pagan ſuperſtitions. If you tell them of the chriſtian liberty in victuals and drinks, they reply, That they are not ignorant of it; but as the eſſence of chriſtianity does not conſiſt in eating and drinking, ſo they did not think themſelves obliged to feed upon ſuch things as are contrary to their nature and education, being from their infancy uſed to much tenderer food, which agrees beſt with their conſtitution, and makes them generally live to a great age. *Retain ſome pagan ſuperſtition.* *Their reaſons for it.*

They are not ignorant in the courſe of the ſtars, in calculating the eclipſes of the ſun and moon; know the ſeven ſtars, which they call *Arramien*, i. e. *Six-Fiſhes*, becauſe, ſay they, we ſee no more than ſix. They underſtand alſo the names of the planets, and chiefeſt of the fixed ſtars; but this muſt be underſtood from the moſt learned among them.

Baldæus. Though we ſhall treat in particular hereafter of the errors of the pagans, yet can I not paſs by here in ſilence, what I have obſerved my ſelf concerning their opinion of *the creation of the world, its age*, and *tranſmigration of the ſoul*. In the year 1665. after I had catechized the people after ſermon in the church of *Paretiture*, happening to diſcourſe concerning the *creation* and *age* of the world, ſome of the *Indians* affirmed, That the world had ſtood four thouſand eight hundred and ſixty four years ſince their *Kaligam*, or fourth period: for they have four periods; the firſt called *Creitagam*, the ſecond *Treitagam*, the third *Dwaparugam*, and the fourth *Kaligam*. And whereas the *Indians* in *Coromandel* did, in the year 1639. compute no more than four thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty nine years ſince the creation of the world, I told them, That they followed the footſteps of the *Chineſe*, who in their computations made no great account of one hundred years leſs, or more; which made them ſmile. I told them further, That there was no certain computation from the beginning of the world, except what was founded upon the holy ſcripture; and that in the year 1665. (according to the *Jewiſh* computation,) the world had ſtood five thouſand four hundred and twenty five years. Concerning the origin of the ſoul, I found them of the ſame opinion with the great *Rabbi*, viz. *That all ſouls were created in the beginning, and kept till they were to be communicated to certain bodies.* Unto which they have added the *Pythagorean* tradition of the *tranſmigration of the ſoul*.

Their belief concerning the beginning of the world.

Their belief concerning the beginning of the ſoul.

I remember that at a certain time, as I was walking with ſome of them, and endeavouring to refute this opinion, they objected that it was impoſſible for a child to be born blind, dumb, or lame, without having received a ſoul that had been guilty of very groſs ſins. For, ſaid they, ſince the child has not committed any ſins, and God does not puniſh any body without ſinning, this muſt be attributed to the ſins committed by the ſoul whilſt yet in another body, and now entered into the child. Unto which I reply'd in our Saviour's words, out of *John* ix. 1. when his diſciples asked him concerning the blind man from his birth, *Neither had this man ſinned, nor his parents, but that the works of God ſhould be manifeſt in him.* Whence it ſeems that the *Jews* were ſomewhat infected with this tradition, mention whereof is alſo made by *Joſeph. Antiq. l.* 18. *c.* 11. and *De Bello Judaico, l.* 2. *c.* 8. The words of *Herod, Mat.* xiv. 2. when he ſays concerning Chriſt, *This is* John *the Baptiſt, he is riſen from the dead*, intimate the ſame; as likewiſe what the *Jews* ſaid concerning Chriſt, *Mat.* xvi. 13, 14. ſome that he was *John the Baptiſt*, ſome *Elias*, and others *Jeremiah*. Hence *Elias*, (commonly called *Levita*,) in his book *Tiſbi*, and the other cabaliſts of the *Jews*, were of opinion, that the ſouls paſs through three diſtinct bodies, which they pretend to evince from the words of *Job* xxxiii. 29. *Lo! all things worketh God twice or thrice through one man.* Thus the *Jews* affirm that the ſoul of *Adam* was tranſlated into the body of *David*, and afterwards into that of the *Meſſiah*: which error having been introduced into *Paleſtine* by *Antiochus*'s philoſophers, the *Jewiſh* doctors did not ſtick to maintain that *the ſouls of ſinful men did tranſmigrate into the bodies of beaſts, according to the degrees or heinouſneſs of their crimes.* Whereas it is manifeſt, that a rational ſoul cannot fix its habitation but in the body inſtructed with proper organs, whereby it exerts its operations; and the ſcripture tells us expreſly, that the *ſoul and ſpirit returns to God, who gave it*; beſides many other arguments I alledged to them upon this head againſt their opinion.

Error among the Jews, concerning the tranſmigration of the ſoul.

Baldæus.

The learned *Voſſius* is of opinion, That this error took its beginning from the true tradition of the reſurrection of the dead, which was ſpread even among the *Druids* in *Gaul*, according to *Cæſar, lib.* vi. with this difference however, That the *Pythagoreans* affirm the ſouls to tranſmigrate even into the bodies of beaſts; whereas the firſt reſtrain it only to the bodies of men, which made them face death with an undaunted courage, according to *Lucan. lib.* 1.

This opinion received among the Druids.

Felices errore ſuo, quos ille timorum
Maximus haud urget letbi metus, inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animæque capaces
Mortis, & ignavum eſt redituræ parcere vitæ.

Appian ſays of the antient *Germans*, among other things, That they deſpiſed death in hopes of another life: and *Thomas Aviot*, an *Engliſhman*, aſſures us, That the ſame had been found in *Virginia*. *Joſeph Acoſta* ſays the ſame of *Peru* and *Mexico*; and the ſame is related of *Guinea*, of the *Chineſe*, the antient *Egyptians* and *Getes*. The *Pythagoreans* ſay of *Æthalides*, That his ſoul, before it entred the body of *Pythagoras*, tranſmigrated into three ſeveral other bodies, firſt into that of *Euphorbus*, the ſon of *Panthus* in the *Trojan* war; afterwards into *Pyrrhus*; next into *Eleus*, and

Baldæus. and then into *Pythagoras*. All the *Indian* pagans are infected with this erroneous opinion, as we ſhall ſee more at large hereafter: but what is more ſurprizing, is, That the *Sadducees* among the *Jews*, who had ſo much veneration for the books of *Moſes*, ſhould deny the *immortality of the ſoul*, when it is ſaid in *Gen.* i. 16 *That the ſoul of man was not created* like material ſubſtances, but was part of the *Spirit of God*. The ſame ſay all the *Gentiles*, as *Hermes*, *Zoroaſter*, *Chalcidius* and *Epicharmis*. *Cicero in Somnio Scip.* ſays, *There is a near relation betwixt God and our ſouls.* *Seneca* *Baldæus.* in his letter to *Lucilius*, tells him, That *the ſouls are in heaven*; and ſpeaking of the deceaſed ſon of *Marcia*, he ſays, *in meliori ſtatu eſt, he is in a better ſtate.* The *Turks*, and *Perſians*, and *Mahomet*, in his *Alcoran*, acknowledge the *immortality of the Soul*; which put theſe chriſtians to the bluſh, who affirm, That *the ſouls of the wicked are annihilated*; or what others aſſert, *That the ſouls reſt in the matter till the day of judgment.*

CHAP. XLVIII.

Marriages of the Ballales *and* Brahmans. *Divers Circumſtances obſerved upon that Account. Families, Degrees, and Handicraftſmen of* Jafnapatnam. *The Taking and Deſcription of* Trinquenemale.

IN the preceding chapter we told you concerning the marriages of the *Ballales*, and how the *Brahmans* often marry their brothers and ſiſters children. Among ſome of the chriſtians in *Ceylon* obtains a certain cuſtom to this day, to tie the *Tali* or bracelet of the bride about the bridegroom's neck, a thing introduced by the pagans, and imitated by the chriſtians: for, as *Rogerius* obſerves, the inhabitants of the coaſt of *Coromandel* look upon it as a ceremony ſo neceſſary towards the confirmation of the marriage, that whenever the husband dies, the *Tali* he wore about his neck on his marriage-day is to be burnt with him.

Marriage cuſtoms.

As maidens without a good portion are a very bad commodity here, hence it is that frequent collections are made to help the poorer ſort to husbands. They are of opinion, that a ſingle man is but half a man, nay, that thoſe who neglect or loſe any time in propagating their own kind, are not far different from a murderer and a deſtroyer of human kind, (according to the opinion of *Plato*, which was likewiſe encouraged among the *Athenians* and *Romans*;) which is the reaſon they often marry their daughters at ten and eleven years of age, and nothing is more frequent than to ſee them bring forth children at thirteen or fourteen.

Weddings.

After they have been three times proclaimed from the pulpit, the marriage ceremony is performed by the miniſter, the houſe where the wedding is kept being generally adorned with a kind of triumphal arch raiſed without doors, made of fig-tree branches, flowers, pomegranates, and ſuch like. The richer ſort ſeldom fail to give a good entertainment to their friends, of veniſon, hares, partridges, fiſh, fruits, preſerves, &c. and the evening is ſpent in dancing, ſinging, and divers other diverſions. However, ſtrong liquors are never made uſe of on ſuch occaſions, unleſs the *Hollanders* (who cannot well be merry without them) bring ſome along with them. Theſe marriage diverſions continue ſometimes four or five days ſucceſſively.

I remember, that during my reſidence here, ſometimes children of eight or nine years of age would have engaged in mutual promiſes of marriage in mine and their friends preſence; which I always oppoſed, fearing, not without reaſon, that they might repent their bargain, before they came to a marriageable age. For the reſt they conſtantly obſerve this cuſtom, That the female is younger than the bridegroom, nay, they ſeldom will chuſe a maid, that has already had her monthly times: this cuſtom is ſo ſtrictly obſerved on the coaſt of *Coromandel*, that if a *Brahman*'s daughter remains unmarried till that time, ſhe muſt lay aſide all hopes of it for the future.

They marry very young.

The learned *Selden* ſhews out of *Rabbi Moſes Maimonides*, that the *Jewiſh* High-prieſts were not allowed to marry a maiden, unleſs ſhe was under twelve years of age; and the antient *Romans* commonly married their daughters at ten, eleven, or twelve years of age. It is ſufficiently known what *Moſes* ſays, in relation to the marks of virginity, *Deut.* xii. 17. which to this day is followed by the *Moors* of *Fez* and *Morocco*. If they happen to die without iſſue, the woman's portion returns

The ſame practiſed by the Jews and Romans.

Baldæus. turns to her friends, the reſt to the huſband's. One laudable cuſtom they have, which is, that ſcarce ever children marry here without the conſent of their parents; a cuſtom not only agreeable to the expreſs command of God, expreſſed in divers places of the ſcripture, and the practice of all ages, even among the pagans, but alſo conſonant to the civil conſtitutions, and the decrees of the council of *Lateran*, and other councils, which declare a marriage betwixt *Raptorem* and *Raptam* invalid in itſelf.

Children never marry without the conſent of their parents.

Divers tribes.

The tribe of the Chivias.

The tribe or family of the *Chivias*, uſe formerly to attend the ſervice of the king of *Jafnapatnam*, but now do all ſorts of drudgery, as carrying of water and wood for the *Dutch* inhabitants; they make uſe alſo of them for littermen, ten or twelve of them being ſometimes imployed at a time to carry a good bulky *Hollander*, ten, twenty, nay, thirty leagues in a litter. However, as they are deſcended from courtiers, ſo they are too proud to carry any ordinary perſon, who muſt be contented to be carried by the ordinary *Coelys*, or labourers, who live all over the country; whereas the *Chivias* inhabit in the diſtrict of the church of *Cbundecouli*.

Of the Parruas.

Thoſe of the tribe of the *Parruas* do not live in ſuch great numbers in *Jafnapatnam*, as they do about *Tutecoryn*; they apply themſelves to the ſea, and eſpecially in diving for ſea-horſe teeth and pearls. They generally ſpeak *Portugueſe*, and are an active ſort of people.

Of the Chittiis.

The *Chittiis* live for the moſt part upon the linnen manufacture and traffick, the word *Chitty* ſignifying as much as a merchant: they are a crafty generation. Each of theſe tribes do not marry into any other beſides their own, nay, commonly in the ſame family. Beſides which each handicraftſman educates his ſon to the ſame trade he is of: thus a weaver's ſon follows the weaving trade, as the ſmith's ſon does that of a ſmith.

Of the Carreas.

The tribe of the *Carreas* live upon fiſhing, which they perform with monſtrous large nets: they inhabit near the ſea ſhore of *Jafnapatnam*, and the banks of the *Salt River*. Thoſe of the tribe of the *Mokkuas* are likewiſe fiſhermen.

Of the Nallouas.

The *Nallouas* are generally ſlaves to the *Bellales*, and much blacker than the reſt. Their buſineſs is to gather the liquor that flows out of the coco-trees, called *Suyri*, and *Euwak* by the *Indians*; to dig the ground, tend the cattle, water the trees, and ſuch like drudgeries, as is commonly done alſo by the *Coelys*, or ordinary labourers. They are a naſty generation; you may ſmell them at a good diſtance, not unlike the *Hottentots* on the cape of *Good Hope*. *Baldæus.*

Of the Parreas.

The *Parreas* are the moſt deſpicable of all, their employment being to carry out dung and ſuch like filthy things; they feed upon rats and mice.

Great differences in the degrees of their tribes.

It is obſervable that the tribes of the higher rank, look upon the inferior ones with a great deal of ſcorn, theſe being obliged to ſalute the others in the ſtreets with deep reverence, and other ceremonies, to ſhew their ſubmiſſion. On the other hand, all the men, of what rank or quality ſoever, exerciſe a great authority over their wives, whom they rarely honour ſo far as to eat with them, but commonly dine alone. None of all theſe tribes eat cow's fleſh, which is the reaſon that that no cows are killed but by the *Dutch*, the cow being looked upon among the reſt as a ſacred creature, as it was formerly among the *Egyptians*,* of which more hereafter.

**See* Exod. viii. 26. & Gen. xliii. 32.

Though their tribes are very numerous, yet do they relate to ſome few families, from whence they take their original, like the branches from the ſtem of a tree. The ſame was practiſed among the antient *Egyptians*, who diſtinguiſhed their nation into four head-tribes, *viz.* the *Prieſts*, the *Soldiers*, the *Artiſans*, and *Handicraftſmen*, and the ſheep and cowherds. Juſt as now-a-days ſome of the *European* nations are diſtinguiſhed into four eſtates, *viz. Noblemen*, *Patricians* or *Gentlemen*, *Citizens*, and the *Common People*.

Lawyers in Jafnapatnam.

The inhabitants of Jafnapatnam.

For the reſt, the generality of the inhabitants of the kingdom of *Jafnapatnam* are naturally ingenious, and have a ſtrong memory; they are very ſober and moderate in their diet, and (except the *Nallouas* and *Parreas*) very clean in their apparel, not quarrelſome, but very free with their tongue.

Their phyſicians.

Their general vice is fornication and adultery, eſpecially among the young men; as the old ones are much addicted to ſuperſtitions, as to the choice of certain days, (whereof ſomething was ſaid before concerning *Raja Singa*,) the cries of birds, and ſuch like things, uſed among the antient *Romans*. Hence it is that the *Portugueſe*, in thoſe parts, have a proverb to this day, *I know not what unfortunate ſight* [Roſto Moſinho] *did come in my way this day.*

Their ſuperſtition.

Thus on the coaſt of *Coromandel* they look upon it as fortunate, if they ſee a certain red bird with a white ring about his neck. *John van Twiſt*, in his deſcription of *Guſuratte*, tells us of the natives there, That they look upon it as a good

Surgeons and barbers.

C ſign,

Baldæus. sign, if they meet an elephant, or camel, loaden or unloaden, a horse without a burden, or a cow or buffler with water on their backs; for without a load they were accounted unfortunate; a ram, or dog with a piece of meat in his mouth, a cat passing to the right hand of them. They also reckon it fortunate, if they meet any body that carries meat, milk, and butter, or if a cock crosses the way.

It is certain, that the observations of the cries, and flights of the birds have not only been usual among the antient *Romans*, but also the *Jews*, with several other such like superstitions, predictions, asking advice from the Devil, the finding out of stolen or lost goods, &c. for *necromancy* was forbid, *Isa.* viii. 19. Incantations, *Acts* xix. 15. observations of the cries of the birds, *Ezek.* xxi. 21. the choice of certain days, *Esther* iii. 7. & ix. 24. the consulting of woods, *Hosea* iv. 12. Besides which, the predictions from the different appearance of the water, air, fire, and earth, out of certain union of characters or numbers, (called *Cabala,*) chiromancy, astrology, inspections into the magick glass, and such like diabolical illusions, described more at large by *Peucerus*, in his treatise *De variis divinationum generibus.*

Lawyers in Jafnapatnam. Besides the artisans and handicraftsmen, whereof there is great plenty in *Jafnapatnam*, they have certain persons who apply themselves to the law; and in the high court of justice, composed of *Hollanders* and *Indians*, were set always (besides the *Modeliars*) a certain person well versed in the laws and constitutions of his native country. They have also their advocates, who make very long speeches in their pleadings.

Their physicians. Neither are they destitute of physicians, such as they are; for, to speak truth, they are more than empyricks, who practise according to certain books and traditions, transmitted to them by their ancestors, and confirmed to them by their own experience. They know not what anatomy is, and very little of the nature of purging medicines, which are not often used in this hot climate: however, when a purge is to be given, (whether a potion or pills,) the composition is always made of fresh herbs; and if it works too strong, they mix some powdered pepper with water, and apply it to the navel in the nature of an ointment. I can tell it, by my own experience, That it is a good remedy against the belly-ach and looseness.

Surgeons and barbers. They have also good store of surgeons and barbers; the last carry always a small looking-glass along with them, their rasors *Baldæus.* are thicker on the back than ours; they not only shave your beard and head, but also pare your hand and toe-nails, and cleanse your ears.

Weavers. Weavers are here in abundance. These sit flat upon the ground, their feet being placed in a hole dug for that purpose, whilst they are at work.

Painters. Callico-printers, or painters, are numberless here, who have a way of preparing their colours, that they never go out by washing, though those printed at *Jafnapatnam* are not near so good as those of the coast of *Coromandel*, and especially those done at *Masulipatan.*

They are excellent workmen in ivory and ebony-wood, as likewise in gold and silver, and will come with their tools (which are but few) to work in the houses of the *Dutch.* They are exactly well versed in the essaying of gold.

Other handicraftsmen. They are as well provided with smiths, carpenters, and bricklayers, as most places in *Europe*, though a carpenter or bricklayer gets not above five or six pence a-day.

Having thus given you a full account of the kingdom of *Jafnapatnam*, we will now go from thence along the sea-shore to *Trinquenemale*, taken 1639. by Mr. *Anthony Caan*; which might have been done before, whilst Mr. *Adam Westerwold* was in *Ceylon*, (there being no more than fifty men in garrison,) had not *Raja Singa* bent his thoughts upon *Batecalo*, or, as some will have it, upon *Matecalo*. *Trinquenemale* has a most excellent harbour, (as you may see by the draught,) nay, to speak the truth, the best and largest in the whole isle of *Ceylon*, there being more secure riding at anchor here, than in the harbours of *Belligamme*, *Gale*, or *Columbo.*

Trinquenemale. This place was several times relinquished, and rebuilt by our company, especially during our war with the *English*, it being not thought convenient to leave so good a harbour, and so conveniently seated for the interrupting all correspondence betwixt foreigners and *Raja Singa*, to the discretion of an enemy; though the repairing of it, (during my stay in *Ceylon*,) under captain *Peter Wasch*, cost us abundance of people, that were swept away by a phrensical distemper, which made them drown themselves in the sea. Some of their bodies being opened, certain worms were found in the substance of the brains, occasioned, questionless, by the violence of the heat, the continual labour, watching, and the feeding upon salt-provisions, but more especially by

Baldæus. the cold night-fogs. After which time it was ſtrengthened with ſome additional fortifications, as appears by captain *Peter du Pon*'s letter, dated the 5th of *October* 1667. from *Macaſſar* in the iſle of *Celebes*.

Strengthened with additional fortifications.

"I Was once more ordered to ſail "with ſome forces to *Trinquenemale*, "to take once more poſſeſſion of that "harbour and bay for our company, "which I did accordingly with good "ſucceſs; and having refortify'd the "place with four baſtions, and reduced "the circumjacent inhabitants to our ſub-"jection, I left a ſufficient garriſon there, "and ſo returned to *Columbo*."

From *Trinquenemale* you travel by the way of *Capello* to *Batecalo*, the firſt place conquered by the *Dutch* in this iſland, whereof we have given you the beſt account we were able, not queſtioning but that in caſe we ſhould once live in peace with the king of *Candy*, (who is very old, almoſt doating, and much addicted to ſtrong liquor,) our countrymen will be much better acquainted with the inland countries, than they have been hitherto. *Baldæus.*

According to the laſt letter I received from *Tutecoryn*, dated *December* 20. 1668. there had been lately an inſurrection in the iſle of *Ceylon*, ſo that they were forced to draw their forces together out of *Saffragamme* and *Mannekewarre*; but was appeaſed ſince, though the forces were not as yet diſmiſſed.

CHAP.

Baldæus. *Baldæus.*

CHAP. XLIX.

Natural Hiſtory of Ceylon. *Their* Pagodes, *Convents, Monks, Manners, Habit, and OEconomy of the* Cingaleſe.

HAving hitherto taken a view of thoſe places of *Ceylon* that are under the juriſdiction of the *Dutch* company, we will now take a turn to *Candy*, the imperial reſidence, as the moſt proper place to be informed concerning the real conſtitution of this iſle and its inhabitants.

The city of Candy. The city of *Candy* is ſeated about thirty leagues from the ſea-ſide, and nine from *Vintane* up the river of *Trinquenemale*, about twenty-one leagues by land from *Matecalo*, and nine from the ſea-ſhore, where the emperor has his docks for building and refitting his ſhips and gallies. The other cities of *Ceylon* being not deſcribed in any books, we muſt alſo paſs by in ſilence here. All over the iſle you ſee abundance of very ſplendid *Pagodes*. The foundation of that of *Vintane* has no leſs than one hundred and thirty foot in circumference; it is of a great height, and gilt on the top; it is oval on the bottom, and ariſes into a four-corner'd point like a pyramid. The *Great Pagode* betwixt *Gale* and *Matecalo* is alſo much cele-

Their temples. brated, ſerving for a light-houſe to ſhips as well as that of *Trinquenemale*. In the large high *Pagode* before mentioned ſtands an idol repreſenting a man with a naked ſword in his hand, lifting up his arm, as if he were ready to ſtrike. To this idol the *Cingaleſe* pay their reverence, and offer their ſacrifices upon all emergencies, or in time of ſickneſs; for which reaſon they keep a basket in every houſe, wherein they gather ſuch proviſions as they are to ſacrifice. They believe that the world will not have an end ſo long as that *Pagode* ſtands. Some worſhip an *Elephant's Head* of wood or ſtone, to ob-

And idols. tain wiſdom. They adorn their idols with flowers. Theſe elephants heads are placed ſometimes on trees in the highways, ſometimes in little brick houſes or chapels. You ſee alſo frequently in the high road certain heaps of ſtones, earth, or dung, upon which each paſſenger throws ſomething as he paſſes by.

Juſt by *Belligamme* I ſaw the figure of a man, at leaſt ſix yards high, cut in a rock about half a yard deep, who uſed to be worſhiped by the *Cingaleſe*.

Near it is a high-peaked mountain, ac- *Adam's mountain.* counted the higheſt in the *Indies*, called *Pico de Adam*, or *Adam's Peak*; becauſe they are of opinion, that here ſtood formerly the paradiſe, where *Adam* was created. They alſo tell you, that the print of the foot of *Adam* is to be ſeen to this day in the rock, the draught whereof is kept in the imperial court. Unto this rock a vaſt number of people flock from far diſtant places, to ſee this ſacred relick, though the mountain is of very difficult acceſs, nay, (if we may credit *Maffæus* the jeſuit,) quite inacceſſible, unleſs by means of certain iron chains and iron ſpikes faſtened to the rocks.

Some are of opinion that they reverence the chamberlain of the queen *Candace* in this place; who, according to ſome hiſtorians, but eſpecially *Dorotheus*, biſhop of *Tyrus*, (a man equally famous for his learning and ſanctity under *Conſtantine* the great,) preached the goſpel in the *Happy Arabia*, *Erythræa* and *Taprobana*.

There are alſo divers convents in *Cey-* *Convents and monks of Ceylon.* *lon*, and a great number of *Brahmans* and prieſts, who are in great veneration among the common people: they never eat any thing that has been living, or is capable of producing any living ſubſtance, as eggs, &c. Their friers wear yellow habits, with their heads ſhaven all over, for which reaſon they never appear in the ſtreets without umbrello's, and beads in their hands, muttering out certain prayers as they go along. Their convents have divers galleries and chapels, wherein are placed the ſtatues of ſeveral men and women, who, as they ſay, have led holy lives. Theſe are adorned with gold and ſilver apparel, and attended with burning lamps and wax-candles day and night, placed upon altars, the candleſticks being ſupported by naked boys artificially carved. The friers have their certain hours for prayers, which they perform in theſe chapels.

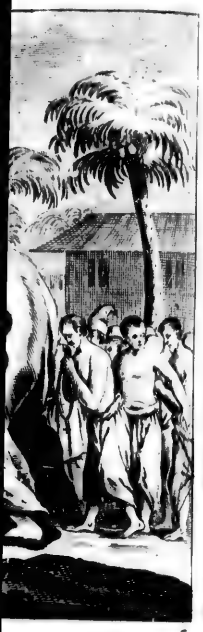
They have alſo their publick pro- *Their proceſſions.* ceſſions: the head or abbot of the convent being mounted on a fine elephant, ſumptuouſly harneſſed with an umbrello over his head, marches along the ſtreet in great pomp, under the

The Indian Proceſſion.

Baldæus. found of horns, trumpets, and other ſuch ſort of muſick, making an odd kind of harmony, accompany'd by a great number of men, women, and children; the maidens of quality dance all along before the elephant naked down to the middle, their heads, arms, and ears adorned with golden bracelets and jewels; the garments which cover their under parts are of different colours. They pay their daily devotions to a certain idol called *Ibaja*, by proſtrating themſelves upon the ground, and afterwards claſping their hands together over their heads. But concerning the religious worſhip of the *Cingaleſe* we ſhall have occaſion to ſay more in the following treatiſe, which in effect differs very little from the *Malabars* and thoſe of *Coromondel*, except that they are not altogether ſuch bigots, the emperor of *Ceylon* allowing liberty of conſcience to all nations. The *Cingaleſe* are not ſo ſtubborn, but that many of them have been, without much difficulty, converted to the *Roman* faith, and ſince that to the reformed religion.

The genius of the Cingaleſe. For the reſt, the *Cingaleſe* are naturally active and ingenious, and good workmen in gold, ſilver, ivory, ebony, iron-works, *&c.* arms inlaid with ſilver; eloquent, nimble, courageous, fit for warlike exploits; ſober and watchful. They march one ſingle man after another, by reaſon of the many narrow lanes in this country; their arms are a half-pike; their drums are ſmall, but make a great noiſe, which may be heard at three leagues diſtance in the mountains; they are beſt in the purſuit of a routed enemy. Since they have converſed ſo much with the *Portugueſe*, and other *European* nations, they are grown ſo cunning that they muſt not be too much truſted, nor deſpiſed. *Baldæus.*

Inceſt is ſo common a vice among them, that when husbands have occaſion to leave their wives for ſome time, they recommend the conjugal duty to be performed by their own brothers. I remember a certain woman at *Gale*, who had confidence enough to complain of the want of duty in her husband's brother upon that account. The like happened in my time at *Jaſnapatnam*; which had been likely to be puniſhed with death, had not, at my interceſſion, and in



y, ebony, iron- *Baldæus.*
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Baldæus. in regard of the tender beginnings of chriſtianity, the ſame been paſſed by for that time.

The habits. The *Cingaleſe* are in ſhape and manners not unlike the *Malabars*, with long hanging ears, but not ſo black. The dreſs of the men is a veſt, called *Ropillo*, of woollen or linnen cloth; their under-garment is a piece of linnen wrapped about the middle, and drawn through both their legs, like a pair of breeches. On their heads they wear a kind of red caps, ſuch as we call rock-caps, which they look upon as a ſingular ornament; and in their ears rings and precious ſtones. The hilts of their ſwords or ſcymetars are commonly of ſilver, ivory, or gold, with flaming blades.

The common people appear for the moſt part naked, having only a piece of cloth wrapped round the middle to cover their privy parts. The women go with their breaſts uncovered, being generally well-limbed. Inſtead of a head-dreſs, they have a way of tying their hair together like a cap: they wear golden or ſilver necklaces about their necks, and rings on their fingers and toes.

The *Cingaleſe*, as well as the *Malabars*, are much addicted to idleneſs and pleaſures, and inſiſt much upon their pedigree: they marry as many wives as they think fit, as well as the *Mahometans*, of which there live a conſiderable number in this iſle: they marry their daughters at ten or eleven years of age, a cuſtom not to be rooted out among them, they being very fond of the virginity of their wives. They bury their dead after the manner of the pagans. *Baldæus.*

Their œconomy. In their houſes they are exceſſive neat; and uſe inſtead of trenchards and table-cloths the leaves of fig-trees; their ſpoons are made of coco-nutſhells, and their drinking veſſels of earth, with hollow pipes, through which they pour (like the *Moors*) the drink into the mouth, without touching their lips; for as the *Cingaleſe* and *Malabars* inſiſt much upon their noble deſcent, ſo they will neither eat nor drink with thoſe of an inferior rank, nay, many of them are ſo proud, as not to eat with their own wives.

Their coin. The moſt current coin here are the ſilver *Laryns*, each whereof is worth about ten pence; a *Fanam* is only five pence, though they have golden and ſilver *Fanams*; a *Pagode* was formerly no more than eighty four ſtivers, but is ſince raiſed to an hundred and twenty, or ſix *Dutch* guilders; as well in *Ceylon* as *Malabar*, two golden *Fanams*, at five pence a piece, make a *Laryn*.

CHAP. L.

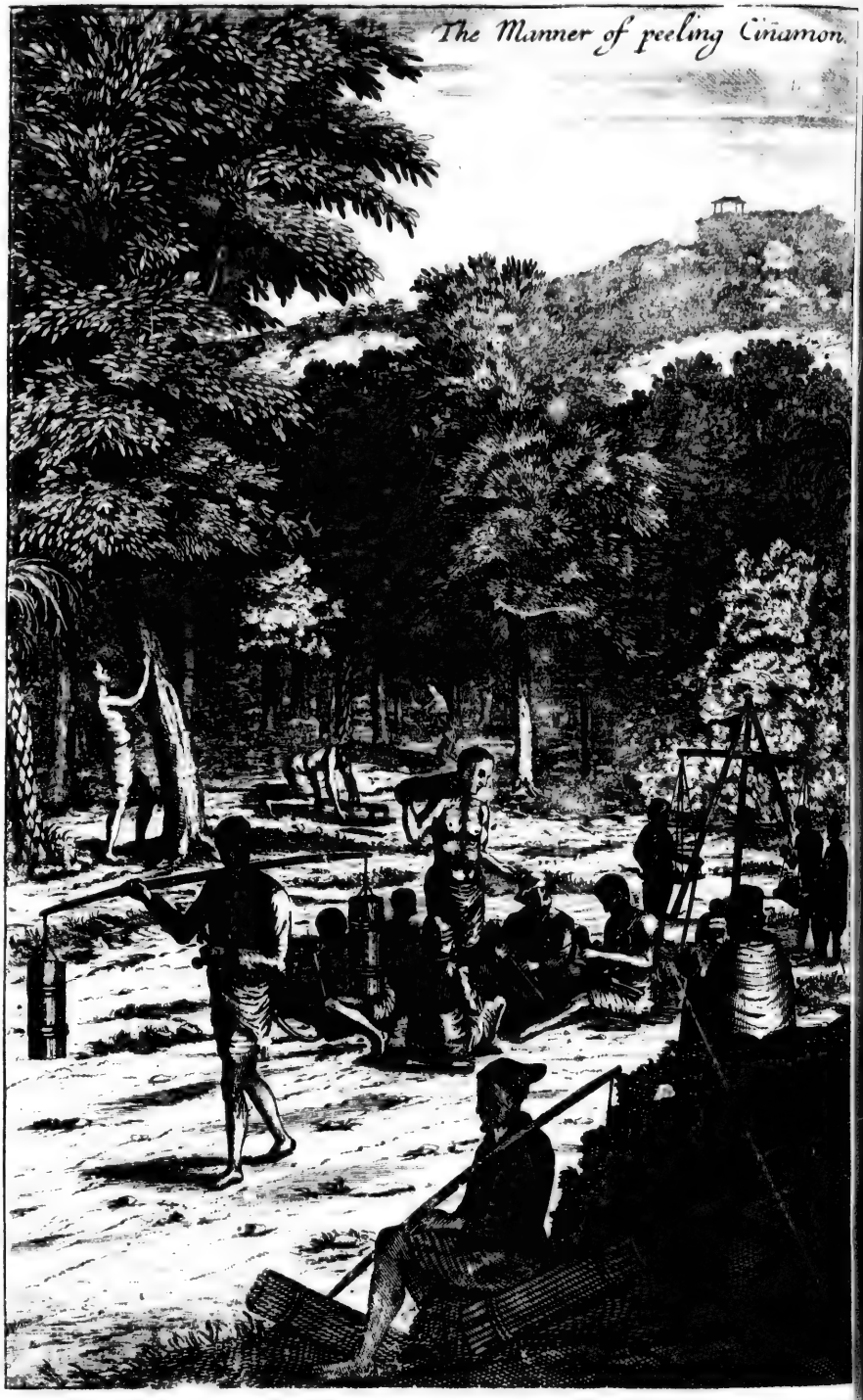
Fertility of Ceylon. *A Deſcription of the Cinnamon and Snakewood. A ſtrange Tree.*

Fertility of Ceylon. THE iſle of *Ceylon* is very fertile in rice, and all ſorts of fruits, as ananas, cocos, the beſt oranges, lemons, and citrons, exceeding by far thoſe of *Spain* and *Portugal*; fig-trees, cajouves, grapes, potatoes, quiavos, papajes, and pomgranates. You have here freſh grapes the whole year round, except in the three winter or rainy months. It abounds alſo in ſugar-reeds, and mulberry-trees, which produce a good quantity of ſilk; as in ginger, pepper, cardamum, tobacco, wild palm-trees, affording vaſt quantities of a kind of ſug-, and the juice called *Suyri*, their ordin- drink: they are ſtored alſo with calabaſs-trees, cotton-trees, areek-trees, *Portugueſe* figs, mangos of divers ſorts, long pepper, melons, water-melons, onions, and garlick. Since the ſettling of the *Dutch* here, they have alſo propagated, with good ſucceſs, cabbages, aſparagus, carrots, and radiſhes: but the *Helen*, or the bride, in conteſt of this iſle, is the fineſt and pureſt cinnamon, which growing only in this iſland, no wonder if we have diſputed the entire poſ-

A deſcription of the cinnamon, and its tree. ſeſſion thereof for ſo many years with the *Portugueſe*.

This precious ſ- e is called by the *Cingaleſe*, *Cureneo* -wo, and the tr- *Curindo Gas*, ſome of which are of a great bulk, their leaves reſembling thoſe of the lemon-trees, but not quite ſo broad; th- bloſſom is white, and of an agreeable ſ- which produces a yellowiſh fruit, no- like a ſmall olive; out of which the inha- bitants preſs an oil, not much differing both in colour and virtue from that of nutmegs, but in ſmell like cinnamon itſelf.

The cinnamon-tree has a double bark, the outward bark being taken off with a crooked knife; the inward rind is cut with a knife, firſt round the tree, and then in length, which being expoſed to the ſun-beams in the fields, ſhrinks together into ſuch ſmall rolls as we ſee them in *Europe*. The trees that are thus peeled, periſh, inſtead whereof the fruits that fall upon the ground produce other cinnamon-trees. The wood is very white, and uſed by the inha-


The Manner of peeling Cinamon.

Baldæus. inhabitants for building. It is obſervable, that theſe cinnamon-trees do not grow all over *Ceylon*, but only in ſome certain places; for in the whole kingdom of *Jafnapatnam*, and the iſle of *Manaar*, none of theſe trees are to be ſeen, but only beyond the river *Chilaw*, in the country about *Negumbo*, and the inland countries, as likewiſe near *Gale*. Theſe trees ſeldom grow together, but are generally ſeen in woods mixed with other trees. Whilſt I was miniſter at *Gale*, ſome of my ſlaves uſed now and then to bring ſome cinnamon-wood among the reſt into the kitchen, which when put into the fire, emitted a very odoriferous ſcent.

It is further worth taking notice of, that whereas, according to the judgment of the naturaliſts and phyſicians, the cinnamon is very hot, yet does the root of the tree produce not only a water ſmelling exactly like camphire, but alſo the ſtrongeſt-ſcented camphire itſelf. I have ſeveral pieces of it, which ſmell ſo ſtrong, that I am ſcarce able to endure it. Out of the cinnamon-wood, whilſt yet green, they diſtil a water of an agreeable ſmell, and very wholeſome to our bodies. The natives make out of the outward bark of theſe trees curious cabinets: I have ſuch a one by me of a conſiderable bigneſs, which was preſented me by major *Peter du Pon*, 1665. juſt upon my departure from *Ceylon*.

Three ſorts of cinnamon. The *Eaſt-Indies* produce three different ſorts of cinnamon; 1. Is the fineſt cinnamon, called *Canel Fino* by the *Portugueſe*, being the ſame that is taken from very young, or at leaſt not very old trees. 2. The coarſe cinnamon, called *Canel Groſſo* by the *Portugueſe*, taken from very thick and old trees. And, 3. The *Canel de Mato*, or wild cinnamon, which grows likewiſe on the coaſt of *Malabar*, but is in no eſteem; for whereas a *Baar* of *Ceyloneſe* cinnamon is ſold for fifty or ſixty rixdollars, the wild cinnamon yields not above ten or twelve. Though I have heard ſome of the moſt ingenious of the natives affirm, That the wild cinnamon might be much meliorated, and made fit for uſe. The *Dutch* company is now, through God's bleſſing, in the poſſeſſion of the cinnamon of all kinds, as likewiſe of all the ſpices, *viz.* of the nutmegs, mace, and cloves, except the pepper, which grows in ſeveral places.

The Snake-wood. The *Snakewood*, or *Lignum Colubrinum*, grows moſt frequently in the iſle of *Ceylon*: it is white, inclining to yellow, very hard, and of a bitter taſte; it is in great requeſt among the *Indians*, and accounted a good remedy againſt ſeveral diſtempers: they powder it, and rub the whole body with it to cure the itch: they alſo take an ounce of powdered *Snakewood* in water or wine againſt the cholick, burning fevers, and other diſtempers, but eſpecially againſt the ſtings of the ſerpents, of which there are many in this iſland. *Its uſe among the Indians.* *Baldæus.*

The *Cingaleſe* naturaliſts ſay, That the virtue of the *Snakewood* was firſt diſcovered by a certain ſmall creature called *Quil*, or *Quirpele*, by the *Portugueſe*, being of the bigneſs of our ferrets, wherewith we catch the rabbits. Of this kind the *Indians* keep many in their houſes, partly for ſport, partly to catch rats and mice with. This creature having a natural antipathy againſt the ſnakes and ſerpents, whenever it is ſtung by them runs to the *Snakewood*, and after having eaten of it, is cured of its wound. *Marcellus de Boſchhower*, a perſon in great eſteem in *Ceylon*, relates, That he has ſeveral times ſeen this *Quirpele* engaged with ſnakes, and amongſt the reſt, one that vanquiſhed a ſerpent; but being wounded, run to the next wood, and having eaten ſome of this *Snakewood*, returned in half an hour to the place, where its vanquiſhed enemy lay extended dead upon the ground. The *Cingaleſe* call the root of this tree *Nay Lelli*, unto which they attribute a ſingular virtue for the cure of divers diſtempers. *How firſt diſcovered.* *Antipathy betwixt the Quirpele and the ſerpent.*

There grows a ſtrange tree in the iſle of *Ceylon*, called the *Root-Tree*, becauſe its branches turn to the ground like ropes; where taking root again, they produce a tree that ſpreads in a ſhort time over a ſpacious tract of ground. *Ceylon* produces alſo tamerind-trees of a conſiderable bulk, the fruit whereof is accounted an excellent remedy againſt the ſcurvy and dropſy. There grows another tree in *Ceylon* like our *Noli me tangere*; for if you go to touch it, it moves backwards, and gives way to your hand.

For the reſt, *Ceylon* is ſufficiently provided with medicinal herbs, and they cure all their diſtempers with green herbs, in the uſe whereof their phyſicians are better verſed, (by experience,) than many of our pretending ſurgeons, God Almighty having provided remedies ſuitable to the diſtempers of each country.

CHAP. LI.

Great Number of Elephants in Ceylon: *Are very pernicious: Divers Inſtances of it. How they take the Elephants. Their Bufflers, Tygers, Bears, Birds, Fiſhes, Crocodiles, and Porcupins, or Sea-Hogs.*

Baldæus. THE iſle of *Ceylon* abounds in all ſorts of four-legged creatures, birds, fiſhes, ſtones, and certain products of the ſea, of each whereof we muſt ſay ſomething.

Elephants of Ceylon. Among the four-legg'd beaſts, the elephant challenges the firſt rank: of theſe there are great numbers here; and ſo pernicious, that it is not ſafe travelling without ſome ſoldiers with their drums and kettles, the noiſe whereof frightens theſe creatures: they are moſt dangerous towards evening when they are hungry; for the *Coelys*, or littermen, often run away at the ſight of an elephant, leaving thoſe they carry to ſhift for themſelves.

I remember, that in my time, a *Portugueſe* reformed miniſter, named *John Ferreira d'Almeyda*, travelling with his wife from *Gale* to *Columbo*, the litter-carriers (according to their cuſtom) ran away at the ſight of an elephant; who did, however, not the leaſt harm, but laying his trunk upon the woman's *Palankin*, or litter, went away: but things of that nature happen not always alike.

I obſerved once as I was travelling from *Manaar* to *Jafnapatnam*, that the elephants had done conſiderable miſchief hereabouts; and during the rainy ſeaſon had rendered the ways almoſt unpaſſable. We had the good fortune to eſcape narrowly the danger of an elephant who killed a certain negro, one of the commanders of the elephant-hunters, in a place we had paſſed not long before.

How they take and tame the elephants. At *Mature* are vaſt ſtables, where the wild elephants are tamed, and afterwards ſold to the *Moors* of *Bengale* and *Coromandel*. They take the elephants near *Mature* in the following manner: they fix abundance of large ſtakes or trunks of trees in the ground, ſo as to leave the entrance wide enough, but growing narrower within by degrees; in theſe they have certain traps, and the wild elephants being decoyed by the tame ones into theſe enclоſures, are catched in the traps, or ſnares, like as we do in our decoying ponds. They are very hard to be tamed, and require ſometimes four whole months before they can be brought to lie down: all this while they muſt be carried twice a day to ſome river or other to ſwim. This is done by putting *Baldæus.* a wild elephant betwixt two tame ones, who take ſuch care of the other, that they hit him from both ſides with their trunks, till they make him pliable, and at laſt quite tame.

It often happens that the young elephants are taken in following the old ones. Theſe are very unlucky: I remember, that one time as ſeveral of us were talking together, one of theſe young elephants came ſilly and puſhed with his back-ſide againſt one of our company, that he was ready to fall upon his noſe.

They feed upon green herbs and leaves of fig-trees, coco, and other trees; neither do they refuſe areek and ſugar. At a certain time of the year an oil iſſues out of the heads of the old elephants, when they run mad, and oftentimes kill their *Carnak*, or guides. *Ceyloneſe* elephants are accounted the largeſt and beſt in the *Indies*; and, if you will believe the natives, are adored by the other elephants.

Horſes. Horſes (great enemies of the elephants) were brought firſt from abroad into this iſle. The *Portugueſe* having ſome years ſince ſent horſes into the iſle *de Vacas*, they are multiply'd to ſuch a degree, that you may ſee them feed in herds of ſixty, ſeventy, eighty, or one hundred.

Bufflers. Of bufflers they have a great ſtore in *Ceylon*: I have ſeen whole herds of them of one hundred, and more, feeding in the countries of *Chilau* and *Madampe*, which were but indifferently peopled at that time. They have alſo hedge-hogs, oxen, cows, bulls, ſheep, goats, ſtags, does, elks, tame and wild boars, hares and partridges, peacocks and apes in abundance.

Tygers and bears. The woods here produce alſo ſome ravenous beaſts, as tygers; though I never ſaw any, but had a grey-hound given me by a *Portugueſe* who bore the marks of a tyger's claws on his buttocks. Bears I have ſeen, both in *Jafnapatnam* and *Manaar*: I ſaw once five or ſix young ones drowned in *Manaar* by the inhabitants, who had found them at *Mantotte*, and thought fit to take this courſe with them, to prevent their increaſe.

Baldæus. *Jackals.* They abound alſo in *Jackals*, a creature very greedy after mens fleſh; for which reaſon they cover their graves with great ſtones; they ſometimes take them with grey-hounds, but when they are hard put to it, they piſs, which emits ſo nauſeous a ſcent, that the hounds cannot endure it. The fleſh of the *Jackals* is given with good ſucceſs by the phyſicians of the country to cure the conſumption. Towards the evening the *Jackals* meet, and make a moſt dreadful noiſe, and will ſome times fall upon paſſengers. In my time a *Caffer*, who was in drink, had his teeth eaten out by the *Jackals*. The *Jackal* is not unlike a fox, and has exactly ſuch a tail. The *Malabars* call the *Jackals Adiviis*. I ſaw but one leopard in the iſle of *Ceylon*; and not one unicorn or rhinoceros.

Ceylon affords vaſt quantities of birds, called by the inhabitants by peculiar names. *Crows.* Crows you ſhall ſee by thouſands about noon upon the houſes; but they are ſo cunning as not eaſily to be ſhot, except through a hole or ſmall window. Towards night they leave the towns, and retire to the trees in the country, and in the morning early look about for prey. If one of them happens to be killed, the reſt make a moſt terrible out-cry.

All ſorts of Fowl and Birds. There are certain birds in *Ceylon* called *Minhotos* by the *Portugueſe*, who often make bold with the young chickens: they have alſo owls that make a dreadful noiſe in the night-time. They abound in geeſe, herons, wild and tame ducks, peacocks, pigeons, turtles, partridges, parrocets of moſt delicious colours, peewits, ſwallows, bats, *&c.* Among the reſt, here is a certain bird which builds his neſt hanging on the branches of the trees. They have alſo abundance of fine ſinging-birds, nightingales, and larks in abundance; ſea-gulls, water-ſnipes, bees, fire-flies, gnats, and locuſts.

Fiſhes. *Ceylon* produces great plenty of fiſh, as cacap, plaice, crabs, pikes, king-fiſhes, ſail-fiſhes, craw-fiſhes, haddocks, galleon-fiſhes, ſharks, orados, ſardins, large ſmelts, bat-fiſhes, ſeals, oyſters, muſcles, ſhrimps, pampus, barbels, bomtos, corquados, *&c.*

Among the amphibious creatures, the *Baldæus.* *Kaiman*, or crocodile, called *Lazarto* by the *Portugueſe*, is very frequent here; ſome of *Crocodiles.* which are eighteen foot long. They have four feet with crooked claws, their ſkin covered with ſcales, which are ſo hard upon the back, that they are muſket proof; ſo that they are not vulnerable except in the belly and eyes: their under-jaws are unmovable, but they have ſharp teeth: their back-bones being without joints, they cannot turn ſhort, whence the beſt way to eſcape them, is to get away from them by many windings and turnings. 'Tis generally believed here that the crocodile has a ſtone, or rather bone in the head, which given in powder is an excellent remedy againſt the ſtone. The bones of the ſharks are accounted very good againſt the ſame diſtemper.

Mr. *Rochefort* ſays, That in ſome of the rivers of the iſles of *America* are certain crocodiles that ſmell like muſk. I have with amazement ſeen crocodiles lying upon the water like logs of wood, with their eyes ſhut; and if they happen to meet with a prey, they leap at it on a ſudden, like an arrow from the bow.

Vincent le Blanc tells us a ſtory of a burger-maiſter's ſervant of *Alexandria*, who paſſing near the river-ſide, was devoured by a crocodile which he took for a log of wood ſwimming upon the water. They ſay, that they have a white fat, which is an excellent remedy againſt ſharp humours that ſettle in any part of the body. In *Jafnapatnam* there are many crocodiles in the fens, ponds, and lakes; which if they happen to dry up in the ſummer, they dig holes to live in; we were often viſited by them in our camp before *Jafnapatnam*, but they did no miſchief. The *Chineſe* make a dainty diſh of the young crocodiles.

Porcupines. In the iſle of *Manaar* are great numbers of very large porcupines, or ſea-hogs; they have very ſharp teeth, and their fleſh is fit for food; the females have breaſts and milk; they come often aſhore and feed upon herbs.

CHAP. LII.

Serpents of Ceylon : *Remedies againſt their Stings. An odd Story of a Serpent-Catcher. Precious Stones, Products of the Sea. Amber-Greaſe ; its Goodneſs.*

Baldæus. *Serpents.* SERPENTS are very common all over the iſle of *Ceylon :* the *Sea Serpents* are ſometimes eight, nine, or ten yards long. The *Land Serpents*, called *Ratcatchers*, are alſo very large, live on the tops of the houſes, but are harmleſs creatures. The moſt dangerous are thoſe called *Cobres Capellos* by the *Portugueſe*, which frequently uſed to kill people whilſt I lived in *Jafnapatnam*. So ſoon as any body is ſtung or wounded by theſe ſerpents, they apply the *Adderſtone* to the wound, and give the patient ſome milk. Our ſurgeon, *Albert van Lambergen*, writ to me 1666. that being ſtung by a ſerpent, he became blind, but after ſome time recovered his ſight. A pariſhioner belonging to the *Church* of *Manipay*, as he was mending the top of the church, happened to be wounded by a ſerpent that lay hid among a heap of leaves, and died ſoon after. I ſaw once two ſerpents twiſted round one another ſporting under the wall of the ſame church, which I ordered to be cut to pieces by a ſoldier. Such of the inhabitants as retain ſtill ſome remnants of paganiſm, will not allow the ſerpents to be killed. *Baldæus.*

Remedies againſt their ſting.

The *Malabars* call the ſerpents *Pambo* and *Naga*, and give their cattle and children their names, nay, they feed them becauſe they ſhould do them no harm. The ſerpents come frequently into the houſes, eſpecially in the rainy ſeaſon. During my abode at *Jafnapatnam*, two dogs were ſtung to death in the houſe; and I have ſeen them ſometimes paſs up ſtairs over the beds. Another time a ſerpent paſſed ſo near my wife in the houſe, that he touched her leg with the tail, and was afterwards killed by the ſervants.

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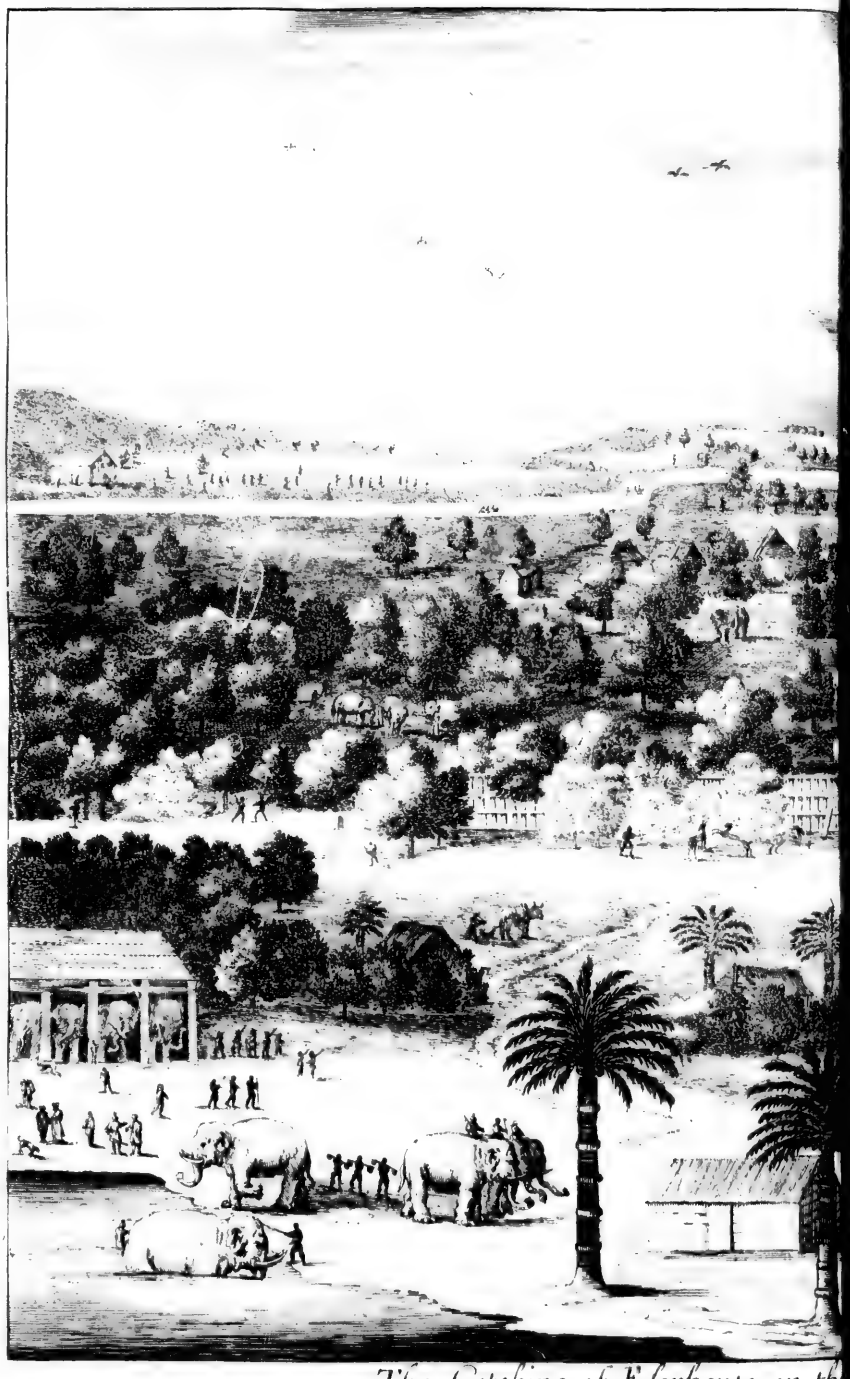
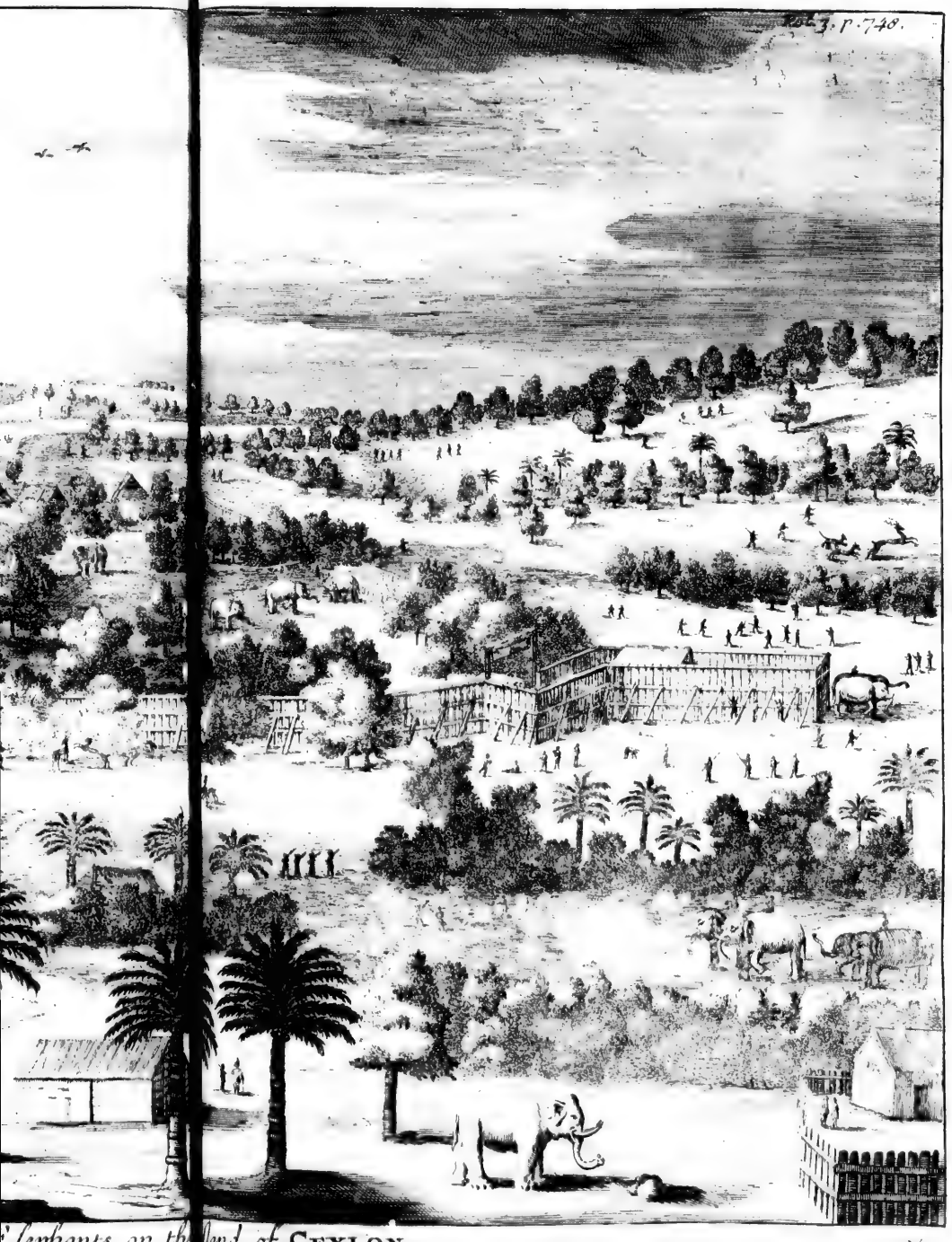


The Catching of Elephants on th land



Elephants on the Island of CEYLON.

CHA

Baldæus

An old story of a serpent-catcher.

Remedies against the stings of serpents.

Baldæus. There is also here a kind of adders, called vipers by the *Portuguese*; they are speckled, and very venomous. Whilst I lived at *Jasnapatnam*, a certain *High-German* soldier belonging to the garrison (commonly known by the name of the *Serpent-Catcher*) being sent for by Mr. *Anthony Pavilion*, governor of *Coromandel*, to take a certain *Cobre Capel* that was in his lodging-room. He came accordingly; and with his hat only before his face, laid hold with his other hand of the serpent, without receiving the least harm: he did handle the creature afterwards in our presence, and not only carried it away in his snapsack, but also used to sleep near it. I suspecting some witchcraft in the matter, talked to him seriously about it; but he assured me, That nothing was done but by natural means; and that he always carried the head and heart of a serpent about him: wherewith I was forced to rest satisfied, he being not willing to discover the whole mystery.

An odd story of a serpent-catcher.

Among the inhabitants of the coast of *Coromandel*, and the *Cingalese* and *Malabars*, are certain fellows, who have an art of making the serpents stand upright, and dance before them, which they perform by certain enchanting songs. Those that are to take an oath in those parts, put one of their hands into an earthen vessel, wherein is a serpent: if they escape without being wounded, they are supposed to swear true; but if not, on the contrary.

Upon this occasion I cannot forget to mention some remedies used against the stings of serpents. First of all, it is requisite to bind the affected part, above and below the wound, to prevent the poison from being communicated to the mass of blood; and afterwards hold it over, or as near to the flame as it is possible. I would have every body that goes to the *East-Indies*, to provide himself with some *Orvietan*, *Theriac*, *Mithridate*, confection of *Alkermes*, balsam of *Peru*, *Rue*, *Scordium*, *Scorzonera*, *Angelic*, and *Contrabierva* roots, these being great cordials and antidotes.

Remedies against the stings of serpents.

They must keep to a cooling diet, and avoid purging and bleeding; but instead thereof make use of bathing, to open the pores of the body. The peel of lemons or citrons taken fresh from the tree, is accounted an excellent remedy, and fasting spittle applied to the wound. If you can take the serpent that has given the wound, bruise the head, and apply it to the affected part. However, the *Adderstone* surpasses all the rest; but is often adulterated. The right one raises no bubbles upon the water, and sticks close to the lips, if put to the mouth. *Baldæus.*

The serpents of *Ceylon* are not altogether so large as those of *Java* and *Banda*. At *Batavia* there was once taken a serpent, which had swallowed an entire stag of a large size, and one taken at *Banda* had done the same with a negro woman.

Besides these serpents, *Ceylon* produces several sorts of other crawling creatures, as *Thousand Feet*, called *Millepie* by the *Portuguese*, which are sometimes seven inches long; scorpions, spiders of a prodigious bigness, frogs, tortoises, toads, *&c. Ceylon* also affords divers precious stones, as *Sapphires*, *Rubies*, *Topazes*, *Granats*, &c. Some say it also produces gold, silver, iron, and other metals; but that their kings will not allow these mines to be dug. This seems not improbable, it being certain that iron has been bought out of the country. It affords also chrystal in abundance. The commodities chiefly vended here by the *Portuguese*, were coloured stuffs of all sorts, velvets, silks, red caps, porcelain spices, *Amfira* or *Opium*, *China* root, camphire, musk, sandal-wood, lead, copper, tin, salt-petre, brimstone, gilt looking-glasses, glass bottles, painted callicoes of *Suratte* and *Coromandel*; all which are still in vogue here.

Precious stones.

Commodities sold here.

The isle of *Ceylon* has besides fish, several products of the sea. Of the pearls and pearl-fishery we have spoken before, in the description of *Tutecoryn*. *Ambergreese* is found here sometimes near the sea-shore, in good large pieces, and of the best kind: they call it *Panahambar* in the *Maldive* islands. This precious drug was altogether unknown to *Hippocrates*, *Dioscorides*, and *Galen*; and to this day its true origin is a riddle to us, though some will have it to be the seed of the whales, others a certain fine earth, others a certain pitch or rosin, growing at the bottom of the sea, and forced thence to the shore by tempests. Certain it is, that it is generally found after stormy weather. Mr. *John Huygan van Linschoten* mentions a piece of *Ambergreese* taken up near the cape *Comoryn*, 1555. which weighed thirty quintals. It is said, That the birds are very fond of the scent of it; and the prints of the bills of birds have sometimes been perceived in the *Amber*, and is accounted a certain sign of its goodness.

Amber-greese.

Its origin.

Mr. *Rochesord*, in his *Natural History* of the *American Islands*, says, That the amber there, when first taken, has so nauseous a scent, that the birds are drawn towards it as by the smell of a carrion: he says it smells like rank bacon.

The

Baldæus. *Differences.* The *Amber* is of different kinds; the black (the worſt of all all) is found near the iſle of *Mauritius*; next is the white, and the grey, the beſt of all. In ſome parts of *America* there is a kind of amber, they call the foxed amber, becauſe it is ſwallowed and vomited up again by the foxes without any alteration, except that it loſes ſomething of its ſcent. The beſt ambergreaſe is of an aſh-colour, like aſhes mixed with wax. It is adulterated with wax, roſin and pitch; to know the real goodneſs of it, you muſt thruſt a hot needle into it, and by the ſmell of the moiſture that adheres to it, you may judge of its goodneſs: you may alſo lay a ſmall quantity of amber upon a hot knife; if it be good, it will melt immediately like wax; and provided the knife be very hot, it will quite evaporate without leaving the leaſt dregs behind. *Scaliger*, *Garcias*, *Monard*, *Fernandes Lopes*, *Cluſius*, and *Rocheford*, have written of the ambergreaſe; its medicinal virtues we leave to the judgment of the phyſicians. *Baldæus.*

Goodneſs, how to be try'd.

The ſea about *Ceylon* produces likewiſe whole coral-trees, ſome branches whereof curiouſly grown I preſerve in my ſtudy. It affords alſo certain horns of ſea-horſes, called *Chankos*, which are frequently tranſported to *Bengale*, beſides divers other ſorts of horns and ſhells, (but not ſo curiouſly twiſted as thoſe of *Amboyna*,) ſea-apples, ſea-ſtars, and ſuch like.

J

THE

THE

IDOLATRY

OF THE

Eaſt-India PAGANS.

GIVING

A true and full Account of the Religious Worſhip of the *Indoſthans*, the Inhabitants of *Coromandel*, the *Malabars*, and *Ceyloneſe*; with a Deſcription of their Idols.

PART I.

CHAP. I.

The general Conſent of all Nations concerning the Exiſtence of God. Divers Sects of the Brahmans. *Their Opinion concerning the Creation. The Idols* Ixora *and* Quivelinga.

Baldæus. *The exiſtence of a God.*

THE exiſtence of a God, or ſupreme being, is ſo firmly rooted in the heart of mankind, that there is no nation in the world but what has acknowledged the ſame. What is alledged to the contrary by ſome of the *Chileſe*, *Tapujars*, *Braſilians*, *Madagaſcarians*; as alſo of the inhabitants of *Florida*, the *Caribee Iſlands*, and eſpecially of the cape of *Good Hope*, muſt rather be attributed to the want of knowledge of thoſe authors, than real truth. Of this I was ſufficiently convinced, 1666, when I tarried three months at the cape of *Good Hope*, where I found theſe barbarians to perform their religious ſervice in the night-time, which I had no opportunity to obſerve in 1665, when I came that way before. What is ſaid of *Diagoras*, *Theodorus*, *Cyrenaicus*, *Bion*, *Evemerus*, *Lucianus*, *Epicurus*, and eſpecially of *Protagoras*, *Abderites*, and *Socrates*, and their denial of the exiſtence of God, being to be underſtood only of the plurality of Gods, which was always rejected by the wiſer ſort among the pagans: Whence it is, that we meet with the titles of *Ens Entium*, *the Being of all Beings*, *Ens primum*, *the Firſt Being*, *Primus motor & vis motrix*, *the Firſt Moving Cauſe and Subſtance*, in their writings. *Baldæus.*

This being laid down as a fundamental rule, we will proceed to give an account of the idolatry of the pagans inhabiting the coaſt of *Malabar*, and the *Indies* on both ſides of the cape *Comoryn*, viz. at *Tutecoryn*, *Trevanor*, *Coulang*, *Calecoulang*, *Cochin*, *Cranganor*, *Calecut*, *Cananor*; as alſo on the coaſt of *Coromandel*, and the iſle of *Ceylon*. According to *Rogerius*, the *Brahmans* are diſtinguiſhed into ſix ſects, viz. *Weiſtnouwas*, *Seiria*, *Smaerta*, *Schaerwaeka*, *Paſenda*, and *Tſchectea*; and the *Benjans* of *Guſuratte* into no leſs than ſixty-three: But in the forementioned parts, the *Brahmans* are divided into four head-ſects.

Sects of the Brahmans.

The firſt are the *Conrawack*, who uſe neither fire, nor candles, nor cold water,

Baldæus. for fear it should contain some living creatures; they do not pass the streets, unless they be swept before with a broom, which they always carry with them, for fear of treading upon any thing that is living. They believe neither God, nor providence, but that all things are produced by chance.

The second sect is called *Samaraeths*: they actually believe a God.

The third *Bisnou*, who call their god, *Ram*. They have a fast, which begins in *August*, and holds forty days.

The fourth sect is that of the *Goegii*, who have no habitations of their own, but sleep in the night-time in the churches: they walk generally naked, having only a cloth to cover their privities, and besmear themselves all over with ashes. They believe a God, (whom they call *Bruyn*,) the creator of the universe, who is in every thing, whether man or beast, (though he cannot be seen by the creature,) gives light to sun and moon, and annihilates what and when he pleases. They say, that such as die in their faith, go directly to their god *Bruyn*: They do not burn, but bury their dead. Whoever embraces their sect, is obliged to take near a pound of cow-dung, every day among his ordinary food, for six months successively, the cow being accounted sacred, and her dung the purest thing among them. They are very superstitious: a cart, bussler, or ass without a load, a dog empty-mouthed, a he-goat, ape, a goldsmith, carpenter, barber, taylor, smith, cotton-weaver, a widow, a burial, or some body going to a burial, are altogether ill omens to them; as an elephant, camel, an horse without a burden, a cow, an ox and bussler laden with water, portends good luck in their opinion. Some acknowledge one *Visthnou* for their supreme god; but the most, one *Ixora*. We will first treat of *Ixora*, and afterwards of *Visthnou* and *Brahma*.

See Rogerius, Texeira, Carolus, John van Twist, &c.

Opinion of the Brahmans concerning the creation of the world.

The *Brahmans* have a very odd opinion of the creation of the world (of which more hereafter.) They say, that this world will diminish by degrees, till it comes to a drop of water, which is the *Ixoretta*, or *Divinity* itself: after that, it shall encrease again, when *Ixoretta* crying out aloud, *Quen, quen*, will make it turn again into a single drop of dew. This will make it revive again, first into a mustard-seed corn, then turn to a pearl; and, lastly, into an egg, containing the five elements. This egg, they say, is to have seven distinct shells or partitions, like an onion; whence will break forth the fire and air upwards, and the others downwards; and the egg being thereby broken into two pieces, the upper part produced the heavens, as the under part did the earth; and because the egg had seven shells, which by the division thereof made fourteen half ones; the seven uppermost parts furnished the matter for seven heavens, as the seven undermost did for as many worlds. An unpardonable contradiction, when they themselves acknowledge their *Brahma*, and implore him, as *the creator of heavens and earth*; and how incongruous is it, to make the *Ixoretta*, or divinity, subject to decrease? *Baldæus.*

They further add, that at the opening of the beforesaid egg, there appeared a thread drawn all along the middle, which joined the fourteen upper and under worlds: *Ixoretta* then taking his place in the highest sphere of the heavens, there arose at the same time, a mountain on the earth, named *Calaja*; on the top of which, stood a triangular substance (*Tricona Sacra*) which produced a round substance, called *Quivelinga*, i. e. *the members of generation of both sexes*; which *Quivelinga*, they say, is *Ixoretta*, or the divinity: for finding that all living creatures were procreated by the carnal copulation of men and women, they reverenced this *Quivelinga*, as the original of all created things, and adorned him in their temples with the best sweet herbs and flowers. They have a certain religious order called *Jogiis*, who wear the figure of this *Quivelinga*, either of wood or copper, about the neck, and offer him daily the best of their victuals. *Rogerius* speaks to the same purpose of the *Lingam*, i. e. *Membrum virile in muliebri*, as the *Ixora*, or *Eswara* is represented in their *Pagodes*. *What Quivelinga was.*

St. *Austin* * tells us something like this of the *Priapus*, which used to be carried in procession, in honour of *Bacchus*, through the cities of *Italy*; and that the matrons used to crown his *membrum virile* with garlands. I have read in several authors of known integrity, and speak it upon the credit of divers people yet living, That the *Canarins*, and inhabitants about *Goa*, do carry their brides to such a *Priapus*, in order to deliver them of their virginity. The whole matter whereof, I will, for modesty's sake, relate in *Latin*: *Sponsa magno comitatu multaque cum pompa inter plausus ac sonos musicos ducitur ad idolum, quod aenea virga vel ferrea, vel eburnea prominente praeditum conspicitur, & ad hanc nudata veste sponsa a matre vel a proximis consanguineis vehementer impellitur, quod cum absque gravi dolore fieri nequeat, illiqui adsint, cantando & saltando sponsae flebiles voces opprimans*

* Lib. 4. de civitate Dei.

Canarins offer their brides to Priapus.

Baldæus. *opprimant, ſi quæ eſt, quæ dolorem immenſum verita, hoc modo Virginitate privari recuſat, blandis conſanguineorum verbis ad idolum paulatim adducitur, atque ad id a matre tamdiu (invita quamvis) adigitur, donec virginitatem amiſerit; poſtea ſponſa domum rediens ſponſo traditur, qui de hoc præ ſe ſuſcepto Labore ſibi maximopere gratulatur.*

Baal Phegor ſeems to have been the *Priapus* of the *Jews*. *Jerome*, in his commentary upon the prophet *Hoſea*, ſays, That the *Jewiſh* women worſhipped *Baal Phegor, ob obſcæni magnitudinem membri, quem nos* Priapum *poſſimus appellare.*

The *Brahmans* will indeed not allow of this interpretation, alledging, that they adore under this, the circular figure, which is infinite; whereas the ſignification of the word ſufficiently contradicts them. *Quivelinga* being compoſed out of the word *Linga*, or *Lingam*, i. e. the *manly yard*. and *Quiven* the ſame with *Iſora*; and the figure carried by the *Jogii*, expreſſly repreſents the conjunction of the members of both ſexes.

Quivelinga then (as we ſaid before) is of a circular figure, which being incloſed in three diſtinct rinds or ſhells, which they ſay are tranſmuted into three gods, *viz. Bramma*, *Viſtnum*, and *Quiven*; the firſt and hardeſt produces *Bramma*, the ſecond *Viſtnum*, and the innermoſt *Quiven*. *Quivelinga* being thus deſpoiled of his ſhells, was burnt to aſhes by fire, and fixed in the triangle. *Quivelinga* being thereby become a thing without ſenſe or motion, it was requiſite it ſhould be guarded by ſome body; which *Bramma* and *Viſtnum* refuſing to do, *Quiven* undertook the task, and conſtantly attending *Quivelinga* with prayers and ſacrifices of flowers, deſerved thereby to be ranked above his brothers, and obtained the title of the *great god*, as their poets call him. The *Brahmans* ſay, that *Bramma*, *Viſtnum*, and *Quiven*, or *Iſora*, are commiſſioned by the *firſt being* to rule the world in the nature of his viceroys. They ſay *Iſora* reſides in *Calaja*, *Viſtnum* in the *Milk-Sea*, and *Bramma* in *Sattiolagam*, or the higheſt place in heaven; of which more hereafter.

Baldæus.

What Quivelinga was.

CHAP. II.

A Deſcription of Ixora: *His Wives. Abſtinency of the* Brahmans. *Divers Sorts of Eunuchs.*

A Deſcription of Iſora.

IXORA is as bright and white as milk, with three eyes; two whereof are placed as thoſe of other men, and the third in the front, being ſo full of fire, that it conſumes every thing it looks upon. His ſtature is immenſe; for *Bramma* being deſirous to ſee his head, ſoared up high into the earth, but could not reach it. *Viſtnum* (whom they call the god of inventions and changes) having the ſame curioſity to ſee his feet, which reached deep into the ground, transformed himſelf into a hog, the better to dig up the earth, but could likewiſe not obtain his with; for, ſay they, *Ixora* is of ſo vaſt an extent, that the ſerpent *Batega* (which is ſo long as to compaſs the ſeven worlds and the ſeven ſeas) was not big enough to ſerve him for a bracelet. I heard a pagan once ridicule a *Brahman*, becauſe he put the figure of *Iſora* in his chamber; whereas, according to their opinion, it was much larger than the ſerpent *Batega*.

His bigneſs.

This Pan was antiently repreſented with horns, reaching up to the clouds.

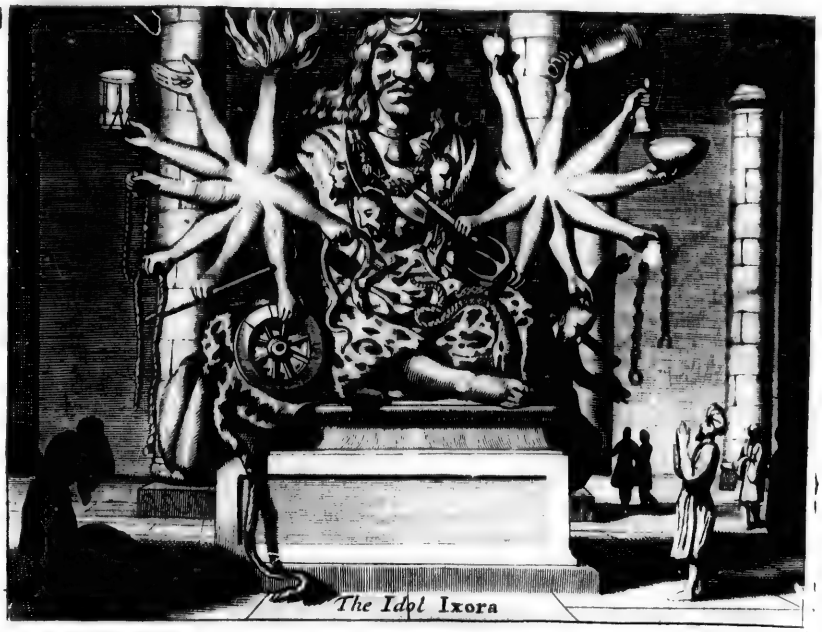
Iſora has no leſs than ſixteen hands, wherewith he holds the following things: a *heart*, a *chain*, a *fiddle*, * a *bell*, *porcellain baſon*, *capalla*, i. e. *Bramma's head*, a *trident*, a *rope*, an *ax*, *fire*, *gold*, a *drum*, *beads*, a *ſtaff*, an *iron wheel*, a *ſerpent*, with a creſcent or half moon on his forehead. His apparel is a *tyger's* skin, his cloak the hide of an elephant, ſurrounded with ſerpents †. He wears about his neck a collar of the ſkin of a certain creature, called *Mandega*, on which is faſtened a bell, ſuch as our oxen or ſheep commonly have about their necks.

* *As Pan had his flute.*

† *Pan wore the skin of a panther, the furs whereof imitated the variety of nature in ſtars, flowers, ſpices, &c.*

He has alſo about his neck three chains; one whereof being intermixed with roſes and other flowers, affords an odoriferous ſcent. The ſecond is made of the heads of *Bramma*; for they ſay, that *Bramma* dies and revives every year; and that *Ixora*, gathering his heads as often as he dies, had made this chain of it. The third is made of the bones of *Chatti*, one of *Ixora's* wives; for it is to be known, that he has two wives, one named *Grienga*, or the *Goddeſs of the Seas*, whom he always carries in his hairlocks; the other this *Chatti*, otherwiſe called *Parameſceri*, who they ſay dies and revives once a year; and as often as ſhe dies, he takes one of her bones, which are put into this chain. He carries alſo the ſame beads as the *Brahmans* do, his whole body being beſmeared with aſhes, and thus rides in triumph through *Calaja* upon an ox named *Irixapatan*, unto whom they offer certain ſacrifices.

His



The Idol Ixora

Baldæus. His attendants are called *Pudas*, *Pixaros*, and *Pes*. *Pudas* is repreſented like a fat and ſhort perſon, with a large paunch, without a beard, having ſerpents hanging down, with their tails from his head. He wears a bracelet on his left arm, and two others about his thighs, made of ſerpents, and a ſtaff in his right hand. The *Pes* and *Pixaros* are repreſented much taller, with burning torches in their hands in the night-time.

They ſay that *Bramma* has created the univerſe, *Viſtnum* governs it, and *Ixora* kills and puts a period to every thing. They further add, that *Ixora* has communicated part of his ſubſtance to his wife *Parameſceri*, alias *Parvati*, and ſhe again to him; ſo that they are both hermaphrodites; and *Ixora* is ſometimes repreſented as ſuch; and *Rogerius*, *Lib.* II. ſays, That the *Brahmans* call their *Ixora*, *Ardhanari*, i. e. a *Manwife*. There are, however, a certain ſort of *Brahmans* called *Tirimimpi*, who are ſo far different from the reſt, that they won't as much as caſt an eye upon a woman; for which reaſon as often as they paſs through the ſtreets, they have certain perſons, who bid the women go out of the way: thus the *Hierophantes* of *Athens*, and the prieſts of the goddeſs *Cybele* among the *Romans*, uſed to deny themſelves the uſe of venery, the firſt by caſtrating themſelves, the others by certain drugs. The *Jews* diſtinguiſh betwixt *eunuchs made by God*, and thoſe made by men; the laſt are believed to owe their original to the *Perſians*; and among the *Jews* they had certain perſons, called *Impingentes*, becauſe they uſed to run againſt poſts and doors, rather than to look upon a woman.

A ſtrict ſort of Brahmans.

Baldæus.

Divers ſorts of eunuchs.

Rogerius * mentions another ſort of *Brahmans*, called *Sauſiazii*, who renounce all worldly pleaſures, abſtain from women, and even the *Betel*, (though generally uſed all over the *Indies*,) eat but once a day, have no fixed habitations, uſe nothing but earthen veſſels, and live upon alms. The fundamental rules of their ſect being to withſtand *luſt*, *anger*, *covetouſneſs*, *pride*, the *pleaſures of the world*, and *revenge*.

* Lib. II. c. 4.

CHAP. III.

Conteſt betwixt Bramma, Viſtnum, *and* Ixora, *who is obliged to be a Mendicant twelve Years. A Child produced out of the Blood of* Viſtnum, *occaſions new Differences.*

Baldæus. THE reſidence of *Ixora* is upon the ſilver mount *Calaja*, to the ſouth of the famous mountain *Mahameru*, being a moſt delicious place, planted with all ſorts of trees, that bear fruit all the year round. The roſes and other flowers ſend forth a moſt odoriferous ſcent; and the pond at the foot of the mount is incloſed with pleaſant walks of trees, that afford an agreable ſhade, whilſt the peacocks and divers other birds entertain the ear with their harmonious noiſe, as the beautiful women do the eyes. The circumjacent woods are inhabited by a certain people called *Munis*, or *Rixis*, who avoiding the converſation of others, ſpend their time in offering daily ſacrifices to their god.

It is obſervable, that though theſe pagans are generally black themſelves, yet do they repreſent theſe *Rixis* to be of a fair complexion, with long white beards, and long garments hanging croſs-wiſe, from about the neck down over the breaſt. They are in ſuch eſteem among them, that they believe, that whom they bleſs, are bleſſed, and whom they curſe, are curſed.

Within the mountain lives another generation, called *Jexaquinnera* and *Quendra*, who are free from all troubles, ſpend their days in continual contemplations, praiſes, and prayers to God. Round about the mountain ſtand ſeven ladders, by which you aſcend to a ſpacious plain, in the middle whereof is a bell of ſilver, and a ſquare table, ſurrounded with nine precious ſtones, of divers colours. Upon this table lies a ſilver roſe called *Tamara Pua*, which contains two women as bright and fair as a pearl; one is called *Brigaſiri*, i. e. *the Lady of the Mouth*; the other *Tarafiri*, i. e. *the Lady of the Tongue*, becauſe they praiſe God with the mouth and tongue. In the center of this roſe is the *triangle* (mentioned in the *firſt chapter*) of *Quivelinga*, which they ſay is the permanent reſidence of god.

Ixora being one time diverting himſelf in this *Cajala*, or *Paradiſe*, with *Pudas*, *Pes*, and *Pixajos*, let fall ſome words, intimating him to be the greateſt in all the world, which *Bramma* and *Viſtnum* not able to brook, a conteſt aroſe about the precedency; to decide which, *Ixora* told them, that which of the two could take a full view of him from head to foot, *Baldæus.* ſhould be accounted the greateſt.

Conteſt betwixt Ixora, Bramma, *and* Viſtnum.

Bramma hereupon got upon his bird *Annam*, (whereof more anon) and paſſed up into the air, to get ſight of *Ixora*'s head, whilſt *Viſtnum* transforming himſelf into a hog, dug into the ground, to come at his feet. Whilſt he was thus imployed, meeting with a moſt poiſonous ſerpent, he was ſo ſtartled at it, that he deſiſted from his enterprize. This ſtory is related more at large by ſeveral of the *Malabar* poets.

Bramma on the other hand, reſolute in his deſigns, ſoared very high into the air, when being met by three flowers, they asked him whither he was a going; he replied, to get ſight of the head of *Ixora*: they told him, *his labour was in vain*, by reaſon of the vaſt diſtance; which made *Bramma* change his reſolution; but at the ſame time deſired the flowers to tell *Ixora*, that he was prevented from coming ſo high as his head by a ſudden giddineſs in his brains; which they promiſed, and did accordingly; but *Ixora* being ſenſible of the deceit, did with his *Chacra*, or ſcymetar, cut off one of the four heads of *Bramma*, and curſed the flowers. Out of the blood of *Bramma*'s head, came forth a man with five hundred heads, and a thouſand hands, named *Sagatracavaxen*. The day on which *Bramma*'s head was cut off, was ever after looked upon as ominous, and named *Pongalacha*, i. e. *Dies infeſtus*; whence aroſe the proverb of a thing that is never to be done, *It ſhall be at Pongalacha*.

One of Bramma's *heads cut off by* Ixora.

The three flowers were curſed, *viz.* That one of them ſhould grow upon a dunghill, and be cut down there; the other to be turned into a crow, and the third into a cow.

The *Brahmans* further ſay, That *Ixora* to expiate the crime he had committed, by cutting off the head of *Bramma*, turned mendicant as the *Jogii* do, with *Bramma*'s skull in his hand, till the ſame ſhould be filled with alms; whence aroſe that cuſtom practiſed to this day, that he who kills a *Brahman*, muſt beg alms for twelve years in the skull of the *Brahman* killed by his hands. *Ixora* therefore begged alms for twelve years; for though he received ſufficient alms, yet by the fiery

Ixora. rays that darted from his eye in his fore-head, it was all conſumed and turned to aſhes in an inſtant.

One day as he was gathering alms among the beforeſaid *Mamis*, their wives came running with whole ladles of blood to fill the skull; but not being able to ſuſtain the glance of his eyes, they were ſo ſurprized, that they let ſhip not only their ladles, but alſo their clothes. The *Mamis* ſeeing their wives naked, did fall pell-mell upon *Ixora*; one attacked him with an ax, which he ſeized and got up into the air; another would have killed him with a ſerpent, which he took in his hands, without receiving any harm; then they brought a furious tyger to devour him; this he killed and ſkined, and made a garment of the skin; then they ſet upon him a wild elephant, who underwent the ſame fate, his hide ſerving him afterwards for a cloak; this *ax*, *ſerpent*, *tyger*, and *elephant*, are the ſame trophies he holds in his hands.

Ixora attacked by the Mamis.

Viſtnum willing to deliver *Ixora*, appeared to the *Mamis* in the ſhape of a moſt beautiful virgin, which occaſioned ſuch a ſurprize to them, that the men (as their wives had done before) fell into a trance, and *Ixora* ſpilled his ſeed upon the ground, which *Viſtnum* with his hand formed into a child.

Relieved by Viſtnum. *Ixora* being towards the end of the twelfth year quite tired with his mendicant life, had recourſe to *Viſtnum*, who commiſerating his condition, put out the fiery eye, that conſumed all the alms in the ſkull; which done, *Viſtnum* wounded himſelf in one of his fingers, and filled the ſkull with the blood, which put an end to his pilgrimage, but gave birth to the order of the *Yogis*, who in the memory of *Ixora*'s pilgrimage, lead a mendicant life to this day.

Baldæus.

Out of the blood of *Viſtnum* a child was procreated, called *Varen*, which occaſioned new conteſts, *Bramma* challenging it as his own, becauſe it was begot in his ſkull, *Viſtnum* becauſe it came forth out of his blood, and *Ixora* becauſe it came out of his hands. To reconcile this difference, *Devaindra*, a king of the aerial ſpirits, perſuaded them to relinquiſh their pretenſions by joint-conſent; which they having conſented to, *Devaindra* educated the child at *Devalogam*, where becoming a famous bowman, he protected that place againſt *Sagatracavaxen*, who, as we told before, being the product of *Bramma*'s head, had five hundred heads and a thouſand hands. Afterwards *Ixora* returned to *Calaja*, his former reſidence.

Another conteſt.

It is obſervable, that if one of their kings dies, they tie his hands and feet, when certain ſoldiers come to threaten him with their ſticks; which affront, they believe, is a means to expiate the treſpaſſes committed by him in his life-time againſt his ſubjects.

CHAP. IV.

The Children of Ixora. *The Nativity and Conſtitution of* Quenavady. *The Origin of* Sura. Quenavady *caſtrated. Conteſt betwixt him and* Superbennia. *His Habitation and Gluttony. Funeral Feaſts of the* Malabars.

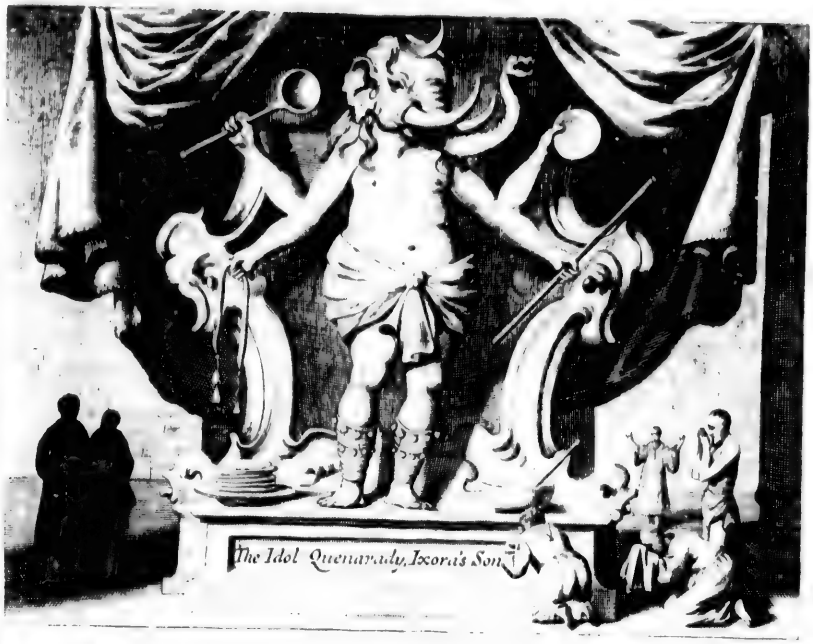
Children of Ixora. IXORA had three ſons and one daughter, the eldeſt reſembling an elephant, the ſecond an ape, the third had ſix faces and twelve hands. The daughter, who was as black as a coal, had the face of a hog. The eldeſt ſon named *Quenavady*, was born in the wood by *Piragu*, with an elephant's head and face, the reſt of his body being like other men; for *Ixora* walking one time with his lady *Parameſceri* towards the wood *Piragu*, ſhe ſaw an elephant ſporting with a female of the ſame kind, and ſo raiſed her appetite, that ſhe deſired *Ixora* to be both tranſformed into elephants; which being done accordingly, they eat of a certain fruit in the wood, which made them quite frenzical, ſo that they made the ſame noiſe, overturned the trees, threw up the ſand with their trunks, and did all the other actions of elephants, not excepting even their copulation. The female having conceived immediately, brought forth this child with the elephant's head and face, and ſoon after they reſumed their own ſhape. *Parameſceri* tried to give ſuck to this young monſter, but being in danger of having her breaſt torn in pieces by it, ſhe delivered it up to *Ixora*, who had it brought up in *Calaja*.

Quenavady's original.

This *Quenavady* had the hand, teeth, and face of an elephant, with large hanging ears, and ugly lips, with red pimples all over the face: His hair is long, (like his father's,) tied about with a ſerpent, or adder, with a creſcent or half

A deſcription of him.

moon



Baldæus. moon on his forehead, and four hands, beſides the trunk; the reſt of his body like other men, but ſhining like gold, with a large paunch tied about with a red piece of ſtuff: he wears alſo the girdle of the *Brahmans*, and on his feet divers gold rings and bells.

They tell you another ſtory of *Ixora*, *viz.* That being one time inebriated with the *Sury*, or juice of the coco-tree, and having carnal copulation with *Parameſceri*, a ſmall quantity of *Ixora*'s ſeed was ſpilt upon the ground, and afterwards covered with earth by *Parameſceri*, this produced a palm-tree. *Ixora* coming ſoon after into the wood, and ſeeing the young tree, cut off the top thereof with his *Chacra*, or weapon. The liquor which iſſued thence ſo well pleaſed *Ixora*, that he took a good quantity of it in his cup he always carried along with him; and having drank his full ſhare, tied up the tree, and ſo returned to *Calaja*. He repeated this ſo often, that *Parameſceri* finding him always return in drink from the wood, took the next opportunity to follow him thither; and finding the juice very acceptable, ſhe taſted ſo long of it, till ſhe was alſo inebriated. *Ixora*, when he firſt eſpied his wife behind him, cried out to her, *Calli*, that is, you *ſhe-thief*; whereupon ſhe anſwering, *Calla*, i. e. *thief*: the *Malabars* to this day call the ſaid juice *Calla*. *Ixora* being well pleaſed with the young tree, ſtretched it with his hand higher and higher, and ſo turned it into a palm-tree.

Baldæus.

A ſtory of Ixora.

It ſeems ſomewhat odd, that the *Brahmans*, who pretend ſo much to ſobriety, ſhould make their *ſupreme god* a drunkard, when they are ſo nice in this point, that they will never make uſe of our ink, for fear there ſhould be ſome wine in it. Thus the *Samoryn* of *Calecut* killed his own brother-in-law, becauſe he was drunk; and the king of *Cochin* did the ſame to a company of drunken *Nairos*.

The Brahmans averſe to drunkenneſs.

They further tell us of this *Ixora*, that he cauſed his ſon *Quenavady* to be caſtrated, becauſe he once, whilſt yet in his mother's arms, touched her privy-parts with his trunk: others ſay, he actually enjoyed her; which is the reaſon the *Malabars* ſay, that the elephants have no teſticles.

Quenavady caſtrated.

It is to this *Quenavady*, the pagan artiſans, workmen, &c. offer the firſt-fruits of their labour. After they have reverenced, and offered ſacrifices to him for

Baldæus. twelve years, he moves one of his ears, as a ſign that they muſt continue the ſame; which being done twelve other years, he ſhakes the other ear, to give them to underſtand, that he requires ſtill more at their hands; if they hold on twelve years longer, he opens his eyes, and grants their requeſts.

How worſhipped.

Ixora being at a certain time deſirous to try the agility of his two ſons *Quenavady* and *Superbennia*, offered a very fine fig as a reward to him who ſhould carry the day. *Quenavady* having a very thick skin, and riding only upon a mouſe, whereas *Superbennia* had ſix faces, and twelve arms, and rid upon a peacock, being ſufficiently convinced, that his brother would carry the prize, took his opportunity, whilſt the other was riding round the *Calaja*, to turn ſhort, and ſo lay hold of the fig. *Superbennia* having taken his turn, purſuant to the wager, and not finding the fig, did fall upon *Quenavady* ſo furiouſly, that he beat out one of his teeth: but *Ixora* giving *Superbennia* another fig, the difference was ſoon ended. But not knowing what to do with the tooth, he gave it to *Viſtnou*, deſiring him to reſtore it to *Quenavady*; which he did accordingly, by putting it into a fig which he gave to his nephew, who, as he was going to eat the fig, found the tooth, which he turned into a nice writing-pen, and kept it to write his poetry with.

Difference betwixt Quenavady and Superbennia.

For the reſt, *Quenavady* is repreſented as very voracious; for they ſay, he could devour the whole world; nor is he to be ſatiated, but in the *Sugar-Sea* called *Jexucadhil*, which is of a vaſt extent, and always boiling-hot, having in the midſt a mount compoſed of nine very fine ſtones, with a plain on the top, deliciouſly ſeated, in the center whereof, ſtands the tree *Luola*, incloſed with a row of precious ſtones curiouſly wrought. In this incloſure, is a ſtructure of the fineſt red coral, covered with precious ſtones: the doors whereof, as well as the avenues to the place, are guarded by a good force of the *Padas*, who ſpend their time in holy meditations and prayers in the company of a good number of women, who ſing to *Baldæus.* the praiſe of God. Cloſe about the tree *Luola* are ſeats of gold, and a table made of the moſt precious ſtone called *Bairacallo*, upon which ſtand a bright ſhining mouſe, and a roſe, in the leaves whereof are written fourteen letters or characters. This is the reſidence of *Quenavady*, who rides upon the ſaid mouſe.

The Sugar-Sea.

He has on each ſide of him a moſt beautiful woman, who are continually employed to lade ſugar mixed with honey into his mouth; and for fear he ſhould be tired with the ſame diet, good ſtore of *Affes*, (*Indian* cakes,) fried in butter-milk, butter, and divers other proviſions, ſtand always before him. The hills near it, afford alſo figs, grapes, coco-nuts, and all other ſorts of the beſt fruits, as well as roſes and other flowers. The muſicians that attend divert him with fiddles, trumpets, flutes, hautboys, and other muſical inſtruments; as many women are employed to make rich incenſes, and to anoint his body with ſandal-wood, civet, muſk, and to offer all ſorts of odoriferous flowers.

The *Malabars* celebrate yearly the memory of their deceaſed friends with great pomp and vaſt charge, according to their abilities. The kings upon this occaſion, entertain the *Brahmans*, (who are in high eſteem there, as being the interpreters of their *Vedam*, or law-book) magnificently, and diſtribute money after the feaſt. And, becauſe in the *Indies*, but eſpecially on the coaſt of *Malabar*, there are many petty kings, as thoſe of *Trevancor*, *Coulang*, *Calecoulang*, *Porca*, *Cochin*, *Cranganor*, *Cananor*, &c. theſe feaſts are frequent in thoſe parts, and the *Brahmans* will be ſure to partake of them, though they travel ſometimes ten, fifteen, nay, twenty leagues for it, and take their full ſhare; for though they value themſelves much for abſtaining from fleſh, fiſh, eggs, wine and other ſtrong liquors, yet will they make themſelves a full amends with ſuch victuals, as are allowable by their conſtitution.

Funeral feaſts of the Malabars.

CHAP. V.

Of the other Children of Ixora. *A Coco-Nut in the Head of an Ape.*
Siri Hanuman *born an Ape.* *Revived from the Dead. Combat betwixt* Superbennia *and* Quenavady. *His Curſing of the Moon.*

THE next to *Quenavady*, is ſtiled *Egaſourubum*, or the *true God*, repreſented with an elephant's head, and eleven hands. He is only to be worſhipped by the *Brahmans*, though others alſo ſacrifice to him, but muſt at the ſame time, abſtain

Baldæus. abſtain from fleſh, fiſh, eggs, and wine. Next to him, comes *Ceuxci*, whoſe origin is related thus: *Parameſceri*, *Ixora*'s ſpouſe, having anointed her body with oil and ſaffron, and waſhing herſelf in a pond, did form from the impurities of her body, a living man; *Ixora* ſeeing him at a diſtance, and believing him to be her lover, haſtned thither, and ſtruck with his weapon his head off at the foot of the mountain *Calaja*, which was turned into a coco-tree; whence it is, that the *Indians* ſay, that the print of a man's face was fixed in the coco-nut. *Parameſceri* being ſorely afflicted at her ſon's death, *Ixora* pleaded his ignorance; and to comfort her in her affliction, cut off the head of a white elephant, which he put upon the ſhoulders of her dead ſon, and ſo reſtored him to life again. He is repreſented with an elephant's head, and two hands.

Why the coco-nut has the print of a man's face.

Ixora had alſo another ſon, named *Siri Hanuman*, by *Parameſceri*, which was born an ape. *Ixora*, it ſeems, was a moſt celebrated dancer, and uſed frequently to ſhew his activity in the preſence of the celeſtial ſpirits, as well as his ſpouſe *Parameſceri*, who was ſo active in dancing, that one time when ſhe had loſt a ear-jewel out of one ear, ſhe took it up with two toes of her feet, and put it in her ear again, to the incredible ſurprize of the ſpectators. Hence, perhaps, aroſe the cuſtom uſed among the ladies of the *Nairos*, who, whilſt they are dancing at a certain feaſt celebrated in honour of one of their idols, let on a ſudden ſlip all their clothes, and remain naked. But to return to *Ixora*: Having invited many of the celeſtial ſpirits to ſee him dance, *Parameſceri* happened to ſee two apes ſport together in the adjacent wood, ſhe deſired *Ixora* to transform both her and him into apes; which done, they leaped about in the wood, till coming to a bambo-tree, *Parameſceri* then conceived an ape. In the mean time the celeſtial ſpirits being come, according to invitation, and among them *Jecxa*, *Quinnera*, and *Quendra*, and finding their hoſt abroad, they ſent the *Wind* (as the nimbleſt of all) to find out *Ixora*, who having told him his errand, they both reſumed their former ſhapes.

The wives of the Nairos ſlip off their cathes in dancing.

Parameſceri being now aſhamed of her burden, requeſted the *Wind* to convey the ape into the womb of *Ankema*, one of the ladies of the celeſtial ſpirits; and ſo they returned home, where *Ixora* danced to the admiration of the whole aſſembly. *Ankema* afterwards brought forth an ape as white as *Ixora* himſelf, who being endowed with peculiar virtues by his father, performed many noted exploits; of which more hereafter in the hiſtory of *Siri Rama*.

Two odd ſtories they tell of this ape: *Odd ſtories of the ape Siri Hanuman.* Firſt, That being one time very hungry, and taking the ſun for a dainty bit, he was endeavouring to leap up towards it, but was beat back by the iron weapon of *Ixora*, who gave him a good knock on the pate, but without any harm, whence he got the name of *Hanuman*. The other is, That meeting one time with a white elephant called *Aeravadia*, on which was mounted *Devaindra*, king of the celeſtial ſpirits, a quarrel aroſe betwixt them, in which *Hanuman* was ſlain: his father, the *Wind*, being afflicted at his death, hid his face under ground, ſo that the inhabitants of the earth being ready to periſh for want of air in the extremity of heat, they addreſſed themſelves to *Ixora*, who reſtored *Hanuman* to life, and recalled the wind above ground.

Thus the wind was adored as a god both by the *Greeks* and *Romans*. The *Athenians* erected a temple to the wind, as *Auguſtus* did in *France*; the *Phenicians* did the ſame. This ape has divers celebrated *Pagodes* erected to him by the *Indians*. We read in the *Portugueſe* hiſtories, That in 1554, when they plundered the famous *Pagode* upon the *Adam's-Mount* in *Ceylon*, they found an ape's tooth (the moſt ſacred relick of the pagans of *Pegu*, *Ceylon*, *Malabar*, *Bengale*, *Coromandel* and *Bijnagar*) encloſed in a box ſet with precious ſtones, which they carried to *Goa*; ſome of the *Indian* princes offered ſeven hundred thouſand ducats to redeem it, but it was not accepted of, by reaſon the biſhop of *Goa* oppoſed it.

Another ſon of *Ixora* was called *Superbennia*, with ſix faces, and twelve hands; the occaſion whereof happened thus: *Parameſceri* being one day employed in waſhing herſelf in a ciſtern, ſix weavers happened to paſs by, who inflamed with luſt, looked very wiſhfully at her: this having the ſame effect upon her, ſhe conceived the ſame inſtant; but fearing *Ixora*'s anger, ſhe threw it out with her ſpittle upon the ground, which turning in an inſtant into a child with ſix faces and twelve hands, much reſembling in all other reſpects the ſix weavers, they took it along with them, and educated it in all manner of accompliſhments. One time being engaged in a diſpute with *Ixora*, he was ſo taken with his wit, that he received him for his ſon, aſſigned him a place at *Calaja*, and preſented him with a peacock to ride upon. *A conception by jan-*

Before I conclude this chapter, I muſt tell you one thing more of *Quenavady*. Returning one day pretty late at night from a banquet, when the moon was not very

Baldæus. light, it being only the fourth day after the new moon in *Auguſt*, with his umbrella in one hand, in the other a poem, and ſome cakes under his arm, he ran unwarily againſt a poſt with ſuch violence, that he fell upon the ground, and dropped not only his umbrella, but alſo his poem and cakes. As he was moſt concerned for the laſt, ſo he took a good bite or two of them before he roſe again, or looked for his book and umbrella. The moon ſeeing this pleaſant ſpectacle, could not forbear laughing; which *Quenavady* perceiving, broke out into this curſe, *Whoever, O moon, ſhall ſee thee for the future upon this day in* Auguſt, *ſhall be damnified in his privities.* Hence it is that the pagans will not ſtir abroad the 4th of *Auguſt* after ſun-ſet, nay, even not on the 5th, for fear of partaking of this curſe; and if any one is obliged to ſtay without doors, he covers his face, and even will not look into the water for fear of ſeeing the moon, though they ſee the *St. Thomas* chriſtians, the *Jews*, and *Mahometans*, look upon it at the ſame time without the leaſt detriment. *Baldæus.* *Quenavady curſes the moon.*

CHAP. VI.

Ixora's *Daughter*; *and the Origin of the Small-Pox: Fear of the* Malabars *of that Diſtemper. Their* Pagode Amadyri *plundered by the King of* Cochin. *She comes to* Coulang.

A Certain giant named *Racxada* (of which more anon) having lived twelve years with *Bramma*, he received, among many other preſents, a book from him, and ſome bracelets, as alſo the virtue of being invulnerable. The natives of *Coromandel* believe theſe giants to have been children of the *Brahman Caſſiopa*, by his wife *Aditi*, juſt as the *Jews* ſay, that *Lilith* brought forth devils begotten by *Adam*. *Darida* finding himſelf thus placed above the common rank of men, by his ſtrength beſtowed upon him by *Bramma*, would needs challenge *Ixora*, who knowing his ſtrength, ſent againſt him a certain female, named *Sorga*, who cut off one of his heads; (for beſides his true head, he had many others, but only in appearance.) But *Darida* returning the next day, reiterated his boaſts, when *Ixora* engaged five holy women, called *Chamundigal* by the *Malabars*, in his quarrel, who cut off his falſe heads; but all to no purpoſe; ſo that *Darida* perſiſting in his inſolence, *Ixora* conſulted with *Viſtnum* what to do in this exigency. Whilſt they were debating the matter, *Viſtnum* ſent forth from his body a certain matter, (called *Bixa* by the *Malabars*,) which entering that of *Ixora*, paſſed again through the eye on his front, and falling upon the ground, produced in an inſtant a female, which *Ixora* acknowledging for his daughter, gave her the name of *Patragali Pagode*.

Darida.

A deſcription of Ixora's daughter.

This daughter had eight faces, ſixteen hands as black as a coal, with large round eyes, her teeth like the tuſks of a boar. In lieu of pendants ſhe has two elephants in her ears, and ſerpents about her body, inſtead of a garment; her hairlocks are peacocks tails; in her hand ſhe carries a ſword, a trident, a large porcellain baſon, another veſſel called *Capala* by the *Malabars*, a ſcymetar called *Mautegam*, a hanger called *Carutela*, an arrow, a weapon called *Cona*, a rope, an ape with an iron wheel.

This monſter was no ſooner born, but ſhe went to revenge her father's quarrel, and fighting for ſeven days ſucceſſively, ſhe cut off ſeven of his imaginary heads; but finding all her endeavours in vain, and that *Darida* was not vulnerable as long as he kept the book and bracelets given him by *Bramma*, ſhe applied herſelf to *Sorga*, intreating her to take upon her the habit of a beggar, and by that means endeavour to get the beforeſaid things into her hands. Accordingly *Sorga* took the opportunity to aſk alms of *Darida*, when he was at ſome diſtance from his houſe, who told her, That if ſhe would go to his houſe, his wife would anſwer her deſire; which if ſhe did not, he would do it himſelf. *Sorga* then went to his houſe, and aſked his wife for the bracelets and book in her husband's name, who freely delivering the ſame, ſhe brought them inſtantly to *Patragali*. *Darida* having thus loſt his beſt treaſures, wherein *Bramma* had incloſed all his happineſs, and thereby being bereaved of his former ſtrength, was ſoon after engaged again, and had his true head cut off by *Patragali*.

Being ſo much exalted by this victory, ſhe came ſtrait to *Ixora*, who being then juſt undreſſed,

Opinion of the pagans about the ſmall-pox.

The Pagode of Patragali at Coulang.

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Baldæus. undreſſed, leaped into a ciſtern, for fear of being ſeen by *Patragali*, from whence he gave her ſome fleſh and blood; but finding her not ſatisfied thus, he ordered her to hold out her baſon, and cutting off one of his fingers, he filled it with his own blood; but *Patragali* continuing ſtill unſatisfied, took one of her golden chains, (compoſed of ſmall pieces, like pepper corns,) and threw it into his face, which raiſing in his face great numbers of pimples, or ſmall ulcers, he cried out with great ſurprize, *Baſuri*, i. e. *O you revengeful woman!* and deſiring her to deſiſt, created two young men, named *Birapatrem* and *Quetraquele*, whom he beſtowed upon her, and thus pacified her anger; but to rid his hand of her for the future, he preſented her with a veſſel of ſandal wood, ordering her to go with it into the world, and to reſide (though unknown) among the mortals, and to require vows and ſacrifices at their hands.

Opinion of the pagans about the ſmall-pox.

The pagans therefore imagining that it is *Patragali* ſends the ſmall-pox among the people, leave the patient ſo ſoon as he is ſeized with it; and hence perhaps it is, that they have a certain idol repreſenting a female, with a child laying his arms about her neck, and imploring her aſſiſtance. They deliver up theſe patients to the care of the *Comaras*, a fraternity belonging to the *Pagode* of *Patragali*: theſe offer the blood of ſome cocks and other ſacrifices to the goddeſs in behalf of the ſick; and for the reſt give them only ſome *Canjies*, or rice boiled in water; and leaving them for the reſt to their own diſpoſal, more die for want of good looking after, than by the violence of the diſtemper, nay, ſometimes are killed by *Comaras*, who inherit all their moveables.

We told you before, that *Ixora* called his daughter *Baſuri*, which to this day ſignifies the *ſmall-pox* among the *Malabars*, which they ſay is the ſword of *Patragali*, and for that reaſon endeavour to mitigate her wrath by ſacrifices, wherein they follow the footſteps of the antient *Greeks*.

The Pagode of Patragali at Cranganor.

They ſay that *Patragali* has her chief reſidence in the *Great Pagode* of *Cranganor*, called the *Pagode of Pilgrims*, from the vaſt number of zealots that flock thither; and as this brings in a revenue of many thouſand *Fanams* to the king of *Cranganor*, ſo the king of *Cochin*, who fain would have had a ſhare in the booty, did poſt ſome forces on the paſſes, who robbed and plundered the pilgrims, intending by this means to oblige them to reſort to the *Pagode*, built in the kingdom of *Palurti*, under his juriſdiction. Thus the old king of *Cochin* did plunder and rob the famous *Pagode* of *Ammadiri* of all its treaſure, at the head of a body of ten thouſand men, and afterwards laughed at them into the bargain, ſaying, That he had taken it only as his inheritance, as being the ſon and heir of the idol; juſt as *Dionyſius*, the *Sicilian* tyrant, did with *Jupiter* and *Æſculapius*.

The king of Cochin robs a famous Pagode.

But to return to *Patragali*; ſhe was no ſooner got out into the main with her veſſel of ſandal-wood, but being attacked by ſome fiſhermen and ape-hunters, was forced to return to *Calaja*, where finding *Ixora* overwhelmed with ſleep, ſhe overturned his bedſtead; which awakening him, ſhe told him her diſaſter; whereupon being endowed with new vigour by *Ixora*, ſhe returned to her veſſel, and having defeated the ape-hunters, and landed ſafely on the ſouth ſide of *Coulang*, (a city of *Malabar*,) the queen thereof ſent for her to court, and entertained her there for twelve years as her own daughter.

Adventures of Patragali after ſhe left Ixora.

The lord of *Couleta* (a country ſeven leagues to the north of *Calecut*) then deſiring *Patragali* in marriage for his ſon, the ſame was concluded, and ſhe taken home, where ſhe lived for twelve years, without ever cohabiting with her husband, as boaſting herſelf to be the daughter of *Ixora*. *Mendoza* ſpeaks of a certain idol in *China*, with a child hanging about her neck, which the jeſuits would fain perſuade the world to have been intended for the virgin *Mary*, though it ſeems much more probable, that it was intended for this *Patragali*. What Mr. *Le Blanc* tells us of the female idol of *Calecut*, ſeems very ſuſpicious to me.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Patragali's *Father and Mother ſuffer Shipwreck: She ſends her Huſband to ſell her Jewels; and goes in queſt after him. Nine ſeveral Adventures which happen to her. The reſt of* Ixora's *Children: Their Adventures. What further becomes of* Parameſceri.

Baldæus.

AFterwards *Patragali*'s father and mother-in-law being embarked aboard a ſhip with all their riches, in order to traffick with them in foreign countries, they were attacked at ſea by the ape-hunters, who ſinking their ſhips, they loſt all their riches. *Patragali* then gave her golden foot-rings to her husband to ſell them; who departed accordingly; but meeting upon the road a goldſmith, (a highwayman of *Pandy*,) he under pretence of viewing the rings, entertained the husband, till by ſeveral by-ways they brought him to *Pandy*. Here the pretended goldſmith (who had not long before ſtolen juſt ſuch rings from the queen of *Pandy*) accuſed *Patragali* of the robbery; who was put in priſon, and afterwards empaled alive on a palm-tree. The goldſmith's wife having an averſion to ſo foul a fact, upbraided her husband with it, who killed and buried her near a well.

Patragali's *husband executed.*

Patragali having ſtaid ſix days without hearing any news from her husband, reſolved to go in ſearch after him.

Patragali's *adventures whilſt ſhe goes in queſt of her husband.*

The firſt thing ſhe met with, was a pigeon, which ſhe asked, *Whether ſhe had ſeen her husband?* The pigeon replied, ſhe had ſeen him go that way, but not return. In recompence whereof *Patragali* gave her this bleſſing, That ſhe ſhould never want water in *February*, (being the drieſt ſeaſon here,) and preſented her with a piece of her chain, which ſhe threw about her neck: (the turtles have ſuch a ring about the neck.)

Patragali following the way ſhewn her by the pigeon, met with another bird; of whom having enquired as ſhe did before of the pigeon, ſhe received the ſame anſwer; which made her beſtow a tuft upon his head, being perhaps the ſame we call the *Pietwet* in our country, called *Carpenteiro* by the *Portugueſe*.

Afterwards *Patragali* coming to a mango-tree, ſhe asked the ſame queſtion; but receiving no anſwer, ſhe curſed it, That for the future the dead corpſe ſhould be burnt with no other wood; and that all veſſels built of that wood ſhould rot, and be worm-eaten at ſea.

Meeting next a cow, ſhe was kicked by her hindermoſt legs; which ſhe reſented ſo ill, that ſhe gave her this curſe, That of her four tears one ſhould be for the uſe of the *Pagode*, the other for the prince of the country, the third for the owner, and the fourth only for her calf; that they ſhould make drums of her skin, and that conſequently ſhe ſhould be ſubject to blows, both dead and alive. *Baldæus.*

The fifth ſhe met with being a *Naire*, or ſoldier of *Malabar*: this fellow had dug a hole, and having covered the ſame with ſome twigs and ſand, *Patragali* fell into it as ſhe paſſed along: ſhe gave him this curſe, That he ſhould be called coward all his life-time.

The next was a *Naira*, or a *Naire*'s daughter; who being asked by her, whether ſhe had not ſeen her husband? ſhe clapped her hands, ſaying in a ſcornful tone, What are you running after your husband? I have not ſeen him. She gave her this curſe, That ſhe ſhould be married to a *Naire*, a coward, who as ſoon as he turned ſoldier ſhould leave her in forty days after.

She then coming to a jaquo-tree, ſhe asked after her husband again: the tree bowing its twigs, furniſhed her with ſome of its milky liquor, (as this tree does, if you cut any of its twigs,) ſhe beſtowed this bleſſing upon it, That its fruits ſhould be highly eſteemed by the kings and princes; and that though its ſtem might corrupt, it ſhould continue to bear fruit, (as in effect it does,) and that they ſhould employ its wood in making their cymbals, called *Tabelyne*, and the ſtatues of their idols.

The eighth ſhe met with was a *Pelia*, a man of mean extraction, who not going out of her way, (as they uſually do,) ſhe told him, That he ſhould not be admitted into the houſes of perſons of quality from *October* till *February*.

The laſt ſhe met with was a *Parrea*, likewiſe a perſon of low birth; but having paid her the uſual reverence, ſhe admired at his civility, which made her ask him, Whether he did know her? He replied, that he took notice of her ſwines tusks, and the elephants in her ears; which ſo pleaſed her, that ſhe told him, He ſhould drink of the liquor of the palm-tree, (which in effect they do when they gather it,) and

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Baldæus. that he and his family ſhould feed upon cow's fleſh; then tracing the way ſhewed her by the *Parrea*, ſhe found her husband empaled upon the palm-tree; which being too high for her, ſhe obtained by her prayers, that the palm-tree broke, and ſo delivered her husband, whom ſhe brought to life again.

Patragali *revenges her huſband's death.*

Patragali now burning of revenge to puniſh the murderers of her husband, addreſſed herſelf to *Ixora*, who having furniſhed her with a ſtrong body of *Raxaxos*, or devils, (having been wicked men in their life-time,) ſhe entered the territories of *Pandy*, and at laſt killed the king and the goldſmith. His wife ſhe revived from the dead; who having brought forth a ſon, ſhe granted him a privilege to work in the *Pagodes*, and to receive to himſelf the tenth part of all the gold he ſhould make uſe of, the fourth in ten of what he ſhould work for the king, and as much as he could get from private perſons.

We told you before of the *Pagode* of *Patragali* in *Crangauor*, where, beſides her ſtatue, ſtands that of a large man in marble, which the *Brahmans* knock every day with hammers upon the head, to keep it from growing too big.

Thus much of *Ixora*'s children, who were, properly ſpeaking, only four in number, (*Superbennia* being only an adopted ſon:) we muſt alſo go on in the ſtory of

Pedigree of Parameſceri.

Parameſceri his ſpouſe, and her origin. *Jecxa Prajava*, king of the *Peringales*, had four daughters, the eldeſt whereof was *Parameſceri*, otherwiſe called *Parvati*; *Saroſſodi* and *Gojatris*, the ſecond and third, being married to *Bramma*, and *Pagode Siri* to *Viſtnum*. Their father being deſirous to ſee his daughters in their full glory, invited *Bramma* and *Viſtnum* to a moſt magnificent feaſt. *Viſtnum* asking him whether he had invited *Ixora*; he anſwered, No, (*Ixora* being then in his mendicant ſtate;) but afterwards conſidering the matter, he invited him at laſt; which *Ixora* took ſo heinouſly, that he reſolved to ſpoil the feaſt.

Rogerius *gives a ſomewhat different relation.*

The day appointed for the feaſt being come, *Siri-Pagode* came in great pomp in a ſtately chariot, made of nine moſt precious ſtones, moſt artificially wrought, herſelf being adorned with numberleſs jewels and pearls, and attended by a ſplendid retinue of ſervants and muſicians. *Saroſſodi* and *Gojatris*, the other two ſiſters, appeared with the ſame ſplendor. *Parameſceri* in the mean while having obtained leave to go to the feaſt from *Ixora*, he ordered her to put on her beſt apparel, and gave her his ſerpents, his umbrella of peacocks tails, his chain of bones, his tyger's ſkin, and elephant's hide: thus equipped, ſhe mounted upon an ox, and with a large attendance of drummers, and *Pudas* and *Pixares*, came *Baldæus.* to her father's palace, where being met at the gates by her ſiſters and the other gueſts, theſe ſeeing her equipage much below what they expected, inſtead of welcoming her as they ought to have done, burſt out into laughter; which ſo vexed *Parameſceri*, that without more ado, ſhe returned to *Calaja*, where ſhe gave an account of what treatment ſhe had met with, becauſe *her ſiſters appeared at the feaſt in a moſt ſumptuous equipage, their apparel being covered all over with precious ſtones and pearls, whereas ſhe, who was the eldeſt ſiſter, and married to* Ixora, *had been deſpiſed for her mean appearance.*

Ixora moved at the juſt complaints of his ſpouſe, ſent his ſon *Quenavady* to ſpoil the feaſt. *Viſtnum* being well acquainted with *Quenavady*'s temper, ordered good ſtore of cakes to be ſet before him in the hall; which pleaſed him ſo well, that he ſoon forgot his father's orders. *Ixora* wondering at *Quenavady*'s long ſtay, ſent his brother *Superbennia* upon the ſame errand; *Viſtnum* knowing him not to be diverted with trifles, ſent out to him ſome ingenious perſons, who entertained him ſo well with ſubtle diſcourſes and arguments, that he likewiſe neglected his father's commands.

At laſt *Ixora* finding both his ſons to ſtay behind, ordered his daughter *Patragali* thither. *Viſtnum* no ſooner heard of her coming, but he commanded a moſt delicious banquet to be ſet before her in the hall, through which ſhe was to paſs, which ſo diverted her ſenſes, that ſhe ſoon forgot what ſhe came about.

Ixora finding all theſe endeavours to prove ineffectual, reſolved to go thither in perſon. Which *Viſtnum* no ſooner got notice of, but he told king *Jecxa Prajava*, his father-in-law, that not being able to cope with *Ixora*, he would retire with his wife; and *Bramma* doing the ſame, the *ſun* and the *moon* (two of the gueſts) ſtaid only behind. *Ixora* coming to his father-in-law's palace, upbraided him with the contempt he had put upon him and his wife *Parameſceri*, and ſo taking him by the hair, full of anger, there came forth at the ſame inſtant, a ſtout warrior armed *cap-a-pee*, (like the *Mars* of the antient pagans,) called *Virapatren* by the *Malabars*, who cut off *Jecxa Prajava*'s head, the hands of the *god of the fire*, and beat out the teeth of the *ſun*. What *Rogerius* ſays concerning *Jecxa Prajava*'s having got a goat's head inſtead of the other, and that the *moon* alſo got a good banging, I could never learn either from theſe pagans themſelves, or from the *Portugueſe* hiſtories.

PART II.

CHAP. I.

The Idol Viſtnum; *and his Transformation into a Fiſh.* Mat's *Altar.* *Another Transformation of* Viſtnum. *An Account of the* Milk-Sea. Cauram's *Altar.*

Baldæus. Viſtnum's *deſcent and reſidence.*

Viſtnum, the ſecond in rank among the gods next to *Ixora*, is alſo deſcended from *Quivelinga*. He is of a black colour, with one head, and four hands; he reſides on the *Sugar-Sea*, and governs the world ſleeping. Inſtead of a bed, he repoſes upon a noted ſerpent called *Annatan*, with five heads; two whereof ſerve him for pillars, one for a bolſter, and two under his hands. This ſerpent, as they ſay, being once in the humour to try the power of *Viſtnum*, got a ſixth head, which *Viſtnum* no ſooner ſaw, but he got another hand to lay upon the head, and the ſerpent having got a ſeventh head, he got likewiſe another hand; ſo that as the ſerpent's heads did grow to the number of a thouſand, his hands increaſed in proportion; whence it is that they look upon the ſerpents as celeſtial ſpirits, keep them in great veneration, and never kill them, though they are often hurt by them. Thus the ſerpents were reckoned by the ancient *Lithuanians*, *Samogitians*, *Pruſſians*, and *Egyptians*.

Wears a print on his breaſt.

They tell us further, that *Viſtnum* wears the print of a foot upon his breaſt: for one *Ricxi Sirwelſtena* being deſirous to know which of the three was the moſt *Potent God*, came to *Calaja*, and gave *Ixora* a good box on the ear, who tranſformed him into a ſtone; but having after twelve years recovered his life, he did the ſame to *Bramma*, who let him go without doing him any harm. Then coming to *Viſtnum*, and finding him upon his bed, he ſet his foot upon his breaſt, which *Viſtnum* fixed there, ſo that he was forced to continue there one hundred years.

Viſtnum's *wives.*

Viſtnum had two wives, one called *Lexmi*, alias *Laetzemi*, and *Siri Pagode* beforementioned. The firſt, *Viſtnum* found in the *Milk-Sea*, in a roſe of one hundred and eight large, and one thouſand and eight leſſer leaves; her chief buſineſs is to ſcratch his head. The other is called *Pumi Divi*, i. e. the *Goddeſs of Heaven*, in whoſe lap he lays his feet, which ſhe is to rub with her hands. *Baldæus.*

They attribute no leſs than ten ſeveral tranſformations to *Viſtnum*, nine whereof, they ſay, are accompliſhed already, but the tenth is to come. Father *Kircher* the jeſuit * mentions the ſame to have been related to him by father *Hen. Roth*, an *Auſtin* frier; and *Rogerius* ſays likewiſe ſomething of them: but as under theſe ten tranſformations are hid the chief myſteries of the pagan religion on both ſides of the *Ganges*, ſo we will treat of them at large with this precaution, That theſe pagans often give divers names to the ſame god, by reaſon of the great difference betwixt the languages of the *Benjans*, *Gentives* and *Malabars*: ſo, though they acknowledge the ſame *Ixora*, *Bramma*, and *Viſtnum*, ſome of them called *Ixora Mahex*, or *Mahadeuw*, *Bramma*, *Bruma*, or *Ram*, and *Viſtnum Bexuo*, &c. which ſeems to intimate as if they had a certain reſpect to the Trinity; juſt as the *Chineſe* worſhip three divine attributes under the name of *Puſſa*, and the *Greeks* placed the three *Charities* near the throne of *Jupiter*; and if the modern *Jews* were not quite obſtinate in the denial of the Trinity, they might be convinced by their own *Rabbies*, *Rabbi Iſaac*, *Rabbi Judas Nagi*, and *Rabbi Simeon*.

* China *Illuſtr.* part 3. Ed. 6.

Viſtnum *ten times tranſformed.*

The firſt tranſformation was into a fiſh, occaſioned by *Raxiaxa*, alias *Adirem*, who having carried away the law-book of the inferior gods called *Devagal*, or *Dewetas*, hid himſelf at the bottom of the ſea. The inferior gods making their complaints to *Viſtnum*, he tranſformed himſelf into that ravenous fiſh the *Shark*; and thus diving to the bottom of the ſea, laid hold of *Raxiaxa*, otherwiſe called *Seremiaxen* and *Sancaſcor* by the *Benjans*, killed him, and ſeized the law-book, divided into four parts; the firſt whereof

The firſt tranſformation was into a fiſh.

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The Idol of Vistnum.

Baldæus. whereof treated of the ſouls of the Bleſſed; the ſecond of the vagabond ſouls; the third of good works; the fourth of bad works. But what *Rogerius* ſays *l.* 1. *c.* 5. *viz.* That the fourth part is loſt, I could never be convinced of. The fiſh is called *Mat*, or *Mathia*, though the *Malabars* and *Benjans* call it *Zeexis*. The *Benjans* tell us, that theſe books were ſtolen from *Bramma*, but the *Malabars*, from the *Dewetas*, or inferior gods. The *Benjans* ſay, that *Bramma* was transformed into a fiſh, whereas the *Malabars* aſcribe it to *Viſtum*. The *Benjans* call theſe tranſmutations *Altars*; ſo that according to their ſuppoſition, *Mat*'s altar being the firſt, has now ſtood two thouſand five hundred years. Baldæus.

Upon this occaſion, I muſt agree with *Rogerius*, when he ſays, *l.* 2. *c.* 3. That he could not dive into the myſteries of the tranſformations; becauſe I am certain that it coſt me a great deal of trouble, before I could attain to the knowledge thereof,

Baldæus. thereof; and that not without the aſſiſtance of a certain *Brahman*, who coming from *Bengale*, ſettled at *Jaſnapatnam*: and as I frequently converſed with him, ſo I often uſed to diſcourſe with him concerning the animadverſions made upon this head by *Rogerius*. He being afterwards converted to the chriſtian faith, and baptized in the church of *Vanarpone*, and our diſcourſe running upon the tranſformations of *Viſtnum*, he told me, That this *Vedam*, or law-book, being incloſed in a *Chanki*, or ſea-horſe's horn, the ſame was found out by *Viſtnum*: whence it is that they ſay, the prints of the fingers are to be ſeen in theſe horns to this day; and that they have put the *Saccaram*, or ſword, and the *Chanki*, or horn, into his hands, as you ſee in the preceding draught; though ſome aſcribe the ſame to *Bramma*.

But before we enter further upon the deſcription of the tranſmutations, we muſt add certain preliminaries, as tending to the explanation thereof.

Four remarkable diviſions of time.

All theſe tranſformations were performed in four different times or ſpaces: The firſt, called *Korteſinge* by the *Benjans*, they ſay, continued one million ſeven hundred and twenty-eight thouſand years. The ſecond *Tretaſinge*, one million two hundred and ninety-ſix thouſand years. The third *Duaperſinge*, eight million and ſixty-four thouſand years. The fourth, *Kalliſinge*, four million and thirty-two thouſand years, being the ſame term of time we now live in; ſo that according to their computation at *Suratte*, there were in 1657, at leaſt four thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-eight years elapſed of this laſt term of time. For it is to be known, that the *Benjans*, and moſt other pagans, *Egyptians*, *Chineſe*, and *Japoneſe*, differ ſeveral thouſands of years in their computations from ours. And to convince you, that the *Benjans* have the ſame years with ours, it is to be obſerved, that they, as well as we, divide their years into twelve months, amounting in the whole to three hundred and ſixty days in the year; and to make amends for our odd days, they have thirteen months in every fourth year; yet ſo that the thirteenth month hath no more than ſixteen days. And it is further their opinion, that after the expiration of this laſt term of time of four million and thirty-two thouſand years, the world ſhall be renewed. In which point they follow, in ſome meaſure, the foot-ſteps of *Plato*, who allowed no leſs than thirty-ſix thouſand years before the ſun could paſs through the three hundred and ſixty degrees of the *Zodiack*; though they make their *Annus magnus*, as the antient pagans called it:

*Interea magnum ſol circumvolvitur annum**. *Baldæus.*

* Virgil. l. 3. Æneid.

The pagans on the coaſt of *Coromandel* and *Malabar*, call theſe four terms of time, *Critagom*, *Treitagom*, *Dwaparugom*, and *Kaligom*; where it is to be obſerved, that according to the computation of the pagans and the *Gentives* of *Suratte*, there are in this year 1670, elapſed four thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-one: whereas thoſe of *Coromandel* compute four thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy, being only one year's difference: but finding in 1665, that the inhabitants of *Jaſnapatnam* computed then the four thouſand eight hundred and ſixty-fourth year of the laſt term, I told them that they did not ſtand for one hundred years, leſs or more, whereat they ſmiled.

The ſecond tranſformation of Viſtnum.

But it is time we ſhould now proceed to the ſecond tranſformation. The thirty-three gods and the *Adires* held an aſſembly in the *Milk-Sea*, to conſult how to get into their poſſeſſion the *Ambroſia*, called by ſome *Amurtam*, and *Amortam*, by others *Amratam*. Some ſay, That *Ixora* and *Viſtnum* having called together all the good and evil ſpirits, entered upon a debate, how to find out ſomething endued with ſuch a virtue, as to make men live without victuals or drink, and without danger of death, or being tired. Whereupon it being agreed, that they ſhould turn the mount *Mahamerw*, (called *Merouwa* by *Rogerius*,) like as the turners do, and inſtead of a rope, make uſe of the ſerpent *Haringu*, called *Seſeka* by the *Brahmans*, being of ſo vaſt a bulk, as to encloſe the ſeven worlds and ſeas: accordingly they began their turner's-work; but finding the mount immoveable, they addreſſed themſelves to a noted ape called *Baly*, (of whom more anon in the hiſtory of *Siri Rama*,) by whoſe aſſiſtance the mount began to ſtir; and meeting at the ſame time with a beautiful woman named *Dara*, they beſtowed her upon *Baly*, as a reward for his ſervices. But continuing their work, the mount by turning round, tumbled into the ſea; ſo that being deſtitute of all means to recover it thence, they were forced to have recourſe to *Viſtnum*, who taking the ſhape of a *Tortoiſe*, dived to the bottom, and brought the mount up on his back. Here it was, that *Viſtnum* met with the beautiful *Macha Leexemi*, whom he married afterwards. But the mount being exceeding high, *Viſtnum* took the ſhape of a bird, and flew round about it, till it was brought lower. This ſtory ſeems to have ſome relation to the fable of mount *Atlas*, and what is ſaid *Heb.* i. *That God bears up the world.*

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Baldæus. The gods and the *Adires* then continuing their work, did light upon some poiſon; which being too ſtrong for them, they ſent to *Ixora*; but were ſtill in purſuit after the *Ambroſia*, which they intended to preſent to their great king *Deva Indra*, (who was then very ſick,) ſirnamed *Quiera Navam*, becauſe his whole body was covered with *manly yards*, in revenge of the adultery he committed with the wife of the great *Rixi Quendama*: For *Deva Indra* being extreamly in love with the ſaid lady, transformed himſelf into a cock, and coming to her houſe in the night-time, began to crow moſt briskly. *Rixi* thinking it had been near break of day, got out of his bed; and whilſt he was going to an adjacent pond, to perform his uſual devotions, *Deva Indra* took the opportunity to enjoy his wife. *Rixi* returning from his devotion, and perceiving the cheat, tranſmuted his wife into a ſtone, and laid the other puniſhment upon her lover.

By this time the *Adires* having ſeized upon the *Ambroſia*, without giving a ſhare to the gods, theſe made their applications to *Viſhnum*; who, thereupon taking the ſhape of a moſt beautiful nymph, ſat down at table with the *Adires*, when their attendants were juſt ready to diſtribute the *Ambroſia* among them. Being all extremely enamoured with her beauty, every one courted her for his ſpouſe. To decide the matter, ſhe told them, That they ſhould put the *Ambroſia* into her hand, and with their eyes ſhut, and hands tied behind them, but their mouths open, receive every one their ſhare of the *Ambroſia*; and that he, upon whom ſhe ſhould pitch for her husband, ſhould be the laſt. This being done accordingly, ſhe ſeized upon the *Ambroſia*, and carried it to the gods. But whilſt they were all opening their mouths to receive the ſaid *Ambroſia*, *Ravaben* (who had aſſumed the ſhape of one of the gods,) ſhewed his boar's tuſks; which *Viſhnum* ſeeing, gave him ſuch a powerful blow, that his head flew from his ſhoulders; whence the *Adires*, whatever ſhape they aſſume, always retain their tuſks. However, *Viſhnum* throwing the body and head into the air, the ſame were tranſformed into two planets, called *Rahu* and *Quendaum*. *Rogerius* calls them, *Ragou* and *Ketou*, which, in the *Malabar*, ſignifies as much as *Caput* and *Cauda*, or the *Dragon's-head* and *tail*. But here, the *Bramins* commit an error in aſtronomy; for they have no planets, but a fixed *ſidus*, conſiſting of thirty-one ſtars on the north-ſide without the *Zodiac*; where the moon paſſing from ſouth to north, and again from the north to ſouth, goes through this *Ecliptick-line*, being the ſame the ſun paſſes through every year, and the moon every month in the year; for when ſhe takes her courſe from ſouth to north, the place where ſhe paſſes through the ecliptick-line, is called the *Dragon's-head*, as the place of the ſaid line through which ſhe paſſes in her return from north to ſouth, is called the *Dragon's-tail*. Hence it is, that (according to *Rogerius*) theſe pagans ſay, that there is an antipathy betwixt ſun and moon, and *Ragou* and *Ketou*; and when they ſee an eclipſe of the ſun or moon, that they are fighting with *Ragou* and *Ketou*, or that they are devoured by them. *Baldæus.*

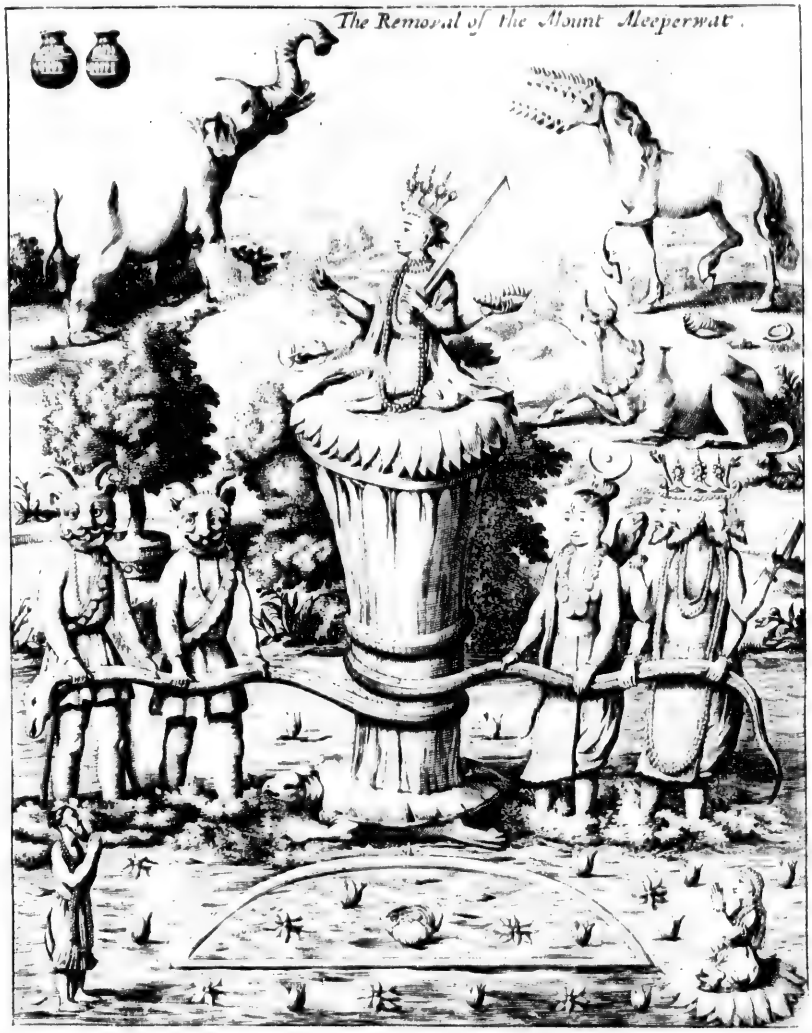
The inferior gods employ part of the *Ambroſia* they had got, in reſtoring their great god to health, and removing the *manly members* from his body, inſtead whereof, he got as many eyes.

The before-mentioned poiſon taken out of the mount *Mahamerú*, being ſo virulent, that whatever it touched, was conſumed to aſhes, was given to *Ixora* in the preſence of *Parameſceri* his ſpouſe, who dreading the effects thereof, clapped her hand to his throat, to prevent him from ſwallowing it; and laying the other hand upon his mouth, for fear he ſhould ſpue it out again, and ſet the world on fire, mingling at the ſame time her prayers (*Nila candamtre acxeram*) with her endeavours, the poiſon forced its way through *Ixora*'s ear, and was in an inſtant transformed into a devil, called *Canda Carna Pixaxo*. The prints of *Parameſceri*'s finger left three black ſpots on *Ixora*'s throat, whence he got the ſirname of *Nili Candaou*, i. e. *black throat*, or *black head*.

The ſecond tranſformation of Viſhnum.

Different relation of the Bentjans *and* Gentives, *of the ſecond tranſformation.*

The *Benjans* and *Gentives* give a different relation of this ſecond transformation. They ſay, That the ſea being ſwoln with pride, broke out in theſe words: *Who is it that can compare with the riches contained in my azure marble vaults? here it is, the moon has fixed her habitation; the water of* Tammarith, *which renders thoſe that drink it immortal, is incloſed in my boſom! The elephant with his ſeven trunks, and the ſeven-headed horſe dwell in the depths, which produce black, white, and red coral in vaſt quantity!* The *great god of heaven* being exaſperated at this vanity, commanded the giant and the four-headed god *Bramma*, to go to the river *Siam Beerwetty*, near which lies the golden mount *Meeperwat*, ſeated in the center of the earth, and forty thouſand leagues high; and to remove the ſaid mount into the ſea, by winding the ſerpent *Signage* about it, and thereby force the ſea to caſt out her treaſure, which had rendered her ſo vain-glorious. This being put in execution accordingly, the ſea caſt out the following fourteen things. 1. The money called



Baldæus. called *Leefemy*. 2. The moſt precious jewel *Conſenckmany*, or the carbuncle which carries a luſtre like the full moon. 3. The tree *Paertſatig*. 4. The veſſel *Silxeren*, with the water of *Sora*. 5. *Doctor Dannewanter*. 6. *Indemademaen*. 7. The white cow of plenty, called *Camdoga*. 8. The immortal water, called *Amarith*. 9. The elephant with ſeven trunks, *Hiera Wanneſly*. 10. The beauteous female dancer, *Remba*. 11. The ſeven-headed horſe, *Exmognera*. 12. The bow *Dennok*. 13. The horn *Chiank*. And, 14. The poiſon *Sahar*. This done, the ſea began to abate of its pride, the mount and ſerpent had their peculiar places aſſigned them, and the treaſures of the ſea were diſtributed to different places and perſons. Thus far of the ſecond transformation, containing two thouſand five hundred years of the firſt term of time. *Baldæus.*

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CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Viſtnum *transformed into a Hog:* Waras's *Altar. Some Reflections upon the Fables of the Pagans.* Viſtnum's *fourth Transformation into half a Man, and half a Lion.*

Baldæus. *The third transformation.*

A Certain *Adiren*, named *Renniacxem*, was of ſuch vaſt length, that taking up the earth, he rolled it together like an anchor-cable, and carried it upon his ſhoulders to the infernal places called *Padalas*, whilſt *Viſtnum* was aſleep in his bed. He no ſooner heard of the preſumption of this *Adiren*, but he aſſumed

The Idol of Viſtnum in his third Transformation, as deſcribed by S. Benjans.

Baldæus. the shape of a hog, and digging with his snout through the earth, till he came to the *Patalas*, killed the robber, and taking the earth upon his tusks, fixed it in its former place. Hence it is, that in the *Pagode*, called *Adi Warraka*, in the city of *Trinottam*, not far from *Sinas*, there is to be seen the head of a hog, which the *Bralmans* say was the product of the earth, and is reverenced as the true idol of *Vistnum*, in memory of this transformation.

The *Banjans* and *Gentives* of *Indostkan* and *Surattc*, give us the following account of it. During the first term of time, say they, the world was so over-burthened with sin, that the serpent of a thousand heads, unable to bear the weight thereof any longer, withdrew herself from underneath it, whereby the world, together with men and beasts, were cast into, and perished in the depth of the sea. *Bramma* addressing himself to the great god, desired him to retrieve the world out of the abyss of the sea, which he willingly granted; whereupon *Vistnum* assumed the shape of a boar's head, with tusks as big as an elephant's trunk, white all over his body, with four arms and hands, having in one hand a great sword, called *Godda*, and in the other a book, as likewise a horn and round *Tsicker*: thus transformed, he threw himself into the sea, being at first no bigger than a man's finger, but increased before he reached the bottom to such a degree, that in case the earth had been placed on the surface of the water, and he stood upon it, his head would have touched the stars. Coming to the bottom of the sea, he killed the dreadful giant *Hirnaks*, whose blood tinged the whole sea with red. *Vistnum* having trampled him under his feet, lifted with his tusks the earth out of the sea, and placing the tortoise upon the water, and the serpent with a thousand heads upon the tortoise, he retired to his residence, and *Bramma*, with one word, created a new generation of men. This transformation comprehends two thousand and seven hundred years, in the first period of time.

This story seems to intimate, that these pagans have heard something of the deluge, considering especially that the *Benjans* do live nearer to the borders of *Persia* and *Armenia*, than the rest of the *Indians*; there being also mention made of the giants, *Gen.* vi. 4. And it is very probable, that the antient pagans were not quite ignorant of the history of the deluge, which they afterwards ushered into the world, under divers peculiar deluges, as for instance, the *Diluvium Ogygicum*, which happened in *Attica*; and *Deucalion's deluge* in *Thessaly*; and the *Prometheus* of the antient pagans, is by most criticks taken for the same [illegible].

But we come to the fourth transformation; yet before we enter upon the particulars thereof, we must add something more relating to the third transformation. The earth being restored to its former station, *Vistnum* upon an exact view found it something inclining to the *south*; which *Vistnum* not being able to remedy, he addressed himself to a certain saint of very low stature, named *Risi Agastia*, (*Rogerius* * calls him *Agastea*,) who having laid his holy book upon that part inclining to the south, put it into a just equilibrium. * Lib. II. c. 19.

Vistnum walking with this *Agastia* near the sea-side, the sea asked *Vistnum*, *Who it was that walked with him? Vistnum* replied, *He is a saint who is going to restore the earth to its true ballance*; where upon the sea, scorning his low stature, (he being not above the height of a joint of a finger,) wetted him with its waves; which affront being highly resented by *Agastia*, he took some of the sea-water in his hand, and beginning to drink, did not desist till he had drunk up the whole sea. *Dewetas* and *Risus* seeing the sea thus exhausted, interceded with *Agastia* not to rob the world of so singular a benefit, and prevailed upon him so far, that he pissed one again all the water he had drunken before; and this is the reason their philosophers alledge for the saltness of the sea.

Agastia after having restored the ballance of the earth, took his leave of *Vistnum*, who to prevent the like for the future, ordered the *great serpent* to wind herself about the seven worlds and seven seas; and for more security's sake, appointed eight guardians to watch over it, called in the *Malabar* by the following names, 1. *Indra*, the king of the celestial spirits. 2. *Vanni*, the god of fire. 3. *Padurpati*, king of the evil spirits. 4. *Niruti*, king of the infernal spirits. 5. *Varunna*, the god of the sea. 6. *Marl*, the god of the winds. 7. *Cubera*, the god of riches, called otherwise *Bussiswara*. 8. *Isanauam*, or *Isora* himself. Hence it is, that you see frequently eight idols placed at the entrance of and about their *Pagodes*.

The fourth transformation, into half a lion and half a man, was occasioned thus: During the first period of time, a certain giant, *Hirrenkesip*, (as the *Banjans* call him, but the *Malabars Reniatsen*,) having been forced to abscond for twelve years, on the account of *Bramma*, afterwards made the following request to

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him:

Baldæus. him: *Moſt potent* Bramma, *grant me the favour to make me a great monarch upon earth; and beſtow this farther bleſſing upon me, that I may not be killed either by day or by night, either within or without my houſe, either by heaven, earth, ſun, or moon, by thunder, lightning, ſtars, or comets, neither by clouds, winds, hail, ſnow, or rains, or birds, beaſts, men, devils, fiſhes, or water, not by ſerpents, adders, poiſon, ſword, arrows, or any other weapons.* *Bramma* having granted the giant's requeſt, he ſoon made himſelf maſter of the whole earth; and overcome with pride at his ſucceſs, iſſued out a mandate, That no body ſhould be adored but himſelf, under the forfeiture of the lives of ſuch as ſhould contravene it. Things continuing in this ſtate for ſome years, the *Brahmans* began to murmur, That they ſhould be *obliged to adore any terreſtrial power, though never ſo great, to* *Baldæus.*

The Idol of Viſtnum *tranſformed into half a Man & half a Lyon.*

Baldæus. *the prejudice of the celeſtial ſpirits:* they reſolved therefore, to make their ſupplications to *Viſtnum*, imploring him, *to deliver them from the oppreſſions of this tyrant*; who gave them for anſwer, *That the giant ſhould have ſhortly a ſon born, who ſhould be their deliverer, and till then they muſt have patience.*

Within ten months after, *Naeckſeu*, the giant's wife brought forth a ſon named *Prellade*, who, when he was five years old, was put to a ſchool-maſter; being one time ſent for by his father, his maſter inſtructed him how to pronounce his father's name in ſhort writing, which was *Irenia*; but inſtead thereof, the boy ſaid, *Ary*, being the abbreviated name of *Viſtnum*. The maſter aſtoniſhed, put his hand upon his mouth, bidding him to forbear, for fear of being the occaſion of his own death; but the more he forbid him, the more the boy perſiſted in ſaying, *Ary, Ary*, inſtead of *Irenia*.

The ſchool-maſter not knowing what to do, brought him to his father, telling him, *That his ſon would not pronounce his name, which he had taken ſo much pains to teach him.* The father asking him the reaſon, the boy anſwered, *Your name is not the true name, but the other is the truth itſelf.* His father asking further, *What is truth?* the ſon anſwered, Viſtnum, *who fills the fourteen worlds, is the truth. What benefit*, ſaid the father, *do you receive from* Viſtnum? *And what benefit*, replied the ſon, *ſhall I receive by yours?* The giant told him, *Whoever repeats my name, ſhall be bleſſed with riches, honour, dignities, and life. How*, ſays the ſon, *can you give life and riches? Yes, I can*, replied the giant, *and will convince you immediately, it being in my power to take away your life. That will ſcarce happen*, anſwered the ſon, *according to your providence and diſcretion. What is providence and diſcretion?* asked the giant. *That is the eternal divine name of* Viſtnum, replied the ſon, *the creator of the fourteen worlds.* The father asking him, *Where is this name to be found?* The ſon anſwered, *In every thing, both in heaven and earth, every thing being filled with* Viſtnum. *What*, replied the father, *and is* Viſtnum *alſo in this pillar? Yes*, replied the ſon, *and likewiſe in you and me.* The giant not longer able to contain himſelf, told him, *Boy, becauſe thou inſiſteſt thus upon the name of* Viſtnum, *I will beat your brains out with this ſtick: but if thou wilt pronounce my name, then ſhalt neither die, neither be beaten. That will not be*, ſays the boy, *for your name's ſake; becauſe God has ordered it otherwiſe. But I will ſpoil that ordinance*, replied the giant; and with that, ſtruck with his golden ſtaff at the boy, who hiding himſelf behind the pillar, implored the name of *Viſtnum*. The giant turning again with more fury than ever againſt the ſon, ſtruck with ſuch violence, that the pillar burſt, and produced a monſter, *half a man, half a lion*, an hermaphrodite, with breaſts both above and below, breathing fire and flames out of its noſtrils. Baldæus.

The *Benjans* ſay, That the giant did erect a red-hot pillar to tie his ſon to, telling him at the ſame time, *Let us ſee who can deliver you out of my hands.* The ſon then invoking the aſſiſtance of *Viſtnum*, the pillar burſt, and forth came the monſter. All the ſtanders by were amazed at this ſpectacle, and the giant himſelf trembled for fear. *Viſtnum* reſolving to revenge his own quarrel, and at the ſame time not to break the promiſe made by *Bramma* to the giant, laid hold of the giant, and hurrying him under ground directly under the threſhold of his own houſe, and keeping him there till ſun-ſet, tore his body in pieces, thereby fulfilling *Bramma*'s promiſe, That he ſhould not be killed *within nor without his houſe, neither in heaven nor upon earth, neither by beaſts, birds, ſword, wind, rain, hail.* The giant's ſon ſucceeding his father in the empire, ruled with great applauſe, for many ſucceeding years.

Thus ended the fourth transformation of the firſt period of time, called *Kortefinge* by the *Benjans*, comprehending in all one million ſeven hundred and twenty-eight thouſand years; for though all theſe transformations were tranſacted within the time of ſeven thouſand ſeven hundred years and three days, the reſt, *viz.* one million ſeven hundred and twenty thouſand years, three hundred and ſixty days, muſt be ſuppoſed to have been the intervals of theſe tranſactions.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The fifth Transformation of Viſtnum *into a* Brahman. *Great Plenty under* Mavaly. *The Requeſt of the transformed* Viſtnum. Praſſaram's *Altar and Birth: He kills* Reneca *his Mother.* Raja Inder's *Cow of Plenty.* Praſſaram's *great Actions.*

Baldæus. WHILST *Mavaly* (called *Belragie* by the *Benjans* and *Gentives*) ruled the world, the inhabitants thereof were ſo plentifully provided with every thing by his bounty, that poverty was a thing unknown among human race. *Viſtnum* perceiving that as the caſe then ſtood, there were no different degrees, nor any dependance in the world, either on God or man, reſolved to diveſt *Mavaly* (by fraud) of the government of the world.

With this intention *Viſtnum* aſſumed the ſhape of a *Brahman*, and appearing in a mendicant poſture before *Mavaly*, he asked him, *Who he was, and upon what errand he came?* The pretended *Brahman* replied, *Having heard of your charity, I am come to crave ſome alms. Mavaly* anſwered, *I who have granted the requeſts of many kings and princes, will not deny thee, let it be what it will, whether kingdoms, money, honours, or whatever elſe you can ask.* The *Brahman* replied, *My aim is not at ſuch mighty things; but after all, for fear of denial, I beg of you to promiſe me, without exception to grant my requeſt. Mavaly* anſwering that he would, the *Brahman* begged him to confirm it with an oath.

Mavaly being juſt upon the point of confirming it by oath, the planet *Venus* (who ſtood juſt by) told him, *And is it cuſtomary to ſwear to the giving of alms?* Which *Mavaly* being not in the leaſt moved at, ſwore to the *Brahman*, who told him, *I am not covetous of kingdoms or provinces; my deſire is confined to three foot of ground, where I may erect a hut, where to lay up my books, umbrella, and drinking-cup; I beg you therefore to pour ſome of your water upon the ground.* For it is a cuſtom among theſe pagans, that whenever they diſpoſe of, or ſell any thing, they confirm their promiſe or bargain by pouring ſome water upon the ground, part whereof the buyer catches with his hands, and drinks, in confirmation of the bargain; juſt as *Jacob* deſired *Joſeph* to lay his hand under his hips, when he was going to make him his promiſe upon oath, *Gen.* xlvii. 29. & xxiv. 2. where the hips (according to ſome interpreters) are taken *pro partibus generationis, in quibus circumciſionis ſignum dabatur.* Baldæus.

Mavaly told him, *Ask a kingdom, and I will grant it.* The *Brahman* replied, *Were I a king, I muſt puniſh criminals, which I could not do without treſpaſſing the rules of the order of the* Brahmans; *wherefore I deſire no more, than three foot of ground. Mavaly* replied, *That will not be enough to build you a houſe upon. I want no houſe*, ſaid the *Brahman*, *having neither wife nor children, I deſire only three foot of ground, which you cannot refuſe without being perjured. Mavaly* telling the *Brahman* that he never broke his promiſe, and ordering *Venus* to bring him ſome water, ſhe deſired him not to pour the water upon the *Brahman*, whom ſhe looked upon as an impoſtor. *Mavaly* replied, *Of what conſequence can three foot of ground be? Take heed*, anſwered *Venus*, *for this is* Viſtnum *himſelf, who is come in diſguiſe to deceive you. Mavaly* returned, *I have not ſinned againſt* Viſtnum, *and therefore have no reaſon to fear him.* Notwithſtanding which, *Venus* continued to perſuade him by many arguments, not to truſt him: but *Mavaly* perſiſting in his reſolution, told her, *Let come on it what will, if it ſhould coſt me my life, I will not break my oath.* Then taking the veſſel with the water, he bid the *Brahman* to hold up his hands, which *Venus* perceiving, ſhe held *Mavaly*'s arms, deſiring him not to pour out the water; but *Mavaly* puſhing back her hand, bid the *Brahman* a ſecond time to hold up his hands. *Venus* then changing her ſhape, ſtopped the pipe of the veſſel, which *Mavaly* endeavouring to looſen with a twig, he hurt *Venus*'s one eye, whence ſhe got the name of *Chueren*; then water coming out of the ſpout of the veſſel, the *Brahman* did drink. This done, *Mavaly* ordered him to meaſure the three foot of ground where he pleaſed. *Viſtnum* having by this time reaſſumed his own ſhape, he covered the whole earth with one of his feet, and with the other the paradiſe called *Sorgalogam.* Whilſt *Viſtnum* was extending his foot, *Brahma* poured water upon it, which produced the river *Ganges*, ſo highly celebrated among

The Figure of Mavaly giving away the World to the disguised Viſtnum.

Baldæus. among the *Indians* and other pagans. *Viſtnum* having thus meaſured two foot, *Mavaly* told him he might alſo take the third, which he did, by meaſuring the inferior region, called *Padalas*, and thus became maſter of the whole world.

Viſtnum *maſter of the world.*

The *Gentives* add, that this *Brahman*, (whom they call *Vanam*, i. e. *a black dwarf*, and *Rogerius* calls him *Barmaſari*, i. e. a young *Brahman*, by the name of *Wamara**) ſet his left foot upon *Mavaly*'s breaſt or head, and thus kicked him through the ground into the infernal region, whereof he made him king. But *Mavaly*'s wife upbraiding *Viſtnum* with ingratitude, he carried her to her husband; and as a reward of his piety, beſtowed upon him the government of the place of darkneſs, *Viſtnum* himſelf remaining with him nine days to guard the entrance thereof. *Rogerius* calls this *Mavaly* a devil, named *Belli*, and ſays, That whilſt *Baldæus.*

* Lib. II. c. 19.

Baldæus. whilst the waters of the *Ganges* were flowing from above *Ixora*'s head, and risen out of the hip of a saint, sixty thousand men were brought to life. This fable had questionless its origin from the want of knowledge of the true source of the river *Ganges*, for which reason they generally stile it the *Heavenly River*.

Mavaly being not satisfied with his present station, made his complaint to *Vistnum*, who told him, That in regard he had been a charitable person, a man of truth, and without sin, he would constitute him king of the paradise. *Mavaly* making a deep reverence, (called by them *Sambaja*,) returned for answer, It is not my ambition to reign, being only affected with the hardships of my former subjects, who have no body now to provide them with necessaries, as I used to do. *Vistnum* replied, The poor shall serve the rich, and be maintained by them; so that he that will work, shall want for nothing. I will also constitute you the door-keeper of the paradise, so that no body shall enter there without thy knowledge. But, replied *Mavaly*, how shall I then be able to judge at such a distance, how you deal with mankind upon earth? I will, answered *Vistnum*, assign you a certain place in heaven, from whence you may overlook the earth; and so made him door-keeper of the paradise.

Three sorts of people. Accordingly *Vistnum* distinguished mankind into three sorts, rich, poor, and middle-sized, which were to have a reciprocal dependance on one another; that such as had lived piously, and done acts of charity, should be received after their death, and live in plenty and splendor; but such as did otherwise, should, after their decease, be transformed again into slaves and drudges, to do penance for their former sins, till by their good works they should merit paradise, which they were not to enter, however, without *Mavaly*'s consent. He also constituted a feast, (called *Ona* by the *Malabars*,) to be celebrated yearly in *August*, when they spend several days together in feasting, and other sorts of diversions, and appear in all their best apparel.

The sixth transformation. The sixth transformation happened thus: After the appearing of *Hanumans*, mentioned in *Chap.* v. *Part.* I. one *Braman* and *Bramani* being joined in wedlock, did for a considerable time lead a pious and contented life near the river *Bewa*; but the woman being barren, (a thing much despised among the *Benjans*,) they resolved to retire into some desart, there to implore God's assistance. Having thus for some time led a vagabond life, *Baldæus.* they came to a certain *Pagode*, built in a forest, near which stood a very fine tree, under the shade whereof they reposed themselves for some time, and sent forth their prayers upon their bended knees. After some time, finding their prayers ineffectual, the woman told her husband, That they ought to leave this shady place, and in lieu thereof to expose themselves to the injuries of the sun, rains, and storms, to try whether, perhaps, by this humiliation and penance, God might be prevailed upon to bless them with children. They persevered in this austerity and continual prayers for some longer time, but in vain; the woman growing beyond all patience, told her husband, That being quite weary of life, she desired him to fast with her, till thereby they could put a period to their miserable life. Accordingly having spent nine days without eating or drinking, *Vistnum* appeared to them in the shape of a child, asking them, What was the occasion of their mortification and fervent prayers. The woman answered, All our prayers are directed to *Vistnum*, to bless me with such a handsome child as thee. *Vistnum* replied, And do you instead of gold and silver desire children, who commonly prove the toils of life? *Bramani* answered, All the riches and pleasures of this world are not so valuable to me, as a son of my own, so well shaped as thyself. *Vistnum* replied, Your prayers are heard; and as you have three several times mortified your bodies, so three sons shall be born thee successively; and so he vanished.

Being both exhausted with fasting, they died soon after; but the soul of *Bramani* was infused into the body of the new-born *Reneca*, and that of *Braman* into the body of the new-born *Braman*, sirnamed *Siamdickemi*, who being come to their riper years, were joined together in marriage; *Reneca*'s sister being at the same time married to the great *Raja Sestraarsum*, who had a thousand arms.

Siamdickemi retired with *Reneca* to a solitude near the river *Ganges*, where they built a hut of straw, with an intention to live upon the fruits of the earth, and pass their time in praying to *Vistnum*.

It was not long before *Reneca* (pursuant to the promise made by *Vistnum*) brought forth a beautiful son, unto whom she gave the name of *Prassaram*, who being carefully educated under the tuition of his father, did, in his twelfth year, *Prassaram, the son of Reneca.*

interpret the moſt abſtruſe characters that could be laid before him. His mother having received a certain cloth from *Viſtnum*, which, keeping water as well as any earthen veſſel, *Reneca* going to fetch water one time out of the river *Ganges*, ſhe happened to ſee the great *Raja Seſtraarſum* with his ſpouſe (her ſiſter) a hunting near the river-ſide. *Reneca* asked one of his attendants, who it was? and being anſwered, that it was *Raja Seſtraarſum* with his queen, ſhe advanced towards them; but finding that her ſiſter took no notice of her, ſhe ſat down in a very melancholy poſture upon the bank of the *Ganges*, complaining of the vaſt difference there was betwixt her ſiſter and her.

Alas! ſaid ſhe, *ſhe is a queen, and I a poor* Brahman's *wife; ſhe is poſſeſſed of riches, honour, and plenty, and I know nothing but want and miſery.*

She was then going to fill her cloth with water, but found it, to her great aſtoniſhment, leaky; and being afraid to return home, ſtaid abroad till after ſunſet. *Siamdickemi*, ſurprized at her long ſtay, looked out at the doors, and finding her ſitting in a melancholy poſture, asked her whether ſhe had brought any water; but ſhe anſwering, ſhe had not, and giving him the reaſon for it, he told her, that he was certain ſhe had uttered ſome expreſſions contrary to his zeal and piety; and being exaſperated to the higheſt degree, commanded his ſon *Praſſaram* to cut off his mother's head with an ax. *Praſſaram* would have excuſed himſelf; but finding his father reſolute, he was forced to obey, and cut off his mother's neck. The father being highly taken with the obedience of his ſon, told him, That he ſhould ask him what he pleaſed, and it ſhould be granted him. *Then*, ſaid the ſon, *Reſuſcitate my mother from the dead.* The father then taking ſome of the ſanctified water of the *Ganges*, beſprinkled the body with it, and muttering out certain prayers, reſtored it to life again.

Reneca killed.

Reneca could not forbear to make her complaints concerning the harſh uſage of her husband, occaſioned only by ſome weakneſſes and reflections upon her ſiſter's good fortune, repreſenting to him her piety, fidelity, and obedience, ſhe had ſhewn upon all occaſions. Theſe reaſons were ſo prevailing with the huſband, that he received her into his arms, and baniſhed all revenge from his thoughts.

Praſſaram (though not above twelve years of age) being by this time advanced ſo far in the knowledge of the law, that he was paſt his father's teaching, was adviſed by him to apply himſelf to *Raja Inder*, king of the *Bleſſed Souls*, for his further accompliſhment, which the ſon did accordingly. So ſoon as the ſon had left him, he reſolved to pay his devotions to *Viſtnum* for twelve years ſucceſſively, ſitting croſs-legg'd with without intermiſſion upon the ground (a thing much practiſed among theſe pagans.) Thus 1659, I ſaw a certain *Jogy*, or mendicant, at *Columbo*, whoſe arms were grown together over his Head, by ſitting in that poſture.

Soon after it happened, that the before-mentioned king *Raja Seſtraarſum*, coming to give a viſit to his brother-in-law with a great retinue, he was ſo faſt aſleep, that all the noiſe of the hounds, horns, and drums, could not awaken him: his wife *Reneca* therefore having rouzed her husband, by ſprinkling ſome warm water upon his his head, he aroſe; when *Raja* ſaluting the *Brahman*, told him, That the fame of his piety had induced him and his retinue to come to ſup, and to take a night's lodging with him.

Raja Seſtraarſum viſits the Brahman.

The *Brahman Siamdickemi* being much concerned how to provide for ſo many thouſand perſons, at laſt conſidered of the *White Cow*, called *Camdega*, belonging to *Raja Inder*, which furniſhes thoſe that have her in their poſſeſſion with every thing they wiſh for. Having therefore deſired *Inder* to ſend him the ſaid cow, he granted his requeſt; and the cow being ſent down, the *Brahman* deſired *Raja* and his attendants to ſit down at ſupper; which was ſerved with ſuch variety and plenty, that *Raja*, who was come upon no other account than to ridicule his brother-in-law's poverty, ſtood amazed thereat; and further to try his ability, asked him, to preſent him with ſome jewels; which the *Brahman* having preſented him with, (much beyond what could be expected,) *Raja* asked him for ſome clothes and money for his people; which being likewiſe brought him by his brother-in-law, he reſolved alſo to ſtay the next day: and being ſerved at table with the ſame plenty as before, he ſtayed alſo the third day; when meeting with the ſame entertainment, he was amazed to find out whence all this plenty of proviſions, clothes, and riches, could come, in a place where he expected ſo little; eſpecially, ſince he obſerved that all was brought out of the *Brahman*'s hut, which was not big enough to hold half the quantity. This made him order ſome of his ſpies to take particular notice, whether there was not a vault under-ground, from whence theſe things were brought. The

The cow of plenty.

Raja deſires to be inſtructed.

Baldæus. spies watching all opportunities to satisfy their master's curiosity, found at last that a slender white cow did bring forth all these things, (which she threw out of her stomach,) whereof immediate notice was given to *Raja*.

The next morning as he was taking his leave from the *Brahman*, being asked by him, whether he was desirous of any thing else, he told him, *That he wanted nothing more, but only the white cow he had seen in his hut.* The *Brahman* replied, *That being not his own, she was not in his disposal. And*, said *Raja*, *will you deny me so small a request, after you have heaped so many obligations upon me before? What I did before*, said the *Brahman*, *was in my own power, but this is not. How*, replied *Raja*, *don't you know, that it is in my power to take her against your will?* And then calling to some of his followers, he commanded them to fetch the white cow out of

Raja is defeated by the white cow.

of the hut. The *Brahman* seeing this beloved white cow thus snatched from him, told her at parting, *Dear* Camdoga, *muſt I thus leave you, how can I anſwer this to* Raja Inder, *your maſter? Revenge thy ſelf at once both of thine and mine enemies.* The cow *Camdoga* no ſooner heard theſe words, but aſſuming a ſhape three times bigger than her own, ſhe laid about her with her horns to that degree, that ſhe killed and trod under foot ſeveral thouſand of *Raja*'s people; which done, ſhe flew like lightning up into the air to her own maſter. *Raja* exaſperated at the ſlaughter of his men, and burning with revenge, returned to the hut of the *Brahman*, where they killed and left him wallowing in his blood. The unfortunate *Reneca*, unwilling to outlive her husband, ſet fire to the hut, and burnt herſelf with his dead carcaſe.

Siam Ichemi murdered.

Reneca burns herſelf with the corps, whence the cuſtom of burning the dead.

Camdoga, in the mean while, meeting with *Praſſaram* not far from her maſter's houſe, told him what had happen'd; who declared he would revenge the ſame twenty-one times upon all the *Ketteriis* (a wicked generation;) and thus making the beſt of his way with his *Perzy*, bow and arrow, he penetrated into the middle of *Raja*'s troops, and killed him with all his guards; thence travelling through the world, he killed all the *Ketteriis* he met with; but could not do it ſo effectually, but that ſome eſcaped his fury; who multiplying by degrees, he was forced to renew his revenge againſt them; which he did twenty-one times, till they were quite rooted out from the face of the earth.

Praſſaram revenges their death.

By this time *Viſtnum* remembring his promiſe made to *Praſſaram*'s parents, *viz.* that they were to be bleſſed with three ſons, he commanded *Bramma* (the god with four heads) to ſend down from heaven the ſouls of *Siamdichemi* and *Reneca*, and to convey them into the bodies of *Ragia d'Aſſerat* and his wife *Couzila*, (ſlain among the *Ketteriis*,) unto whom he had made a promiſe of exalting their poſterity.

Bramma finding by the celeſtial records, That their time was expired, (for theſe pagans believe that nothing is done without divine providence, and that the fate of men is written in *Bramma*'s hand,) infuſed the ſoul of *Reneca* into the body of *Couzila*, and the ſpirit of *Siamdichemi* into that of *Ragia*, which brought forth a ſon named *Ram*. This *Ram* having married [illegible], and making his publick entry into the city, (according to the cuſtom of the *Benjans*,) was met by *Praſſaram*, who being informed, that he was deſcended of the race of the *Ketteriis*, did let fly at him; which *Ram* perceiving, did the ſame from his elephant on which he was mounted; but the arrows hitting againſt one another in the air, did no miſchief, except that all the ſtrength of *Praſſaram*'s arrow being lodged in that of *Ram*, he was thereby bereaved of all his advantage, being no more than a common *Brahman* for ever after, whereas *Ram* increaſed every day in power.

Ram [illegible].

Praſſaram encounters to kill Ram.

Baldæus.

The *Malabars* ſay, That this transformation was made by *Viſtnum* in the ſhape of *Siri Parexi Rama:* for the *Rixi* living in the deſarts, being no longer able to endure the oppreſſions from the neighbouring kings, offer'd their ſacrifices to *Viſtnum*, deſiring his aſſiſtance againſt them. A certain famous *Rixi*, named *Para Jara*, ſacrificing one day to *Viſtnum*, he appeared in the ſhape of a child, and aſſiſted at the ceremony of the ſacrifice; which done, *Parexi Rama* took up an ax, and killed forty-four kings, who uſed to infeſt the *Rixi*, and put them into the poſſeſſion of their territories. *Siri Parexi Rama* being afterwards deſirous to erect certain temples, and not finding ſufficient room for that purpoſe, (becauſe the ſea then touched the mount *Gatte*) he offered his ſacrifice, when a ſieve appearing to him, (ſuch as they uſed to cleanſe the rice with,) he found that as often as he did ſhake it, the ſea retreated backwards from the ſhore; but whilſt he was doing it a third time, *Varrinem*, the god of the ſea, having transformed himſelf into piſmires, (called by them *Carreas*,) gnawed the ſieve in pieces. However, *Siri Rama* built one hundred and eight temples, and erected as many ſtones near them, from *Mangalor* to the cape *Comoryn*, much reverenced to this day by the *Indians*.

The Malabars account of this tranſformation.

In the mean while the fiſhermen of that coaſt making their complaints to *Parexi Rama*, That by this means they had been bereaved of their ſubſiſtence, he conſtituted them his guards of the temples he had built, with a ſufficient allowance for their maintenance; ſo that theſe fiſhermen being thus become *Brahmans*, they uſed always to wear a thread of a fiſhing-net about their necks whilſt they were performing their ſacrifices, and introduced that cuſtom among the pagans, for a new-married couple to go a fiſhing with a linnen cloth inſtead of a net.

Parexi Rama being one time employed, in his ſolitude, in ſacrificing to the gods, *Siri Rama* (or *Viſtnum*) appeared in the ſhape of a man; which *Parexi Rama* taking notice of, his jealouſy was raiſed to ſuch a heighth, that he would needs enter into a ſingle combat with him; but being prevented by the *Rixii*, they diſcovered themſelves to one another, and entring into a ſtrict friendſhip, *Parexi Rama* preſented his bow to *Siri Rama*, who returned to the *Milk-Sea*.

The origin of the Brahmans.

CHAP.

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CHAP. IV.

The seventh Transformation of Viſtnum *into* Rama. *His Birth. He gains his Bride* Sytha *by ſhooting. Beauty of* Lekeman. *His meeting with* Souppenekhia. Rawan *takes away* Sytha; *performs Wonders.* Ram *and* Lekeman *go in queſt of* Sytha. Hanuman's *great Actions in* Ceylon.

Baldæus. IXORA being reverenced by all the world, but eſpecially by one *Rawan*, (called *Rawana* by *Rogerius*, who makes him a ſon of the *Brahman Kaſſiopa*,) who for three hundred years offered him a hundred flowers every day. *Ixora* having one time a mind to try his ſincerity, took away one of the flowers, and afterwards charged him with want of duty. *Rawan*, ignorant of the deceit, counted his flowers, and finding no more than ninety nine, would have torn out one of his eyes, to compleat the number of a hundred. But *Ixora* ſtopping his hand, told him, That having now had a ſufficient proof of his integrity, he ſhould ask what he pleaſed, and he would be ſure to grant it. *Rawan* then asked a ſhare with *Ixora* in the government of the world; which being granted him by *Ixora*, *Rawan* nevertheleſs continued his daily devotions, and being asked the reaſon by *Ixora*, he told him, That he would not deſiſt from his prayers, till he had given him ten heads and twenty arms; which being likewiſe granted by *Ixora*, he fixed his reſidence in the country of *Lanka*, in the famous iſle of *Ceylon*, called by others *Sanka*, who alſo ſay, that he built ſeven palaces there of gold, ſilver, ſteel, iron, and other metals.

The ſtory of Rama, *or* Siri Rama, *is ſo famous in the Indies, that kings and princes paint it upon their arms and palaces.*

Having thus ruled for ſome thouſand years over all the neighbouring kings, he became ſo proud, as to force his ſubjects to worſhip him inſtead of *Ixora*; which they were forced to do for twenty five years, till being quite tired out of all patience by his tyrannies, they implored *Ixora* to deliver them from *Rawan*, that ſo they might recover their former freedom of adoring him.

About that time, there lived a certain *Ragie*, named *Daſſerat*, or *Deſſeratha*, or *Decxareda*. This king having three wives, one of them named *Couſila*, after ſome time brought forth a ſon, named *Ram*, by the *Brahman Wiſſiroe*, who increaſed daily in wiſdom and underſtanding, beyond what could be expected from his tender years. His ſecond wife *Keggy*, (called *Kaikia* by the *Malabars*,) brought forth another ſon, named *Barrat*; and *Somettery*, or *Somittra*, the third wife, *Lekeman* and *Setteroukan*. The *Malabars* ſay, that theſe four ſons were born from theſe three women by the means of four pills. *Baldæus.*

Viſtnum being thus brought into the world, in the ſhape of a *Ram*, was educated by the *Brahmans* in all manner of wiſdom and knowledge. There happened to live at that time a certain *Ragie*, named *Sanneck*, in the country of *Siannak*, who having fixed a prodigious ſtrong bow in a certain incloſure made for that purpoſe, iſſued his proclamation to encourage all ſuch as would venture to draw and break the ſaid bow, offering his daughter *Sytha*, with a great portion, as a reward to him who ſhould accompliſh it. This being likewiſe come to the ears of the *Brahmans*, *Ram* ſolicited his tutor to let him try his ſtrength, which the maſter, not without ſome reluctancy, having conſented to, he went along with him, under the notion of his ſervant, and coming to *Rag. Sanneck's* court, heard him offer the ſame reward to any one that could manage and break the bow, telling them, that he who would enter the liſt, ſhould take the veſſel with *Betel*, which was offered by his own hand.

How Ram got his bride Sytha.

The Malabars *ſay, That he was a going to ſacrifice, and invited the* Brahmans *to oppoſe the demons, that ſometimes uſed to diſturb thoſe ceremonies.*

Immediately after he ſaw the beforementioned *Rawan*, with ten heads, take the *Betel*, and boaſting of his ſtrength, told them, that no body but him ſhould pretend to *Sytha*. Then drawing the bow with his utmoſt ſtrength, he let up the ſinew, which ſtriking his thumb off, he fell into a ſwoon. Divers other *Ragies* tried to manage the ſame bow, but finding their ſtrength fail them, were forced to deſiſt.

The *Betel* being next brought to the *Brahmans*, among whom ſtood *Ram*, he at laſt obtained leave from his maſter, to accept of the *Betel*, which he did accordingly, and entering the liſt, found a tall maſt, or poll, fixed in the center of the court, on the top whereof was a fiſh, and at the bottom a ciſtern, with water, wherein plainly appeared the ſhade of the fiſh. *Ram* then drew the bow with

Baldæus. such violence, that he not only shot the fish into several parts, but also broke the bow to pieces.

The bride, rejoiced at his success, presented him with a whole dish full of jewels, as did all the rest there present proportionable to their abilities: his parents being also sent for to partake of the honours done to their son, they came with their other three sons, who married the three daughters of *Raja Sannek*, viz. *Barrat* married *Onnemela*; *Lekeman*, *Sekby*; and *Setteroukan*, *Lila*.

Ram then desired to return to his native country; which being granted, not without great reluctancy, he went back with his father, mother, and three brothers, with their wives, where his father delivered up the kingdom to him; but having received a wound in his thumb, which proved very painful to him, it was healed at last by his wife; in acknowledgment of which benefit he told her, that he would grant her whatever she would ask. She then desired her husband to send his three sons, *Ram*, *Lekeman*, (called otherwise *Lantsmana*, and *Setteroukan*, for twelve years into foreign countries, and to surrender the kingdom to her son *Barrat*, (called *Baratha*, and *Pareda* by the *Malabars*.) *Barrat* on the other hand, was unwilling to accept of this offer; notwithstanding which, *Ram* departed with his family and two brothers to the village of *Baratpery*, twelve *Cos* from *Allenti*, but leaving a pair of his slippers behind, *Barrat*, who still refused to encroach upon his eldest brother's right, used to sacrifice flowers, sandal-wood, and saffron, to them in his absence.

Ram departing to Ganges.

Ram in the mean while travelling along the river *Ganges* to *Pouffouwanam*, where, after a month's stay, whilst the brothers were busy in erecting the huts, *Lekeman* used to go every day to gather fruit for their subsistence; he being a very handsome person, and got upon a tree to gather some fruits, was espied by a certain woman, named *Souppenneklia*, (and *Charpana*, by the *Malabars*,) the sister of *Rawan*, and widow of one *Vicrah*, (killed in *Rawan*'s service,) who being come to wash herself in the *Ganges*, told him, *That she looking upon him as the handsomest person in the world, she must be unmerciful for ever, unless he would vouchsafe to love her*; which if he refused, *she would turn her love into hatred, and her hatred into revenge with a single wink.* *Lekeman* replied, *That he could not disobey his brother's commands, he could not oblige her*; *and as to fight with her, would not turn to his honour.* O unfortunate man! cried she, *how little beest thou acquainted with my strength! if I cannot enjoy thee, I will have thy life before I part from this place.* *Lekeman* then considering whom he had to do with, told her, *That though he was willing, it was not in his power, she being of the family of the* Raches, *and he of the tribe of the* Bram-Ketteriis; *but that if she would go to his brother* Ram's *hut, which was not far thence, and obtain his consent, he would not be backward to gratify her desire.* She no sooner came to *Ram*'s hut, but he knew her at first sight, and looking upon this as a fit opportunity to revenge the affront he had received of *Rawan*, he gave her a letter directed to his brother *Lekeman*, wherein he ordered him to cut off those parts in which her strength was lodged. Thus she left *Ram* well satisfied, hastening to her pretended bridegroom, whom she found busy in gathering of fruit; and delivering the letter to him, bid him read his brother's consent. But *Lekeman* understanding his brother's intention, run towards her, and under pretence of taking her up in his arms, cut off her nose and ears, wherein her strength was lodged.

Baldæus.

Rawan's sister, *Souppenneklia*, becomes much enamoured of Lekeman.

He cuts off her nose and ears.

Thus mortified, she went away, threatening revenge to the two brothers, and making the best of her way to her brother *Rawan*'s palace; but lighting by chance upon an uncle's house of hers, named *Char*, who commanded ten thousand horse, she stopped there; and being asked how she came to defaced, she told them that some robbers near the *Ganges* had treated her in this manner.

The youngest of her uncles ordered immediately three hundred horse to be in readiness to march with him to the *Ganges*, where they attacked *Ram*'s habitation with such fury, that *Lekeman* was put under no small consternation; but *Ram* defended his habitation so courageously, that he killed most of the horsemen with his bow, called *Dremmesbamme*, with their leader. *Char* had no sooner received intelligence of this defeat, but putting himself at the head of the remaining nine thousand and seven hundred horse, he marched to the same place; but with no better success, being slain by *Ram*, with all his forces.

Ten thousand horse sent against Ram.

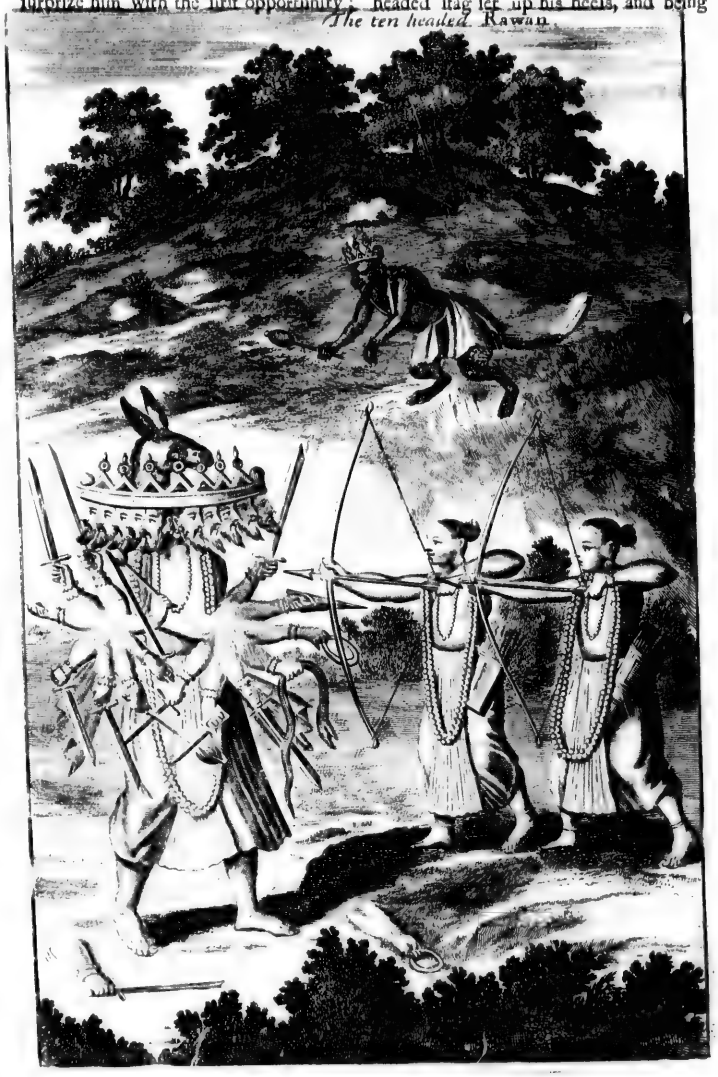
Souppenneklia having been an eye-witness of this defeat at a distance, made all the haste she could to come to her brother *Rawan*; who having asked her the reason, she told him, *That meeting with a certain woman to wash near the river Ganges, she endeavoured to persuade her to commit sin with her, with an intent to present her to him*; *but being overtaken by her two husband and his brother, they had so mur-*

Baldæus. *mortified her in that manner as they now saw her.* *Rawan* highly exasperated at this usage, bid her to shew him the place where it happened; which she did accordingly, and at the same time gave him an account of what had happened to her uncle and the ten thousand horsemen.

Rawan *transformed into a flag.*

Rawan thus fore-warned, assumed the shape of a flag with two heads, and so did feed near *Ram*'s hut, the better to surprize him with the first opportunity; but being espied by *Sytha*, *Ram*'s wife, *Baldæus.* she was so much taken with his bright skin, that she desired her husband to shoot him, and to make her a vest of his skin. *Ram* told her that the same could not be done without danger; but she persisting in her intreaties, he consented, yet under condition, That she and his brother *Lekeman* should not pass three certain circles he made with chalk cross the hut. He no sooner got into the field, but the two-headed flag set up his heels, and being

The ten headed Rawan.



He cuts off her nose and ears.

Baldæus.

Is ſhot by Ram.

purſued by *Ram* for three *Cos*, was ſhot with an arrow in the breaſt.

Rawan's ghoſt at the ſame time entering into the body of a *Fakier*, he went ſtraitways to *Ram*'s hut, and with a doleful voice cried out to *Lekeman*, to ſuccour his brother, who was in danger of periſhing by his enemies hands. *Sytha*, thunder-ſtruck at this voice, begged *Lekeman* to ſuccour her husband, who told her, That he believed this voice to be fictitious, as not queſtioning that his brother, who had ſo lately ſlain ten thouſand men, could be in a condition to cope with one. But *Sytha* imploring his aſſiſtance with a flood of tears, he went accordingly.

In the mean time the *Fakier*, endowed with *Rawan*'s ſpirit, having aſſumed the ſhape of a beggar, came to beg ſome alms of *Sytha*, who excuſed the matter; yet at laſt was prevailed upon to give him ſome fruit that were left the day before; but as ſhe was extending her arm towards the beggar, he catched hold of her hand, and pulling her over the circle, (under pretence of bringing her to the place where her husband was engaged,)

He carries away Sytha.

he carried her to the country of *Lanka*, in the iſle of *Ceylon*.

As he was carrying her along, he met with the giant *Siettank*, of the tribe of the *Raches*, who begged ſome victuals of him in a threatening tone. *Rawan* having no proviſions to give him, took up a ſtone, which he rubbing againſt his thigh, made a large hole, the blood whereof turned the ſtone into meat, which he gave the giant, who had no ſooner eat it, but it turned to a ſtone again in his ſtomach, and oppreſſed him to ſuch a degree, that he was not able to ſtir or move.

Then *Rawan*, purſuing his journey, came to the mountain *Reſmokperwat*, where he met with the apes with bears heads, called *Hanuman*, *Suckerige*, *Anget*, and *Siamboemt*; and *Sytha* dropping her ring, the ſame was taken up by *Hanuman*.

Places her in a garden in Ceylon.

Rawan coming into *Ceylon*, and not daring to bring *Sytha* into his houſe, placed her in a garden under a certain tree called *Syſem*; and having appointed her a guard of twelve giants, he daily made his courtſhip to her; but ſhe refuſed all his offers.

In the mean time *Ram* returning homewards, and meeting with his brother *Lekeman* by the way, they both came to the hut, but to their great ſurprize found *Sytha* gone. *Ram* in a moſt violent rage upbraided his brother with leaving the hut; but having underſtood the reaſon, they reſolved to go in queſt of *Sytha*.

As they were paſſing through a very long ſubterraneous paſſage, they met with a certain giant at his devotion, who being ſurprized to ſee them, *Ram* told him, That the deſire of finding out his ſpouſe had brought him through this dangerous place, asking him, Whether he had not heard any thing of her. He anſwered, that he had ſeen a giant flying through the air, holding a woman upon his hand. *Ram* further enquiring what way they were gone, he anſwered, Towards the country of *Dekendeſa*.

Baldæus.

Ram and Lekeman go in queſt of Sytha.

Ram verily believing this to be *Sytha*, bleſſed the giant, and purſuing his journey to the mount *Reſmokperwat*, met with the beforementioned apes with bears heads, where *Hanuman* proſtrating himſelf at his feet, asked him, What brought him to this remote part of the world? *Ram* anſwered, To look after his ſpouſe. *Hanuman* replied, I ſaw a giant paſs through the air, with a woman ſitting upon his hand, who dropped this ear-ring. *Ram* infinitely rejoiced at the ſight thereof, (knowing it to be his wife's,) asked him, What way they had taken? *Hanuman* replied, To the country of *Lanka*, in the iſle of *Ceylon*; and at the ſame time offering his ſervice for the recovery of his ſpouſe, he entreated the ape *Suckerige* to aſſiſt him in this enterprize; promiſing him, that in caſe they ſucceeded, *Ram* ſhould reſtore to him his wife and his eſtate in the valley of *Kieckenda*, taken from him by his brother *Bael*. But *Suckerige* remembered his brother's ſtrength, how he had worſted the giant *Rawan*, and held his head two months under his arms, (before the government of the world was committed to him by *Viſtnum*;) beſides, ſeveral other giants told him, that *Ram* being only of a middle ſtature, was not likely to conquer him.

Hanuman gives an account to Ram *of* Sytha.

Hanuman, however, perſiſting in his perſuaſions, and extolling the power of *Ram*, *Suckerige* asked a token, *viz.* that he ſhould ſhoot his arrow through ſome of the branches of the trees, whilſt they were agitated by the wind. *Lekeman* having underſtood his requeſt, ſpoke to his brother *Ram*, who bidding them ſhut their eyes, he ſhot at once with his arrow through ſeven trees, and at the ſame time ordered *Suckerige* to challenge his brother *Bael* in his name; which being done accordingly, *Bael* appeared, and in a ſcoriful tone told *Ram*, That he would cut off his head at one ſtroke; whereat *Ram* being exaſperated to the higheſt degree, he drew his bow, ſent his arrow through his body, and reſtored the valley of *Kieckenda* to *Suckerige*, and with it his wife.

Ram kills Bael.

Baldæus. *Ram* having now taken a reſolution to ſtay with his brother in the mountain, ſent *Hanuman*, *Anget*, *Suckerige*, and *Sucking*, chieftains of the apes, into the valley of *Quicxinta*, (as the *Malabars* call it,) not far from the valley of *Kieckenda*, in queſt of his ſpouſe. *Hanuman* being ready to depart with his company, gave him his ring as a token to ſhew to his ſpouſe *Sytha*. Accordingly they ſet out on their journey, taking two different roads, two and two together; but not meeting with *Sytha*, they met at a certain place near the ſea-ſide, full of deſpair at their ill ſucceſs. However, *Hanuman* bid them have a good heart, telling them, that *Ceylon* lying oppoſite to them croſs the ſeas, he would, according to the power granted him by *Viſhnum*, fly over the ſea into *Ceylon*, where *Rawan* kept his reſidence.

Hanuman *flies into Ceylon.*

Hanuman being at laſt, in diſguiſe, arrived in the iſle of *Ceylon*, met with ten female giants that were appointed her guard by *Rawan* in the air: theſe refuſing him paſſage, he aſſumed the ſhape of a fly, and thus eſcaping their hands, advanced to the ſhore of *Ceylon*; but being there met by a huge giant, who ſtopped his paſſage, was forced to reaſſume his own body of an ape, and ſo to engage the giant, who ſeeing him to fight ſo courageouſly, commended his bravery, telling him, That he ſhould ſucceed in what he deſired. *Hanuman* anſwering, That he came only to look for his maſter

Hears of Sytha. *Ram*'s wife. The giant replied, She is kept by the moſt potent *Rawan* in a garden under a ſyſem-tree.

Hanuman then purſuing his journey, and being extremely tired, did fall into a ſwoon upon the ſea-ſhore; where having ſlept eighteen hours, and forgotten the name of the place aſſigned him by the giant, he transformed himſelf into a cat, and running through all the houſes and corners of *Ceylon*, but without ſucceſs, at laſt happened to light upon the top of *Rawan*'s houſe, from whence eſpying the tree where *Sytha* was kept, he advanced towards it; but whilſt he was in doubt whether it were *Sytha* or not, he ſaw *Rawan* coming towards her, and renewing his courtſhip, offering all his territories and treaſures, in caſe ſhe would conſent to be his wife; but *Sytha* replied, That being *Ram*'s alone, ſhe would never encourage his addreſſes, threatening to conſume him by fire, if he perſiſted in his demands.

Rawan was no ſooner gone, but *Hanuman* dropped the ring given him by *Ram* into *Sytha*'s lap; who burſt out into tears, imagining that *Ram* had been killed by ſome of the giants: but *Hanuman* throwing himſelf at her feet, told her, That *Ram* was in good health, and had ſent him to look after her. *Sytha* ſtill queſtioning the truth, *Hanuman* told her, That the ring was given him as a token to her, yet not with an intention to bring her to him, but only to learn news of her. Then haſte away, replied ſhe, and deſire *Ram* to deliver me out of the hands of the tyrant *Rawan*. *Baldæus.*

Hanuman went his way; but conſider- Hanuman's *actions at* Ceylon. ing with himſelf, he would not forſake *Lanka* without leaving behind him ſome remembrances of his having been there, he returned to *Sytha*, asking her leave to gather ſome fruits, which ſhe denied, telling him, That he would be unfortunate in his enterprize, if he fed upon any other fruit but what he found upon the ground. Well, ſaid *Hanuman*, and ſo laying hold of the next fruit-tree, and tearing it up by the root, he eat the fruit; the ſame he did to moſt of the other trees in the garden, except that where *Sytha* was placed. The gardiner ſeeing the next morning what havock *Hanuman* had made, told his maſter what happened, who being incenſed to the higheſt degree, ordered ten thouſand giants to kill this ape. *Hanuman* ſeeing them advancing againſt him, laid hold of one of the biggeſt trees, and made ſuch havock among theſe giants, that ſcarce one of them eſcaped.

Rawan no ſooner heard of this defeat, but he ſent twenty five thouſand more to revenge the quarrel of their comrades; but theſe having undergone the ſame fate, he ſent his youngeſt ſon at the head of twelve thouſand of the choiceſt giants, *Great ſlaughter of the giants.* who put *Hanuman* ſo hard to it, that they made him reel ſeveral times; but his ſtrength being continually renewed by *Ram*'s care, he at firſt ſlew *Rawan*'s youngeſt ſon, and at laſt the whole army.

Mandory, *Rawan*'s ſpouſe, did all that lay in her power to perſuade her husband to deliver up *Sytha* to *Ram*, for fear of loſing his whole eſtate; but *Rawan* was ſo far from hearkening to her counſel, that he iſſued a proclamation, that he who thought himſelf the ſtrongeſt man in the iſle of *Ceylon*, ſhould engage with the ape: but there being no body who durſt compare for ſtrength with *Rawan*'s eldeſt ſon, named *Inderjiet*, (who formerly had vanquiſhed *Raja Inder*,) he ordered him, That whenever he was a going to ſhoot his arrow, he ſhould utter certain words taught him by *Bramma*, which had that effect, as to turn the arrow into a ſerpent, and to entangle his adverſary.

Inderjiet thus bold with hopes, advanced at the head of his giants againſt *Hanu-*

man, who laid so bravely about him, that he made the giants shrink, which *Indersiet* perceiving, let fly his arrow against *Hanuman*, which being in an instant transform'd into a serpent, was tore to pieces by *Hanuman*; which *Indersiet* seeing, he flew like lightning thro' the air to the holy *Bramma*, upbraided him with deceitfulness, and threatning him with no less than the loss of his life, unless he shew'd him the right way of vanquishing his enemy.

Indersiet makes use of a bewitched arrow.

Bramma being put to such a *nonplus*, hastned to *Hanuman*, and casting himself at his feet begged of him not to oppose *Indersiet*'s arrow, as wanting not means to protect himself against his attempts, by divers other ways. *Hanuman* taking compassion of *Bramma*, granted his request; who then told *Indersiet*, that by his charms he had so ordered the matter, as to render his arrow more effectual than before. *Indersiet* encouraged by his promise, sent forth his arrow against *Hanuman* a second time; which turning into a serpent, stuck close to his limbs, that the giants had sufficient opportunity to exercise their weapons upon him, though he received no more harm by it than if he had been touched with a feather. However, they carried him before the ten headed *Rawan*; who asked him by what means he was become invulnerable. *Hanuman* replied, by *Ram*'s blessing, whose wife thou hast carried away; which if thou dost not restore forthwith, thy whole country shall be laid desolate.

Rawan exasperated at this answer, commanded ten thousand giants to kill him; but finding their endeavours prove unsuccessful, he asked *Hanuman*, by what means he might be bereaved of his strength; he replied, If you dip my tail in oil, wrap it in cotton, and then set it on fire, all my strength will vanish in an instant. *Rawan* believing the matter, put it in execution, notwithstanding which, *Hanuman* pulled the serpent to pieces like a piece of thread, killed most of the giants, and set fire to the houses. This done, he took his leave of *Sytha*, who gave him one of her bracelets as a token, to shew *Ram* that he had seen her, charging him at the same time not to look back till he had past the seas, else he would be in great danger. *Hanuman* strictly observed this rule till he came to the sea-shore, when approaching on a sudden to a great flame, he looked back, and the flame reaching his tail, he was glad to run into the sea, to extinguish the fire.

This story seems to have some relation to that of Sampson.

Then taking his course through the air, he passed the seas, and meeting with his comrades, told them what had happened; who thence made the best of their way to the mountain *Resmokperwat*; and having shewed *Sytha*'s bracelets to *Ram*, who immediately ordered *Sreekery*, lord of the valley of *Kreckendia*, to summon all the apes under his jurisdiction to arms against *Rawan*; he accordingly appeared under their eighteen kings, each whereof appeared at the head of twenty thousand apes, amounting in all to three hundred and sixty thousand apes.

Ram and his brother *Lakeman* marched at the head of this powerful army to the sea-side, directly opposite to the isle of *Ceylon*; where *Ram* having spent three days in fasting and praying, to open a passage for his forces through the sea, but in vain, he drew his bow, threatning the sea to reduce it into such narrow bounds, that where then was nothing to be seen but water, the terrestial creatures should sport upon the pleasant sands without danger. The waves of the sea thereupon humbling themselves before *Ram*, told him, That to open him a passage through the depth, could not be done without a total destruction of a vast number of fishes; but that there was in his army a certain ape called *Sickem*, endowed with such a quality by his master the holy *Narsy*, that whatever stone he should only touch, would swim on the surface of the water like wood. Accordingly *Ram* ordered a vast quantity of stones to be brought from the neighbouring mountains, which being only touched by *Sickem*, and then thrown into the sea, did swim upon the surface thereof, and making a bridge of one hundred leagues in length, afforded an easy passage for his whole army.

A stone bridge of a hundred leagues cross the sea.

The inhabitants of *Lanka*, or *Ceylon*, being soon alarm'd by the noise of their drums, and other warlike instruments, *Rawan*'s wife intreated her husband to take a view of that prodigious army from the top of his house; whom *Ram* no sooner spied at a distance, but with his arrow he shot off his ten crowns from his ten heads. His wife laying hold of this opportunity, exhorted him once more to deliver up *Sytha* to *Ram*, who, says she, can with the same arrow, which took off your ten crowns, also take off your ten heads.

But *Rawan* persisting in his resolution not to part with *Sytha*, *Ram* told his brother *Lekeman*, that to leave nothing unattempted to reduce *Rawan* to reason, they would dispatch the ape *Anget* to him to demand *Sytha*; and in case of refusal, to tell him now, that they were

Baldæus. were come to deſtroy all with fire and ſword.

Rawan being advertiſed of his arrival, called together all his giants, (among whom was his brother *Behickkhem*;) and having cauſed ten ſtatues to be made with ten heads like himſelf, he took his place in the midſt of them: *Anget* coming boldly into the room, asked, What monſters theſe were, and which of them was *Rawan* himſelf? Whereat *Rawan* being highly exaſperated, asked, Who it was that dares affront him thus? threatning to make him repent his boldneſs. *Anget* replied, *Were I not here in the quality of an ambaſſador, I would try my ſtrength with thee, being ſent by* Ram *to let thee know, that he did not come with this army to deſtroy thy ſubjects, but to recover his wife* Sytha; *which if thou refuſeſt to do, he declares himſelf innocent of all the effuſion of blood that ſhall enſue.* But *Rawan* anſwering, That he was reſolved not to deliver her; *Anget* brought this anſwer to *Ram*.

Rawan's brother comes over to Ram.

At the ſame time, *Rawan's* brother, with five of his chief counſellors, finding him not in a capacity to cope with ſo powerful an army, aſſumed the ſhape of apes, and throwing themſelves at the feet of *Ram*, craved his mercy and protection.

The apes of *Ram's* army taking them for ſpies, handled them very roughly at firſt coming into the camp; and *Hanuman*, or *Hanneman*, eſpecially, would have diſſwaded him from having the leaſt concern with them; but were appeaſed by *Ram*, when he told them, That he knew them to be men of honour and probity.

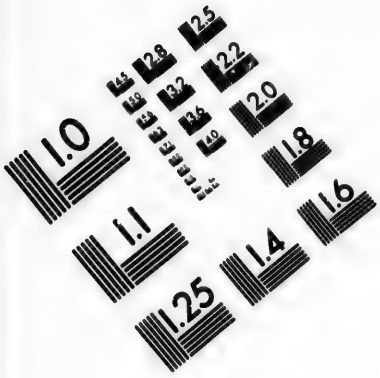
By this time *Rawan* had armed ten thouſand of his boldeſt giants to attack *Ram's* camp; but theſe being ſoon defeated, he ſent eighteen thouſand more; *Rawan's obſtinacy.* who having undergone the ſame fate, he ſent thirty thouſand more; and theſe alſo ſucceeding no better, he ſent fifty thouſand more, who were all routed like the reſt.

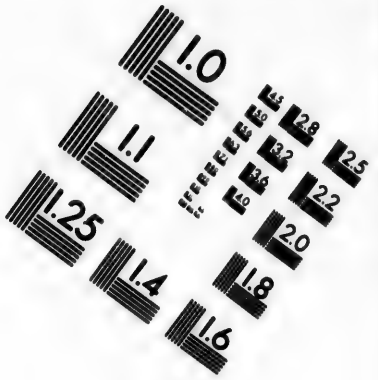
Then *Rawan's* eldeſt ſon entreating his father to let him engage alone againſt the whole camp of *Ram*, he could not conſent to his requeſt; but having convinced his father of the advantages he had lately got by the inſtructions of *Bramma*, he put him at the head of ten thouſand of his choiceſt giants. With theſe troops being advanced to *Ram's* camp, he encouraged them to fight bravely, whilſt he ſoaring up into the air, did hide himſelf behind one of the wheels of the chariot of the ſun, till coming directly over *Ram's* camp, he ſent forth one of his magical arrows, which turning immediately into a ſerpent, ſent forth ſuch a vaſt number of other ſerpents among the apes, that their arms and legs being quite entangled, they were knocked down on all ſides by the giants. *Baldæus.*

Ram not a little ſurprized at this diſaſter, asked *Rawan's* brother, what was beſt to be done; who told him, That if he would ſend for his winged *Garroude*, the ſerpents would vaniſh in an inſtant. *Ram* following his advice, *Garroude* no ſooner appeared, but the ſerpents vaniſhed; and the apes fought it out bravely with the giants.

In the mean while, *Ram* having adviſed with his council, how to attack *Inderjiet*, *Rawan's* eldeſt ſon, in the air, and *Lekeman* having offered his ſervice, he got upon *Hanuman's* back, who carrying him up into the air, *Inderjiet* ſent a ſhower of arrows againſt him; but theſe being repulſed by *Lekeman's* ſhield, and *Inderjiet* ſeeing him advance towards him, threw away his bow and arrows, and laying hold likewiſe of his ſword and buckler, a moſt furious combat enſued, which remained dubious for ſome time; till *Lekeman* giving him a blow on his neck, cut off his head at one ſtroke, *Rawan's eldeſt ſon ſlain.* which dropt down before his father's feet. *Mandory*, his mother, burſt out into a moſt violent paſſion for the loſs of her beloved ſon, tearing her hair and breaſts with her nails, and upbraiding her huſband with cruelty, injuſtice, and laſciviouſneſs; but to little purpoſe, *Rawan* perſiſting in his reſolution of not delivering *Sytha*.

He ſeeks for aſſiſtance by his brother. Being reſolved to make his utmoſt efforts, he cra. l the aſſiſtance of his brother, a moſt famous giant, named *Coukeringh*, (or *Kompacarna*, as *Rogerius* * * C. 3. calls him after the *Malabars*;) this giant uſed to ſpend his whole life in ſleeping, except one day, when he appeared in his full activity; and to ſpend his time in filling his belly with victuals for the whole ſucceeding year. It being then in third month of his ſleep, *Rawan* called to him aloud, Brother *Coukeringh*, rouze, rouze, and come to my aſſiſtance, or elſe we are loſt! *Coukeringh* asking him, half aſleep, what was the matter; *Rawan* told him, That being attacked by a vaſt body of apes under the command of one *Ram*, who had killed two of his ſons, and no leſs than ſeven generals, with two hundred thouſand giants, he had no other means left to reprieve himſelf and his ſubjects from deſtruction, but to implore his aid. The giant reply'd, Thou beeſt unfortunate, *Rawan*, to have entangled thy ſelf in an unjuſt war againſt an army headed by the divine *Ram*; I have foreſeen it in my ſleep, that the ſame will turn to the





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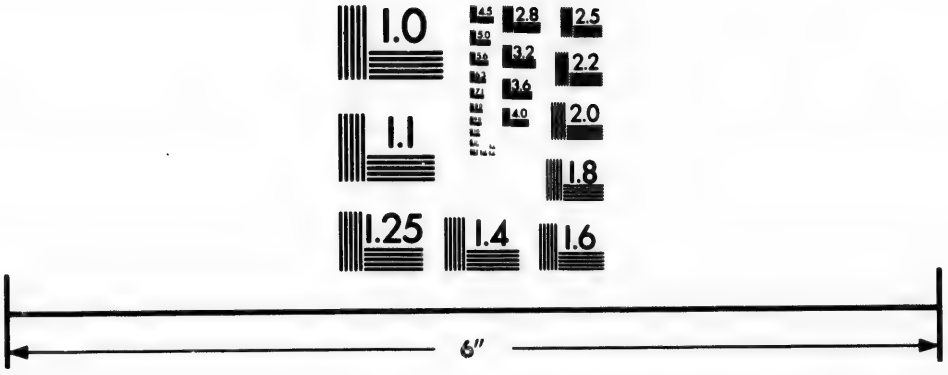

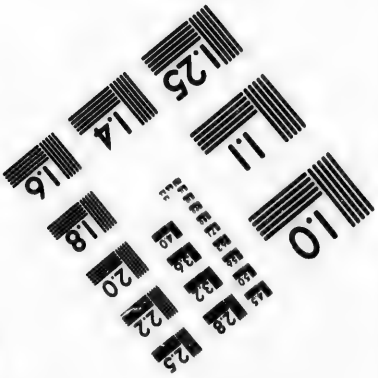

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Baldæus. the deſtruction of thy ſelf and thy country.

Rawan ſtood amazed, but full of deſpair, told his brother, That if it was his fate (written in his forehead) to die by the hands of *Ram*, it was in vain to avoid it, deſiring once more his aſſiſtance. The giant replied, My life is at your ſervice: and ſo ordering his chariot drawn by ten pair of aſſes, to be got ready, put himſelf at the head of *Rawan*'s army compoſed of giants. *Ram* in the mean while, underſtanding that the great giant was coming againſt him, he appointed ſome thouſands of apes to throw upon him the tops of the rocks; which they did accordingly, though in vain, the giant piercing the mount that was thrown upon him with his arrow, no withſtanding it had one hundred leagues in compaſs.

This made *Ram* ask *Bebickhem*, *Rawan*'s brother, by what means the giant *Coukeringh* might be vanquiſhed. *Bebickhem* replied, You muſt retreat three paces backwards. That cannot be, anſwered *Ram*, becauſe I am deſcended of the race of the *Ketterius*, who dare not retreat under pain of baniſhment. But there is no other remedy, returned *Bebickhem*; but the beſt advice I can give you, is to deſcend from your chariot, and let the ſame be carried three paces backwards. This being approved by *Ram*, was done accordingly; ſo that whilſt the giant was making a moſt horrid ſlaughter among the apes, he ſhot his head off, which falling upon the ground, ſhook the earth, as if a whole mountain had tumbled down, a whole river of blood, as black as pitch, guſhing out of his veins.

The giant Coukeringh ſlain.

Notwithſtanding this, the trunk of his body continued to make a great ſlaughter among the apes; ſo that *Ram* being again obliged to have recourſe to *Rawan*'s brother, he told him, That if he ſent out a party of apes, to get a blue cloth died with indigo, and therewith covered the body, it would become immoveable. In the mean while, the trunk of the giant continued to make great havock among the apes, but to little purpoſe, they being revived (by the aſpect of *Ram*,) as faſt as they were killed.

By this time, the blue cloth being brought, was thrown upon the trunk, which in an inſtant remained as unmovable as a ſtone in the field. *Rawan* ſeeing himſelf thus reduced to diſpair, had recourſe to the goddeſs *Bocanni*, unto whom he offered a ſacrifice of freſh butter, ſandal-wood, flowers, and ſpices, imploring her aid againſt *Ram* with ſuch fervency, That it is believed he would have obtained his requeſt, had not the ape *Hanuman* defiled the ſacrifice by throwing one of the dead carcaſes of the ſlain giants upon the altar, erected in a deep hole for this ſacrifice. *Baldæus.*

Rawan's laſt ſacrifice.

Rawan thus drove to the laſt extremity, put himſelf again at the head of his forces, and like a deſperate perſon flew all the apes he met in his way, forcing all the hills before him the apes threw in his way, till *Ram* drawing his bow, ſhot off nine of his heads. And then calling to him aloud, *Rawan*, ſaid he, Deſiſt from blood-ſhed, return me my *Sytha*, and I will heal thy wounds, and reſtore thee thy heads and kingdom, without which thou wilt certainly loſe all. But *Rawan* replying, That if fate had ſo ordained it, he would rather loſe his ten heads alſo, than *Sytha*. *Ram* ſhot likewiſe his tenth head off: but perceiving that the headleſs body laid ſtill about him with its twenty-four arms, he threw ſome water upon it, and muttering out certain words, made it as immoveable as a ſtone.

Rawan ſlain by Ram.

Mandory was no ſooner informed of her husband's death, but ſhe threw herſelf at *Ram*'s feet, bewailing his obſtinacy, notwithſtanding the many forebodes of his fall, an unfortunate raven and a doleful owl having ſettled upon his houſe, with very dreadful lamentations and outcries, the fore-runners of his misfortune. As I have, added ſhe, been innocent of what has happened, ſo I hope you won't deny me my protection. *Ram* bid her be ſatisfied, ordering her at the ſame time, to paſs ſeven times through the ſmoke of the fire kept at *Tchie*, to purify herſelf, and renew her virginity; which done, he would marry her to her husband's brother *Bebickhem*, who accordingly was put into *Rawan*'s place. Then *Ram* being carried in his *roſe-litter* to the tree *Syſemi*, where *Sytha* was kept a priſoner, ſhe embraced him, returning him a million of thanks for her deliverance. The next thing *Ram* did, was to revive his apes ſlain in the late engagement; and ſo marched back over the ſame bridge that had caaried him into *Ceylon*. Being come to the oppoſite ſhore, he ordered the ſtones to be carried to the place whence they had been taken, and marching to the valley of *Kieckanda*, he would there have taken his leave of *Suckery*; but he refuſing to part with him thus, would needs accompany him with all his forces as far as the village of *Baratpoeri*, where *Ram* was received by his father, mother, and brother, with great demonſtrations

His wife married to his brother.

Ram meets again with Sytha.

Returns home.

Baldæus. ſtrations of joy, the ſweet-ſcented roſe-water, ſaffron, betel, and other perfumes, being laviſhly beſtowed upon him and all thoſe that had attended him home.

Ram having beſtowed his bleſſing upon *Suckery*, he returned home; but *Hanuman* ſtaid with him. He reigned in peace eleven years after his return, and begat two ſons, *Lan* and *Chus*. Then taking his opportunity when he had ſent *Hanuman* out of the way, he aſcended into heaven with the inhabitants of the earth, except his two ſons.

The *Malabars* ſay, That *Ram* being jealous of *Sytha*, would have murdered her, had ſhe not cleared herſelf by the fire and a ſolemn oath. Another time being again ſeized with a jealouſy, becauſe ſhe had *Rawan*'s picture drawn upon a piece of board, ſhe purged herſelf, by putting her hand into a veſſel filled with ſerpents.

They further add, That her husband being become extreme jealous, cauſed her to be thrown before the elephants, and afterwards before the tygers, but ſhe eſcaped without the leaſt harm. They ſay, That when *Hanuman* ſaw *Ram* aſcend into heaven, he cryed aloud to him, *O divine Ram! what have I done, that you will leave me behind! Ram* anſwered, Hanuman, *be not diſſatisfied, thou ſhalt never die, and many* Pagodes *ſhall be erected to thy memory. Farewell.*

Baldæus.

Thus ended the ſecond period of time, which, according to the computation of the *Benjans*, contains one million two hundred and ninety-ſix thouſand; whereof *Ram* reigned two thouſand. This ſecond period is called *Treitagom* by the *Malabars*, and *Tretanike* by the *Benjans*.

CHAP. V.

The eighth Altar. The Parents, Birth, and Education of Kiſna: *His miraculous Deliverance.* Ragia Kans *endeavours to murder him.* Kiſna *turns a Shepherd, and flies with his Company to* Goggel.

The eighth tranſformation the moſt remarkable.

AS the eighth tranſformation of *Viſtnum* is accounted of the greateſt moment above the reſt; for, ſay the pagans, in all the others, *Viſtnum* appeared in the world with ſome part of his divinity; but in this, he carried along with him the whole ſubſtance of it, ſo that he left his place vacant in heaven. This tranſformation happened with the beginning of the third period of time; and, according to the relation of the *Benjans*, was thus:

One *Ragia Kans* living in the city of *Mottera*, twenty-five *Cos* from *Agra*, upon the river *Siemmena*, had a young ſiſter named *Deuki*. About three *Cos* higher up the ſame river, lived a certain *Brahman* named *Waſſendeuw*, in the city of *Goggel*; The ſaid *Deuki* being arrived to a marriageable age, her brother *Ragia Kans* looked out for a husband for her; but meeting with none for his purpoſe in that city, he ſent to the city of *Goggel*; where his meſſenger hearing of the worth and piety of *Waſſendeuw*, the ſame was, at his recommendation, married to him when he was only nineteen, and ſhe no more than twelve years of age.

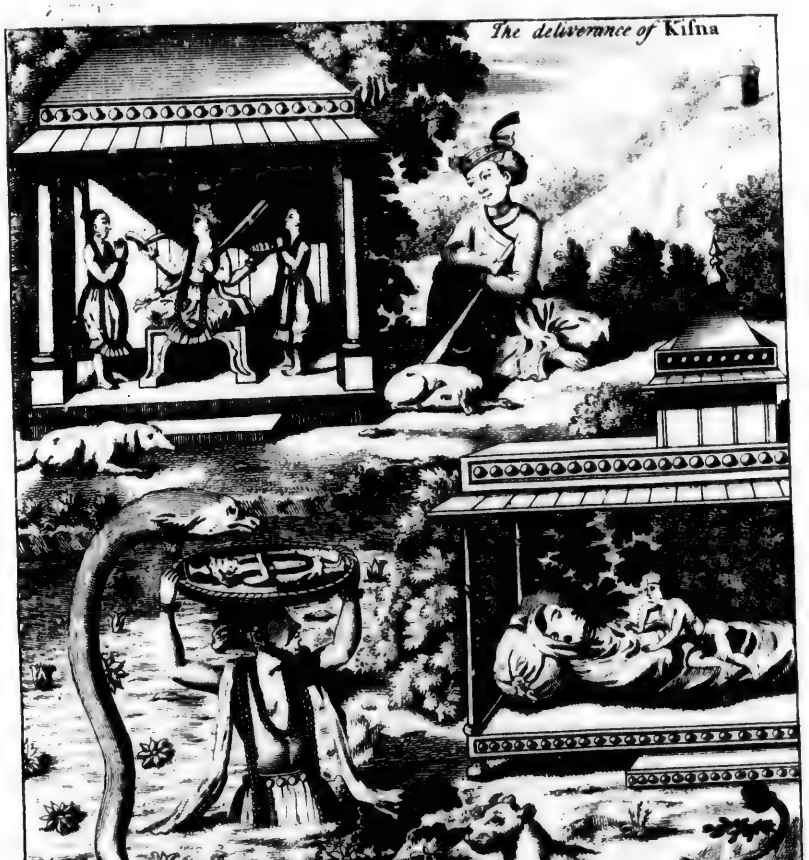
The ſaid *Ragia* having underſtood that there was among his ſubjects a certain *Brahman* named *Narret*, well skilled in chiromancy, (a thing in high eſteem among the pagans, *) he ſent for him, deſiring him to look into his ſiſter's hands, and to foretel, without diſſembling the matter, what good or bad fortune was like to befal her. The *Brahman* having viewed her hand, told the king, That according to the lines of her hand, ſhe was to bring forth ſix ſons, and one daughter; the youngeſt of whom will not only take away thy kingdom, but alſo thy life.

The king being not a little ſurprized at this prophecy, ordered the ſaid *Deuki* and her husband to be impriſoned in a ſtrong caſtle; and that all the children begotten upon her body, ſhould be killed immediately. Accordingly, the midwife brought the new-born babes to her brother, who beat out the brains of ſix of them (*viz.* five ſons and one daughter) againſt a ſtone. Afterwards underſtanding that ſhe was with child with the ſeventh, he encloſed her in a room with iron doors, and appointed her a guard of one hundred ſoldiers, with ſtrict orders, That the child, as ſoon as it was born, ſhould be brought to him. Upon this occaſion, I cannot but obſerve, that this, as well as the enſuing part of the ſtory of *Kiſna*, ſeems to have a near relation to the hiſtory of the birth of our ſaviour, his flight into *Egypt*, the murder of the innocent children by *Herod*, Chriſt's miracles, and aſcenſion, *&c.*

* *See* Voſſius, l. 2. Idol. c. 47 & Pucer. de Divin.

Baldæus. The time of her reckoning being expired on the day * *Aethen*, of the month *Souwanne*, this unfortunate lady being overwhelmed with grief, ſhe brought forth a ſon about midnight, without the leaſt pain, whoſe face was as bright as the full moon; but as ſhe had occaſion to rejoice at the birth of ſo fine a child, his fate put her into incredible affliction: but *Viſtnum* (whoſe divine virtue was infuſed into this child) comforted his mother, telling her, that he would find means to eſcape the hands of his uncle, and deliver her out of her priſon. Then ſpeaking to his father, Pray, ſays he, carry me to *Goggel*, on the other ſide of the river *Siemmena*, to the *Brahman Nen*, whoſe wife being lately brought to bed of a daughter, exchange me for her, and leave the reſt to my diſpoſal. *Baldæus.*

* *The 8th day of the decreaſing moon.*



Baldæus. *Waſſendeuw* anſwered, How is it poſſible to remove thee out of a chamber ſo cloſely guarded and kept, that not the leaſt thing could paſs in or out? *Kiſna* (this was the child's name,) replied, the doors ſhall be opened to thee, and the guards ſo overcome with ſleep, that nothing ſhall ſtop thy free paſſage. He had no ſooner ſpoke theſe words, but the ſeven doors opened themſelves, ſo that *Waſſendeuw* took the child, and carried him off without the leaſt hinderance. But coming to the river *Siemmena*, directly oppoſite to *Goggel*, *Kiſna*'s father perceiving the current to be very ſtrong, (it being in the midſt of the rainy ſeaſon,) and not knowing which way to paſs it, *Kiſna* commanded the water to give way on both ſides to his father; who accordingly paſſed dry-footed croſs the river, being all the way guarded by a ſerpent that held her head over the child, to ſerve it inſtead of an umbrella. The *Benjans* call this ſerpent *Sickenaſy*. Coming to the *Brahman*'s houſe, the door opened itſelf, and finding the *Brahman* and his wife aſleep, he exchanged his ſon for their daughter, which he carried along with him to the caſtle. In ſhort, the water afforded him once more a free paſſage; and finding the doors of the caſtle open, and the guards aſleep, he locked them after him, and delivered the girl to his wife.

The guards hearing the child cry ſoon after, entered the chamber, ſnatched it from the unfortunate parents, and brought it to *Ragia Kans*, who finding it a girl, upbraided the *Brahman* with want of ſkill, yet for fear of the worſt, was going to ſtrike the head againſt a ſtone; but the child ſlipping out of his hands, flew up into the air, and told him, *It was in vain to attempt to murder her, ſince he that was to take away his head and his kingdom, to revenge the death of his five brothers, and a ſiſter, was ſafe at* Goggel. This ſaid, it flew up high into the air, where it was turned into *lightning* by *Viſtnum*, a thing never ſeen before in the world.

Ragia Kans not a little ſurprized at this accident, conſulted all his friends, what he had beſt do in this emergency; but none being able to adviſe him to any purpoſe; whilſt he was very melancholy, and ruminating upon the oddneſs of the thing, he underſtood that the pious *Brahman Nen*, who lived at *Goggel*, had a moſt beautiful ſon, which put it into his head, whether it might not perhaps be he who was to take revenge of him for his tyrannies. At laſt, to make ſure work, he reſolved to have the child killed; but not thinking it ſafe to undertake ſo heinous a thing barefaced, (for fear of the common people,) he made his applications to his eldeſt ſiſter *Poetena*, enjoyning her, as ſhe tendered his life, to go with ſome preſents to this *Brahman*'s houſe, and to endeavour to kill this child by anointing her teats with poiſon. Baldæus.

Accordingly coming with conſiderable preſents to the child's mother at *Goggel*, ſhe wiſhed her much joy; and taking the child in her lap, ſhe gave ample recommendations of its beauty; and then kiſſing and playing with the child, laid it to her breaſt: but this child being proof againſt all poiſon, did ſuck away, not only all her milk, but likewiſe the blood out of her veins, till ſhe dropt down dead upon the ſpot.

Ragia ſorely afflicted with this news, releaſed his ſiſter *Deuki* and her husband, asking his ſiſter's pardon for his having pretended to thwart the immutable decrees of deſtiny, and deſiring that all things paſt might be buried in oblivion. However, as the child at *Goggel* lay conſtantly in his head, he adviſed with his *Vizier*, or chief miniſter, upon the matter: he told him, That there lived a certain giant named *Sectaſor*, at *Mottera*, who had the gift of transforming himſelf into a cart and oxen, by which means he might carry the child into the air and murder it. The king, purſuant to his advice, ſent for the ſaid *Sectaſor*; who, at his requeſt, croſſing the river *Siemmena*, when he came near the city of *Goggel*, transformed himſelf into a little neat cart, drawn by two white oxen with gilt horns; and paſſing thus through the ſtreets of the city, at laſt ſtopped near the *Brahman Nen*'s door. One of the neighbouring women having juſt at that time *Kiſna* in her arms at the door, ſet the child upon the ſaid cart, which was no ſooner done, but *Sectaſor* flew with the child up into the air. The mother amazed at this ſpectacle, cryed out aloud, *O* Viſtnum, *protect my child!* her prayers were heard; for *Kiſna*, when he ſaw himſelf high in the air, aſſumed the ſhape and ſtrength of a giant, and gave ſuch a blow near the giant's heart, that he beat the breath out of his body; then reaſſuming his former ſhape of a child, got upon his dead carcaſe, and ſo fell down with it upon the ground. His parents being eye-witneſſes of the deliverance of their ſuppoſed ſon, were ſo ſurprized thereat, that looking upon him as ſomething extraordinary ſent them from heaven, they ſacrificed to the gods, and gave abundance of alms to the poor.

Baldæus. *Ragia Kans* finding himſelf diſappointed in his hopes, had recourſe once more to his moſt truſty counſellors: one of them told him, That there was a certain *Deyt*, or giant, named *Turnawent*, who being endowed with the virtue of transforming himſelf into a whirlwind, the king engaged him on his ſide, in order to carry the child into the air. *Kiſna*, who heard the whirlwind rolling croſs the river *Siemmena*, towards the city of *Goggel*, being then in his mother's lap at the door, rolled down upon the ground; whence the whirlwind ſnatching him up into the air, his parents ſtood amazed at ſo ſtrange a ſpectacle, imploring *Viſtnum* for his aſſiſtance.

Kiſna being carried to a vaſt height by the wind, aſſumed the ſhape of a man, and taking the giant *Turnawent* by the throat, turned his neck round; and then reaſſuming his former ſhape, got upon the dead carcaſs of the giant, and fell down along with it upon the ground, juſt before his parents door, to the great amazement of the inhabitants of *Goggel*, who could not but look upon this accident as miraculous, or that had ſomething of divine in it.

Kiſna in the mean while remaining upon the giant's back, cried moſt vehemently; his mother laid him to her breaſt, but he not ceaſing to cry, ſhe laid him in a hanging cradle; notwithſtanding which, he continued crying, till his mother having recounted to him the ſtory of *Ram*, (as related before,) he leaped out of the cradle, and taking the ſhape of *Ram*, with his bow and arrow, he cried out, *Lekeman*, let us go after *Rawan*, and deliver *Sytha*. His mother being ready to proſtrate herſelf at his feet, he ſoon reaſſumed his former ſhape, and increaſed miraculouſly, both in ſtrength and wiſdom.

It happened one time, that his mother did bring upon the table a golden diſh with rice-milk, and ſome herbs, dreſſed after the way of the *Benjans*, which *Kiſna* ſeeing, he told her, He could not eat it, unleſs theſe things were all mixed together, which ſhe did accordingly; but *Kiſna* taſting it, deſired her to ſeparate them again; his mother anſwering him, That it was not in human power ſo to do, he laid his hand over the diſh, and ſeparated them immediately, to the aſtoniſhment of his parents.

His father being a *Brahman* of the cowherds, maintained his family by breeding of cattle; which, ſince the bringing of *Kiſna* into the houſe, was increaſed to nine hundred thouſand.

His mother being one time buſy in churning, he asked her for a little butter: *Baldæus.* ſhe gave him a little, but not thinking that enough, he asked for more, which ſhe refuſing, he took the opportunity whilſt ſhe was gone out of the way, to take away ſome. His mother returning, asked *Kiſna*, What was become of the butter? He anſwered, That the cats and rats had eat it. But the mother not thus ſatisfied, looked into *Kiſna*'s mouth, where ſhe had a view of the whole world with its waters, foreſts, mountains, &c. incloſed in a blue circle. The mother aſtoniſhed at ſo ſtrange a ſpectacle, yet ſoon recovered herſelf, when ſhe ſaw *Kiſna* return to his childiſh ſhape and game again; ſo taking up a twig, threatened to ſtrike him; but he running out of the town, ſhe purſued him; but not being able to overtake him, he ſtood ſtill at laſt, when ſhe gave him three or four blows, urging him ſtill to tell her what was become of the butter; he perſiſted in his former ſtory, that the cats and rats had eaten it. She took all the ropes belonging to the hundred and ninety nine thouſand cows, endeavouring to tie them together in knots; but notwithſtanding all her endeavours, the knots would not tie, till *Kiſna* finding her much out of humour at this diſappointment, he permitted the ropes to be knotted, and himſelf to be tied with the ropes; but his mother finding him cry bitterly, ſhe releaſed him ſoon after.

Another time his mother being gone to milk the cows, ordered him to hold a ſtick in his hand, to make the cows ſtand ſtill whilſt ſhe was a milking; but finding ſhe had left her braſs veſſel, wherein ſhe uſed to gather her milk, behind, and not daring to ſend *Kiſna*, he told her, He would ſoon find a way to fetch the veſſel, without ſtirring from the place, and ſo extending one of his arms ſo far as to reach the veſſel, he gave it to his mother, and ſo reaſſumed the ſhape of a child.

In the mean while *Ragia Kans* being informed that the inhabitants of *Goggel* increaſed conſiderably in riches, (for *Kiſna*'s ſake,) he ordered his governor to load them with heavy taxes; which being done accordingly, with the utmoſt ſeverity, they adviſed with *Kiſna*, whether they had not beſt remove with their cattle to the fertile valleys of the mountain of *Perwet*. *Kiſna* approving their propoſition, perſuaded his parents to do the ſame; ſo that they tranſported all their moveables and cattle, to the moſt fertile valleys about the mount *Perwet*, or *Ooden Perwet*, near the river *Siemmena*. Here they fixed their habitations in a certain

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Baldæus. certain village, called *Brindawink*, ſeated in the midſt of moſt pleaſant paſturages, planted with trees, and ſo abounding in graſs, that thoſe vaſt herds of cattle were not able to conſume it. *Kiſna* was ſo well pleaſed with the place, that he clad himſelf after their faſhion, with a garland of peacocks feathers upon his woollen cap, and a flute to play away the reſt of the cowherds. *Baldæus.*

CHAP. VI.

Further Deſigns of Ragia Kans *againſt* Kiſna *by the means of certain Giants.* Raja Inder *and* Bramma. Kiſna *produces a Pearl-Tree, and is made a King of the Cowherds.*

Ragia Kans, highly exaſperated at this removal of his ſubjects, ſummoned a certain giant, named *Bacaſſar*; who having the virtue of transforming himſelf into a hern, he ſent him to carry away *Kiſna*; which he did accordingly; and having carried him up into the air, endeavoured to ſwallow him; but *Kiſna* transforming himſelf into a fiery flame, burnt the hern to aſhes, and he returned to his parents, without receiving the leaſt harm. The news thereof having ſoon reached the ears of *Ragia Kans*, he ſent another giant, named *Wickenaak*, who transforming himſelf into the ſhape of a boy, came to *Kiſna* as he was looking after the cattle in the field, and engaged in a wreſtling match among the other boys, not queſtioning by this means but to draw *Kiſna* into the game, and ſo make an end of him; but *Kiſna* (who was not ignorant of his deſign) challenged him; and as they were wreſtling, gave him ſuch a kick upon his breaſt, that he tumbled down dead upon the ſpot.

Ragia Kans finding himſelf once more diſappointed in his aim, ſent the dreadful giant *Agaſor*, whoſe entrails were all fire. This giant having laid himſelf cloſe to the cowherds huts, opened his dreadful jaws, ſo that the uppermoſt reached up to the skies, his teeth repreſenting like coco-trees, and his throat like the entrance of the huts. *Kiſna* knowing the deceit, drove his cattle to his own ſtables, but the reſt went ſtraitways with their cattle into the giant's throat; which the giant no ſooner perceived, but he ſhut his teeth, ſo that the poor wretches finding themſelves in the midſt of fire and flames, applied themſelves to *Kiſna*, who was got among them on purpoſe to make himſelf an inſtrument of their deliverance. He bid them not to deſpair; and then extending himſelf with all his might, made the giant to burſt in pieces, and thus opened a paſſage for the reſt to eſcape the flames.

This miraculous deliverance being ſoon ſpread all over the neighbouring country, *Ragia Kans* intreated the giant *Dawanneel* (who had the power of transmuting himſelf into a flame) to deſtroy *Kiſna*. Accordingly he came to the place where *Kiſna* and his companions were feeding the cattle, and ſetting all (not excepting even the trees and graſs) into a light flame, the cowherds fled to *Kiſna* (who was at ſome diſtance) for help, which he promiſed them in an inſtant; and ſo advancing towards the giant, took and held him round the middle, till he forced him to ſwallow all the fire again.

Ragia Kans, almoſt reduced to deſpair, had recourſe to the giant *Kiſep*; who having aſſumed the ſhape of an aſs of a prodigious bigneſs, advanced towards the cowherds, with a dreadful countenance; who being terrified at ſo dreadful an aſpect, left *Kiſna* alone, who was ſo far from being ſurprized at this monſtrous ſight, that he laid by his pipe, and advancing towards the aſs, who came open-mouthed upon him, endeavoured to take him by one of his hindermoſt heels; but the aſs gave him ſo terrible a kick with his foot, that he threw him eight or ten yards high into the air. *Kiſna* finding himſelf thus roughly handled, thought fit to aſſume the ſhape of a giant, and ſo taking the aſs by the hinder leg, did ſwing him three or four times about his head, and then throwing him againſt the ground, ſqueezed the breath out of his body.

The god *Bramma* being not ignorant of what had paſſed, and curious to know whether *Kiſna* was not endowed with ſome divine virtue, took his opportunity, and carried off all the cattle belonging to *Kiſna* and the other cowherds; who running to *Kiſna*, and imploring his aſſiſtance, he bid them ſhut their eyes, which they had no ſooner done, but he produced the ſame number of cattle they had loſt. *Bramma* came about a year after, and brought back all the cattle, aſking his pardon for what was paſt. *Kiſna* told *Bramma*, That he had better keep within his own bounds; and cauſing

Baldæus. the cattle he had produced, to vaniſh immediately, he kept them brought back by *Bramma*.

Another time, all the cattle juſt after they had been drinking about noon out of the river *Siemmena*, fell dead on a ſudden upon the ground. *Kiſna* ſurprized at this accident, and knowing that *Garroude* having lately diſlodged the monſtrous ſerpent *Kallinaegh* from her dam, called *Rammane Drepek*, he ſhrewdly ſuſpected that ſhe had taken to this river, and infected the ſame with her venom; then getting upon a palm-tree, he aſſumed his white and black ſkin, and two more arms and hands; and ſending for *Garroude*, ordered him to go to *Bramma*, and to demand of him the things taken out of the ſea in the times of *Couram*, and left in his cuſtody till his return. *Garroude* haſtening to *Bramma*, brought back to *Kiſna* the *Cbianko*, or horn, the beauteous woman *Lekſemy*, and the jewel *Conſenkmany*. This done, he took the horn in one hand, a piece of iron in the ſecond, another weapon in the third, and a flower in the fourth hand. Thus equipped, he leaped into the river, in the preſence of his companions: and diving to the bottom, met with [illegible]ife of ſome of the attendants bel[illegible] to the ſerpent *Kallinaegh*, who a[illegible]n what had brought him thither, forewarning him to retreat in time, before he ſhould be ſeen by the ſerpent, which queſtionleſs would devour him in an inſtant. *Kiſna* replied, That being come on purpoſe to find out the ſerpent, he deſired he might be ſhewed him; which they refuſing to do, he turned his eyes on all ſides, and at laſt eſpying the ſerpent, he awakened him out of his ſleep, bidding him to leave this river, unleſs he would pay for it with death. The ſerpent *Kallinaegh* ſwelling with rage, flew upon *Kiſna*, and beat him backwards; but he recovering himſelf, ſqueezed the ſerpent's head to that degree, that not knowing what to do, he twiſted himſelf about his body; but *Kiſna* increaſed the bulk of his body in ſuch a manner, that the ſerpent, ready to burſt, was forced to let go his hold, being ready to drop down dead for want of ſtrength. *Kiſna* then got on the top of his neck, and putting an awl through his noſtrils, rid upon him as if he had been on horſeback. The wife and attendants of the ſerpent finding him quite out of breath, intreated *Kiſna* to ſpare his life, promiſing to quit the river immediately. But *Kallinaegh*, not willing to conſent to what they had offered, ſtill endeavoured to get rid of *Kiſna*; but finding all his endeavours in vain, and that *Kiſna*'s body increaſed every minute in weight, he was glad to approve of what had been offered by his wife. *Kiſna* having pardoned his offence, told him, That he would double his ſtrength, (becauſe he had been engaged againſt a god,) and that *Garroude* ſhould not any more diſturb him in his den, provided he would leave this river, and for the future never hurt either men or beaſts. *Baldæus.*

The ſerpent, with his wife and attendants, having paid their reverence three times to *Kiſna*, left the river *Siemmena*; and *Kiſna* ariſing on a ſudden above the ſurface of the water, reaſſumed his own ſhape, and coming aſhore, blew his horn, by the ſound whereof all the cattle were in an inſtant reſtored to life.

All theſe miracles wrought by *Kiſna* had ſuch an influence upon the cowherds, that they conſulted all poſſible means to pay him due reverence. One among the reſt told him, You know that *Raja Inder*, the king of heavens, and the bleſſed ſouls, keeps an annual feaſt in the mountain of *Ooden Perwet*, with the believers; and ſince we have no leſs obligations to *Kiſna*, let us make alſo a feaſt to his honour, and invite him to the ſaid mountain. This being approved of by a general conſent, they prepared a moſt ſplendid feaſt; which they celebrated with ſuch demonſtrations of joy, that the noiſe thereof coming to *Inder*'s ears, and looking upon it with a jealous eye, called together the rains, (diſpoſed in twelve peculiar places,) ordering them to pour down their waters upon the fields and cottages of theſe cowherds. They were ready to obey, and poured forth ſuch prodigious ſhowers of rain, that the fields being all laid under water, men and beaſts were upon the point of being drowned. The cowherds highly ſurprized at the oddneſs of the thing, (it being in the dry *Mouſſon*,) had once more recourſe to *Kiſna*, who ordered them to get up to the top of the mount *Ooden Perwet*, till the rains ceaſed; and they had no ſooner obeyed his orders, but he took the whole mountain, with cattle, men, and all upon his little finger, and lifted them up ſeven times higher than the waters could riſe.

Kiſna produces a pearl-tree.

Makes ſport with the women.

Is choſen king.

The rains finding their endeavours fruſtrated, returned to *Inder*, and told him, That they had poured down their waters ſeven days and nights without intermiſſion, but in vain, there being a certain perſon in thoſe parts who could lift the whole mountain with his little finger into the air. *Raja Inder* then perceiving his error, came to *Kiſna* to make his excuſe, and diſmounting from his elephant,

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Baldæus. phant, begged forgiveneſs for having attempted any thing againſt him, pleading his ignorance, and as a token of his repentance, preſented him with the *Camdoga*, or cow of plenty; which *Kiſna* was pleaſed to accept of, and pardoned his fault.

Not long after, *Kiſna* coming home one day, found his mother buſy in putting ſome pearls on a ſtring; he asked her from what tree ſhe had gathered them: but ſhe anſwering, That ſhe never knew pearls to grow on trees, but only in oyſter-ſhells; *Kiſna* took one of the biggeſt, which he had no ſooner put into the ground, but they ſaw a pearl-tree ſprout forth full of the moſt exquiſite pearls. The mother ſtanding amazed, and ready to worſhip him, he cauſed the tree to vaniſh immediately.

Kiſna produces a pearl-tree.

Soon after ſome of the cow-herds and their wives, as they were walking in the foreſt, agreed to waſh themſelves in the river; *Kiſna* eſpying them at a diſtance, ſecretly got all their clothes, and getting upon an adjacent palm-tree, had his ſport to ſee them coming naked out of the water, without being able to find their clothes. They were not a little ſurprized at firſt, but looking up, and ſeeing *Kiſna* in the palm-tree, they deſired him to reſtore their clothes; which, he told them, (to try the modeſty of the women,) he would, provided they would come underneath the tree; but they excuſing the matter, he threw the women their clothes.

Makes ſport with the women.

Is choſen king.

At a certain time, *Kiſna* taking a walk with the other cow-herds, they choſe him their king; and every one had his place aſſigned him under the new king. There lived among them a certain charitable *Brakman*, whoſe wife (without the knowledge of her husband) paid her daily devotions to *Kiſna*; who ſent two of his meſſengers to let her know, that being diſpoſed to make merry at her houſe with ſome of his companions, ſhe ſhould provide ſomething for their entertainment. The meſſengers meeting with the *Brakman*, told him the meſſage; who told them, That he knew nothing of *Kiſna*, neither would he make any entertainment for him. With this anſwer they returned to *Kiſna*; who chiding them for their miſtake, bid them ſpeak to the woman; which being done accordingly, ſhe no ſooner heard the name of *Kiſna*, but making a low reverence, to work ſhe went; and having dreſſed five or ſix good diſhes with a handſome deſert, ſhe carried them herſelf to *Kiſna*, begging him to accept of what ſhe was unworthy to offer; which he did, and gave her his bleſſing, That as long as ſhe lived, ſhe ſhould want for nothing, and that after her deceaſe, her ſoul ſhould not tranſmigrate * into another body, but that being purified by him, ſhe ſhould go directly to heaven. *Baldæus.*

* *Theſe pagans look upon it as a ſingular bleſſing when their ſouls are not to enter into other bodies.*

Kiſna with his companions having feaſted plentifully upon what the *Brakman*'s wife had brought them, as they were returning home, met with ſome milk-maids, unto whom *Kiſna* told, That they muſt not paſs by without paying toll to him, who was king of the place. The maids not thinking he had been in earneſt, went on their ways; but *Kiſna* with his ſtick breaking their milk-veſſels, one of them was ſo exaſperated thereat, that ſhe made complaint thereof to his mother; who calling him to an account for this outrage, he denied the matter; but his mother believing the contrary, told him, That he had broken the peace, and that if it ſhould come to *Ragia*'s ear, he might be puniſhed for it. He replied, I did not know I had done them any wrong; but as for *Ragia Kans*'s anger, I don't fear it, though he knew it to-morrow.

It happened not long after, That in a certain moon-ſhiny night, in the month *Alſoor*, (in which begins the new year,) *Kiſna* with ſome of his companions were diverting themſelves with their pipes in an adjacent wood; and *Kiſna*, eſpecially, played ſo charmingly upon his flute, that the women in the village being awakened by the ſound of this harmony, came running into the wood to partake of their divertiſements. *Kiſna* asked them, whether they were not afraid to come into the wood at that time of night? They anſwered, That their ears and hearts had been ſo touched with his melodious harmony, that they were not able to ſtay at home: ſo *Kiſna* gave them a tune or two, which ſo ſurprized them, that moſt of them ſtood amazed, gazing all the while at his beauty, whilſt others paſſed their time in dancing. This they continued till midnight, when having beſtowed his bleſſing upon the women, he ſent them home, he and his companions paſſing their time in the ſame jollities all night till break of day.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

A further Account of the Deſigns of Ragia Kans; *who is killed at laſt by* Kiſna. *New Decrees againſt* Kiſna, *which prove ineffectual. His other Miracles.*

Baldæus. RAgia Kans, being more and more alarmed at theſe miracles, ſent for his chief miniſter, named *Panjewello*, and his two chief generals, named *Sianoor* and *Moſtik*, to conſult with them, how to rid his hands of *Kiſna*. *Panjewello* told him, that all clandeſtine means having proved to no purpoſe hitherto, he knew no other way than to engage the ſtrongeſt of all the giants, (named *Keby*) againſt him.

Ragia approving his advice, ſent accordingly the ſaid giant, who meeting with *Kiſna*, asked him, where he was going. Where I pleaſe, replied *Kiſna*. Ho ho, anſwered the giant *Keby*, I will take care of that; and ſo was going to lay his great paws upon him. But *Kiſna* taking him by the throat, did not let go his hold till he had ſqueezed the breath out of his body; which done, *Kiſna* put his hand into his throat, and pulling his heart out, firſt laid it upon his mouth, and afterwards threw it to the ravens.

Ragia Kans being now put to the laſt ſhift, a certain *Brahman*, named *Naret*, adviſed the king to invite *Kiſna* with his followers to a feaſt, and ſo to have him killed at table. *Ragia* approving his counſel, ſent meſſengers to invite them accordingly; but they were ſo far from granting their requeſt, that they deſired *Kiſna*'s parents not to let him go; who with tears in their eyes, begged him to ſtay at home. But *Kiſna* refuſing to hearken to their advice, ordered his chariot to be got ready; and taking his father, his eldeſt brother, and mother, along with him, went forward to *Goggel*, upon the river *Siemmena*, oppoſite to *Mottera*.

Here it was that *Akeroer*, one of the king's meſſengers, bathing himſelf in the river, and diving three times ſucceſſively (after the manner of the *Benjans*) ſaw *Kiſna* under water, ſeated upon his throne; which apparition being ſeen by him again in the ſame ſtate above water, he could not forbear to break out into theſe words: *O holy* Kiſna! *thou beeſt truly god in human ſhape, becauſe thou appeareſt both under and above water; a ſign thou beeſt preſent in all places, a quality belonging only to the gods! pardon me for having invited thee to this feaſt.* *Kiſna* told him, he was ſenſible it was not his fault, and dined with him the ſame day in a garden *Akeroer* had juſt near the *Baldæus.* bank of the river.

After dinner they paſſed the river, but had not gone far before they met the king's waſherman with a pack of clothes on his back: ſome of the company of *Kiſna* having a mind to divert themſelves, puſhed one another againſt the waſherman, who giving them foul language, *Kiſna* bid his companions to threſh him handſomely, which they did.

Ragia Kans exaſperated to the higheſt degree at this uſage of his ſervant, reſolved to declare open enmity againſt *Kiſna*. Not long after *Kiſna* meeting upon the road a barber, he preſented him (according to the cuſtom of that country) a looking-glaſs to look in, and pairced his nails; the barbers in the eaſtern countries always pairing the nails on the hands and toes, after they have ſhaved the beard. *Kiſna* gave him his bleſſing, telling him, That his ſoul ſhould directly go to god, without being tranſplanted into another body.

As they were entring the city, they were met by a gardiner's wife, who uſed to ſerve *Ragia Kans* with flowers: this woman proſtrating herſelf at *Kiſna*'s feet, ſaid, *O divine man! having never ſeen any thing ſo beautiful as thy ſelf, I offer to thee theſe flowers deſigned for* Ragia Kans, *thinking myſelf much more obliged to your divinity than his majeſty, entreating thee not to deſpiſe my cottage, but to take up thy lodging there for this night.* Then preſenting *Kiſna* with a garland of flowers, he took up his lodgings in the houſe, being welcomed by the husband in the moſt devout manner in the world, who declared himſelf unworthy of receiving ſo great a gueſt, and ſerved *Kiſna* and his company at table; who at parting, beſtowed his bleſſing upon him, *viz.* That they ſhould never want, and their ſouls go directly to heaven.

Being advanced a little further, they met a poor cripple, or lame woman, having a veſſel filled with ſpices, ſweet-ſcented oils, ſandal-wood, ſaffron, civet, and other perfumes. *Kiſna* making a halt, ſhe made a certain ſign with her finger on his forehead, caſting the reſt upon his head. *Kiſna* asking her what it was ſhe would ask him. The woman replied,

Baldæus. *Kiſna* then ſetting his foot upon hers, and taking her by the hand, raiſed her from the ground, and not only reſtored her limbs, but alſo renewed her age; ſo that inſtead of a wrinkly tawny skin, ſhe got a freſh and fair one in an inſtant. At her requeſt *Kiſna* and his company lodged the following night in her houſe.

Kiſna breaks the ſtrong bow of Mottera. The next following day *Kiſna* and his company walking through the ſtreets of *Mottera*, they were ſhewed the ſtrong bow, which none of the giants had been able to manage; but *Kiſna* broke the ſtring of it at the firſt pull. Thence they walked towards the court, where the courtiers were expecting the coming of the king: theſe ſeeing a whole troop of country fellows, would not allow them entrance into the court; but puſhing *Kiſna* back roughly, he ſtruck ten of them, (among whom were two colonels) down to the ground, ſo that they expired at his feet, and their ſouls were conveyed immediately to heaven, a favour he beſtowed upon the ſouls of all ſuch as were ſlain by his hands. *Kills ten courtiers.*

Ragia Kans being informed of all theſe tranſactions, and almoſt reduced to deſpair, ordered a turret to be erected upon the back of an elephant, furniſhed with two warlike engines, to be managed by as many men. He ordered the guide of the elephant, that as ſoon as he ſaw *Kiſna* coming to the caſtle, he ſhould ſend out the elephant to trample him under feet, or elſe endeavour to kill him by the means of the engines.

The following day *Kiſna* going towards the court, the guides ſet loole the elephant upon him; but *Kiſna* not only ſtopp'd him in his full career, but alſo putting his foot againſt his trunk, pulled out both of his teeth; afterwards ſeizing him by the tail, ſwung him three or four times round his head, and then daſhed his head againſt the ſtones. *Ragia* now finding himſelf reduced to the laſt extremity, and enraged with anger, addreſſed himſelf to his two renowned generals *Kansjamdoor* and *Moſtik*, telling them, That ſince they had eaten his bread ſo many years, it was now time to ſhew their fidelity and bravery, and to deliver him from his mortal enemy. *Kills an elephant.*

Accordingly they having ſent a challenge to *Kiſna*, he appeared at the appointed time and place, where a moſt fierce combat enſued, which remained dubious for three hours; till at laſt *Kiſna* threw them (one after another) with ſuch a prodigious force to the ground, that the blood, and with it their ſouls, guſhed out of their mouths. *Kills two generals.*

During the combat *Ragia Kans* happening to look over the wall of the caſtle, no ſooner ſaw *Kiſna*, but he thought he heard a voice telling him, that he was the perſon who ſhould at once take away his life and his crown. He was ſcarce returned into his apartment, when news being brought him of the death of his two generals, he commanded every one to betake themſelves to their arms, to fight againſt *Kiſna*, offering a great reward to any that could deliver him up into his hands, either dead or alive. Accordingly the whole city roſe in arms, and engaged *Kiſna* without the caſtle gates; but were not able to conquer this invincible hero. *Baldæus.* *Routs a whole body of men.*

For *Ragia Kans*, having in the mean while ordered *Kiſna*'s parents to be whipped with *Siambokken*, or braſs ſcourges, in his preſence, *Kiſna* (according to his omniſciency) being not ignorant of the matter, leaped over the wall into the palace; where finding *Ragia Kans* ſitting upon his throne, he got hold of his head, and preſſed it to the ground, till he broke his neck, and to conſummate the matter, gave him three or four terrible blows, which beat out his brains. *Kills Ragia Kans.*

The next thing he did, was to ſend his eldeſt brother to deliver their parents from their captivity, who finding the guards fled, brought them to *Kiſna*, where they received one another with mutual embraces, *Kiſna* declaring his ſorrow for their ſufferings upon his account, and theſe declaring themſelves amply rewarded with the ſight of his perſon. *Kiſna* having put *Ongeſeen Ragia Kans*'s father in his ſtead, returned with his parents, brothers, and companions to their uſual habitations; where he put himſelf under the tuition of a certain learned *Brahman*, having choſen a certain poor ſcholar named *Sedamma* for his attendant at ſchool, to carry his books and writings. *Kiſna under the tuition of a Brahman.*

There lived at that time at *Mottera* a certain merchant, a relation of *Kiſna*'s mother, whoſe daughter called *Conta*, being married to *Ragia Dandou*, king of *Eſtenapour*, had brought forth five ſons; the firſt-born whereof his father had obtained by his prayers to *Inder* the king of the celeſtial ſpirits, the ſecond from *Bramma*, the third from the wind, and the two laſt from the famous hero *Eſſonocomaer*.

The five brothers did at a certain time undertake a journey with their mother to *Mottera*, to viſit their grandfather, where they contracted ſomething of acquaintance with *Kiſna*, and frequently reverenced him. About the ſame time, the women of *Goggel*, and of the village inhabited by the cowherds, were very earneſt in

Baldæus. in their ſolicitations for *Kiſna*'s return, without which they ſaid, they neither could, nor would eat or drink.

In the mean while, the five brothers having received the unwelcome news of their father's illneſs, were forced to return to *Eſtenapour*; and the fatal *exit* of *Ragia Kans*, and ſo many of his giants, being come to the ears of *Jerasjanda*, his brother-in-law, he reſolved to revenge the ſame to the utmoſt of his power. Accordingly having gathered a body of ninety five thouſand choſen horſe, he laid ſiege to *Mottera*; but *Kiſna* having by his frequent ſallies quite ruined his army, took him priſoner at laſt; but knowing that he had by his conſtant prayers obtained from *Bramma*, that he ſhould live one hundred years, and at laſt be killed by one *Rhim*; he releaſed his priſoner, who having ſoon gathered another army, beſieged *Mottera* a ſecond time, and was worſted again as before by *Kiſna*. The ſame he continued to do ſixteen times, till all his people being ſlain in the wars; he paſſed through all the corners of the world to raiſe new forces, and meeting with the famous giant *Sialinder*, he put him at the head of his forces, and ſo forced the ſiege of *Mottera* a ſeventeenth time.

Jerasjanda reſolves to revenge Ragia Kans's death.

Is ſixteen times worſted by Kiſna.

The ſituation of *Kiſna*'s houſe, was ſuch as to be plainly diſcovered in the camp, as from thence he had a full proſpect of their army. *Kiſna* having poſted his brother at the entrance of his houſe, he happened to be ſeen by the enemies general, who miſtaking him for *Kiſna*, advanced towards the houſe: *Kiſna*, who ſaw him coming at a diſtance, conſidering with himſelf, that in caſe he ſhould fall by his hands, his ſoul muſt go ſtraitways to heaven, (a favour he thought him unworthy of,) run out of the back-door, making the beſt of his way to a cave of a certain *Brahman*, about four *Cos* from *Mottera*; this man had by his continued prayers obtained from *Bramma*, that if any one ſhould diſturb him in his devotions, the ſame ſhould be conſumed to aſhes. *Kiſna* being not ignorant of this, and ſeeing his adverſary purſuing him, entered the ſaid cave, and throwing a piece of cloth over the *Brahman*'s head, ſheltered himſelf behind it. The giant who followed his footſteps, ſoon after entered the cave, and finding the *Brahman* covered with a piece of cloth, gave him two or three ſound boxes on the ear, telling him, That he ſhould take that as a reward for his care in hiding *Kiſna* in his cave. *Retreat, retreat,* ſaid the *Brahman, before I uncover my face, unleſs thou wilt be conſumed by fire.* Then taking away the cloth, the giant was immediately in a flame, and burnt to aſhes. *Kiſna* returned to *Mottera*, and having routed *Ragia Kans* brother's forces, he took him priſoner; but in reſpect of *Bramma*'s promiſe, diſmiſſed him ſoon after. *Baldæus.*

Kiſna in the mean while conſidering that *Jerasjanda* was to live one hundred years, and that conſequently he would not lay aſide his deſigns againſt *Mottera*, it happened that *Wiſſuchre*, the ſon of *Bramma*, being come from heaven to give *Kiſna* a viſit, and asking him what it was he would requeſt of him? He anſwered, Build me a city in all reſpects like that of *Mottera*; which he did accordingly the ſame night in an adjacent iſland, being altogether like that of *Mottera*; except that this was of gold inſtead of ſtone. *Kiſna* being informed thereof by *Wiſſuchre* himſelf, over-whelmed the inhabitants of *Mottera* with ſo heavy a ſleep, that (unknown to them) he carried them with all their cattel, and *Ragia Ongeſeen* their king to this new city, unto which he gave the name of *Davarca*, leaving *Sedamma* his old ſchool-fellow and attendant behind him in a certain village, which ſince has got the name *Sedammapoer*; which done, he returned with his brother to *Mottera*.

Another miracle of Kiſna.

By this time the giant *Sialinder*, having gathered a vaſt army, ſat down before *Mottera*; but *Kiſna* and his brother after having killed a great number of the enemy, feigning a retreat, were purſued by *Sialinder*'s forces, till coming to a high mountain, they vaniſhed, and retired to the city *Davarca*; and *Sialinder* being thereby become maſter of *Mottera*, ſettled his reſidence there.

In the mean while *Kiſna*'s ſchool-fellow being married, was grown ſo poor, that he was forced to ſell his clothes to buy victuals. Being almoſt reduced to deſpair, his wife adviſed him to take a journey to his old ſchool-fellow *Kiſna*, who, ſhe did not queſtion, would commiſerate his condition. How is this poſſible, replied the husband, being quite naked, and not fit to appear before any body? *Kiſna*, anſwered the wife, does not deſpiſe the poor; go, and take a handful of *Kam* * along with thee for a preſent.

* A certain ſeed.

The husband followed his wife's advice, and went to *Davarca*; who was no ſooner entered the ſtreet where *Kiſna* lived, but being diſcovered by him from a window, he came out to meet and embrace him; and carrying him into his houſe, ordered him to be waſhed, and provided with new clothes. *Kiſna* asked him, whether

Baldæus. whether he had brought him any preſents. *Being a poor man*, replied *Sedamma*, *I had nothing to give but this; which my wife ſent to thee, in hopes that the gods would not refuſe the meaneſt preſent.* *Kiſna* received it kindly, and put it in a corner of a cottage belonging to one of his neighbours; and at the ſame inſtant *Sedamma*'s cottage was turned into a ſpacious palace: his wife was much ſurprized at this change; but imagining that it was done by *Kiſna*, ſhe ſearched all the corners of the houſe, and wherever ſhe turned her face, found ſuch a vaſt quantity of gold and ſilver, and of *Ropias*, that ſhe had ſufficient, wherewithal to provide herſelf with ſervants, proviſions, and every thing in proportion, to the grandeur of her palace. *Sedamma* being ignorant of what had happened, returned full of melancholy from *Kiſna*, ruminating upon the road, whether he had not beſt leave his wife and children; but ſoon recollecting himſelf, that he ought not to lay the whole burthen upon his wife's ſhoulders, and deſpair of God's mercy, he made the beſt of his way homeward; but approaching the village, he was amazed to ſee the change that had happened ſince his departure, which made him ſuſpect he had miſſed his way; but finding by ſome undeniable circumſtances that he was in the right, he went into the village, where finding, inſtead of a cottage of ſtraw, a royal palace, he ſtood aſtoniſhed, not knowing which way to turn, till being diſcovered by his wife out of a window, ſhe ſent one of the ſervants to deſire him to enter; which he did; and being kindly received by his wife and children, he aſked the exact time of this ſudden change; which happening (as far as they could gueſs) preciſely at the ſame time he preſented the ſeed, they paid their devotions to *Kiſna*, diſtributed alms among the poor, and lived in great plenty for a long time after. *Baldæus.*

Another miracle of Kiſna.

CHAP. VIII.

A King's Daughter in love with Kiſna; *ſends him word of it.* Kiſna *delivers ſixteen thouſand royal Virgins, and cures the Leproſy.*

SOmetime after *Ragia Bhiemeck*, king of *Poerep*, had a ſon and daughter born him, the firſt named *Rochemeya*, the other *Rochemy*, who being grown up, the father was very deſirous to have his daughter well matched before his death. Among others he conſulted with upon this matter, there was a certain *Brahman*, named *Naret*, much celebrated for his wiſdom and learning, who being deſired by the king to inſpect his daughter's hands, and to foretel him by the art of chiromancy who ſhould be her husband, *Naret* having taken a full view of the lineaments of her right-hand, told her, *Bleſſed virgin! who beeſt ordained to be the ſpouſe of the holy* Kiſna. The father rejoiced thereat to the higheſt degree, told this good news to his ſon; who being of a contrary ſentiment, replied, *That he would never ſuffer ſo beautiful a creature to be married to a country clown.*

Rochemy *deſigned for* Kiſna. It is to be obſerved, that the ſoul of *Sytha*, *Ram*'s ſpouſe, being tranſplanted into the body of this virgin, in order to be eſpouſed to *Kiſna*, this young lady was not inſenſible thereof; for which reaſon ſhe had reſolved to think of no body elſe but *Kiſna*; which her brother being reſolved to prevent, he ſent to the giant, the king of *Mottera*, that in caſe he was inclined to marry his ſiſter, he ſhould come with all ſpeed, his father intending to marry her to *Kiſna*. The giant, raviſhed at this joyful news, ordered a moſt magnificent equipage of elephants, camels, horſes, oxen, and chariots, to be got ready, and attended with trumpets, hautboys, kettledrums, and other muſical inſtruments, and a numerous retinue, ſet out from *Mottera*.

Is oppoſed by her brother.

No ſooner were they come within two days journey to *Rochemy*'s father's reſidence, when ſhe, not knowing what to do in this exigency, thought fit to give notice thereof to *Kiſna* by a letter, which ſhe ordered one of her ſervants to deliver to the firſt *Brahman* ſhe met, in order to carry it to *Kiſna*; the contents whereof were as follows:

" HOLY *Kiſna!* worthy to be be- Roche-
" loved of me and all the world; my's let-
" being reſolved to be no body's, but only to Kiſna.
" yours as long as I have breath to draw,
" I thought fit to let you know, that my
" old father likewiſe wiſhes nothing more
" than to ſee that happy day; but my
" brother, who has more ambition than
" piety, having ſent for the giant of
" *Mottera* to marry me, and being come
" within

Baldæus. " within two days journey of our refi-
" dence, I desire you to provide against
" their attempts, nothing being able to
" resist your divine power."

Your Highness's always devoted,

ROCHEMY.

The servant having brought a *Brahman* to the princess, she, by a present of a golden dish filled with *Ropias*, and a promise of more if he performed his errand, engaged him to undertake the task. Accordingly he went full speed for five *Cos*, when being somewhat tired he sat down under a shady tree, to refresh himself with a draught of cool water, and falling asleep, was carried by *Kisna* to *Davarca*. The *Brahman* awaking out of his sleep, and finding himself at *Davarca*, soon guessed the truth; and going strait to *Kisna*'s house, delivered the letter at his feet. *Kisna* had no sooner read the letter, but assuming the shape of a man with four arms, and taking his bow and arrow, he got upon his cow with the *Brahman*, and so set out on their journey from *Davarca*.

In the mean time the giant approaching to the residence of his pretended spouse, was met by her brother, and conducted into the palace; and *Kisna* arriving soon after near the city, rested himself under the shade of a tree, near a pagode, whence he sent the *Brahman* to *Rochemy*; to give notice of his arrival; who rewarded him with vast presents for his fidelity.

Rochemy knowing that her brother was in the evening to make a cavalcade with her pretended bridegroom through the city, (according to the custom of the *Benjans*,) she resolved to lay hold of this opportunity to escape their hands: for this purpose, she entreated her father, That being now arrived to the age of nine years, she might offer her sacrifice to the goddess *Rohani*. The father having granted her request, she took a dish full of pearls, and with two of her attendants went towards the pagode, whither her pretended bridegroom and her brother would needs accompany her, but staid without the temple whilst she performed her sacrifice; which done, she came out of the temple near the door, where she knew *Kisna* had placed himself; who no sooner saw her appear, but he took her up and carried her away.

Rochemy *delivered by* Kisna.

At the outcry of the maids, the pretended bridegroom came with his whole attendants to snatch her from him; but *Kisna* received them so courageously with his bow and arrows, that they were forced to retreat with the loss of several thousands of their best men. *Rochemy*'s brother seeing the bridegroom defeated, would nevertheless try his strength with *Kisna*, and coming up with him, was going to cleave his head with his scymetar; but *Kisna* having disarmed him, threw him upon the ground, and after having given him some blows, tied him neck and heels together under his cart, and so made his entry into *Davarca*, where he was received with all imaginable demonstrations of joy. *Rochemy*'s brother was released at her request; and *Kisna* consummated his mariage with great pomp in the city of *Davarca*. *Baldæus.*

Some time after it happened, That a very strong elephant being seized by a crocodile, in a certain cistern or pond, where the elephants used to drink, a furious combat ensued, which put all the elephants that were spectators thereof into no small confusion. At last, seeing they were not able to assist their companions, and pressed with hunger, they went away, and left the poor elephant in the lurch. He seeing himself thus destitute, kept on struggling with the crocodile, finding up at the same time his prayers to *Vistnum*, to deliver him from the jaws of the crocodile.

But it being then the time of *Kisna*'s appearing upon earth, he heard his prayers after twenty days, and sending for *Garroude* to carry him immediately to the pond, he threw his weapon at the crocodile, and cutting off his neck, released the elephant; who kneeling before *Kisna*, he told him, he should ask what he pleased, and it should be granted him. Nothing, replied the elephant, but that I may go immediately to heaven, being quite weary of this world. *Kisna* granting his request, took him into his *Palankin*, or litter, and carrying him to heaven, ordered *Garroude* to convey him immediately back to *Davarca*. Kisna *delivers an elephant from a crocodile.*

About the same time one *Ragia Boettaenpat* having two wives, named *Somuta* and *Surisa*, the first brought forth a son named *Droe*, and the other one named *Rasepoeter*: but *Surisa* being most beloved by her husband, *Somuta*, when her son *Droe* was about five years of age, sent him very neatly dressed to pay his respect to his father; who being extremely delighted with him, highly caressed, and set him in his lap. *Surisa* having got notice thereof, sent immediately her son to the king, whilst she remained at some distance to observe what passed. But the king being so much taken with *Droe*, that he scarce looked at the other, *Surisa*

Baldæus. *risa* entered the room, and upbraiding him with ingratitude, made him send away *Droe*, and take her son in his lap.

Droe exasperated to the highest degree at this affront, went away without making his reverence; and making his complaint to his mother, told her, That he was resolved to retire into a desart, to spend his time in prayers. The mother did all she could to dissuade him from it, but in vain; for taking the next opportunity of his mother's absence, he got privately out of the house. He had scarce travelled two *Cos* from the city, when being met by the learned *Brahman Naret*, he asked him whither he was going? He answered, As young as I am, I have taken a resolution to retire from the world, where I find there remains nothing but malice and envy: then relating all that happened to him, he told him, That he was resolved to pass his days in the desart.

Go on my son, replied *Naret*, thou wilt be heard by *Kisna*. Then going forward, he came to a forest, where seeing a mango-tree, he reposed himself under its shade, and spent three days and nights in tears, prayers, and fasting. *Kisna* moved with compassion at his tender age, appeared to him, asking what made him pray with so much fervency? *Droe* prostrating himself at the feet of *Kisna*, said, *O divine* Kisna! *my request to thee is, That the affront given me by* Surisa *may turn upon their heads; that she may be a slave to my mother; that I may succeed my father in the kingdom; and after my death, be placed in some pleasant place you shall choose for me.*

Kisna answered, Thy prayer is granted. Go, return to thy parents, *Surisa* shall live a slave to thy mother; thou shalt succeed thy father in the throne; and after thy death, I will place thee in the heavens in the form of a star, that shall remain for ever in the firmament, and serve the mariners for a guide. *Droe* having paid his reverence to *Kisna*, returned full of joy to his father's palace. The old king, who had been almost distracted at his absence, received him with more than ordinary satisfaction; and for ever after shewed so much affection to his mother, that *Surisa* was, in comparison of her, no more than a slave; and after some years surrendered the kingdom to him. He ruled very fortunately for many years; and after his death, was placed among the stars, being the same the *Benjans* call to this day *Droe Katara*, i. e. *Stella Polaris*, or the *North-Star*.

Droe, or the North-Star.

It happened some time after, That *Ragia Nerkasur*, a most potent monarch, having conquered sixteen thousand kings, kept them close prisoners with their wives and daughters: these offered their constant prayers to *Kisna* for their delivery from this oppression. *Kisna* considering, that they having spent these three years in prayer, it would be high time to deliver them, sent for *Garroude*, whom he ordered to carry him to *Nietskanda*; where he was no sooner arrived, but he told the king *Nerkasur*, That unless he released the royal captives, he must pay for it with his head. The king answering *Kisna* with threats, they prepared both sides for a combat: for *Kisna* having killed those that were sent against him, the king himself, at the head of a strong troop, attacked *Kisna* with great fury, who killed every man of them except the *Ragia*, who, persisting in his obstinacy, had at last his head cut off by *Kisna*; who released all the prisoners in an instant, and among them, sixteen thousand royal virgins, who prostrating themselves at his feet, he gave them leave to return to their parents, or where else they pleased: but they desired to stay with him, imploring his protection; which being granted by *Kisna*, he carried them to *Devarca*, where he built a seraglio for their reception, wherein each lady had her own apartment. *Baldæus.* Kisna *delivers sixteen thousand virgins.*

In the country of *Ammaramo*, lived a certain zealous *Ragia*, named *Amarich*; who having published a general fast by beat of drum, (according to the custom of that country,) the same was observed with the utmost strictness. It happened, that the *Brahman Doerwassa* passing that way the same day, he was invited by the said king to stay there till the next day after the fast-day.

The *Brahman* complying with the king's request, he sent for some of his chief *Brahmans*, to know the exact hour when they might begin to eat. These having consulted their books, and told the king, that the just time would be two hours after sun-rising, he invited the before-mentioned *Brahman* against that time to a collation. But the *Brahman* missing the appointed hour, the king went to the river to wash himself; but finding after his return, that the *Brahman* was not come yet, he advised with four of his *Brahmans*, what was best to be done; who told him, That if he let slip this lucky hour, all his fasting would avail him nothing, advising him at the same time to take only a little water, and a leaf of the tully-tree, till the *Brahman* should come.

This *Brahman Doerwassa* having a prophetick spirit, was not ignorant that the king had eaten something in his absence,

Baldæus. and therefore went to the king, asking him, why he had put ſuch an affront upon him. The *Ragia* was for excuſing the matter, but to no purpoſe; for the *Brahman* going out of the doors, gave him this curſe, That he might from head to foot be covered with boils, and the leproſy; which being fulfilled in an inſtant upon the unfortunate king, he prayed to *Kiſna* to deliver him from this evil; but in vain, his evil increaſing every day; ſo at laſt being quite tired with life, he reſolved to put a period to it by fire. Every thing being got in readineſs for this purpoſe, *Kiſna* appeared to him, asking, what was his requeſt. He replied, to be freed from my diſtemper. *Kiſna* cured him not only of his leproſy, but alſo turned the ſame into a fiery wheel; which following the *Brahman Doerwaſſa* wherever he went, put him into ſuch a fright, that he offered his prayers to *Ragia Inder*, to deliver him of this fire; but *Ragia Inder*, telling him, That he muſt apply himſelf to him who was the author thereof, he made his applications to *Bramma*; from whom having received the ſame anſwer, he implored the aſſiſtance of *Kiſna*, begging him to pardon his ſudden paſſion, and to deliver him from the evil he had been pleaſed to lay upon him. *Kiſna* chiding him for his unruly paſſion, adviſed him to lay the ſame aſide for the future; and then delivered him from the plague of the fiery wheel.

Kiſna cures the leproſy.

Baldæus.

CHAP. IX.

The Origin and Qualifications of Droepeti: *She binds up the Wound of* Kiſna. Suſſuſter *forced out of his Kingdom.* Droepeti *exil'd with her Brothers, and fed by the Sun: They come to Court: Their further Tranſactions.*

IN the country of *Eſtenapour*, lived a certain *Ragia*, named *Pandouw*; whoſe wife was called *Droendy*. His brother, named *Deuteraes* being blind, had a wife called *Sendary*, and by her a hundred ſons; the eldeſt whereof, was named *Derſiende*. In the country of *Ranſiaandoes* lived at the ſame time a certain king, named *Droepet*, whoſe daughter was reputed the moſt beautiful woman that ever was ſeen. *Ragia Pandouw* happening to die, left behind him five ſons; the eldeſt of which ſucceeding him in the throne, one of the other four was put to ſchool to a certain *Brahman*, to be inſtructed in all matters relating to their divinity. The daughter of *Ragia Droepeti*, being now come to a marriageable age, her father was not a little ſollicitous how to beſtow his daughter to the beſt advantage. For this purpoſe, he ſent his meſſengers to invite the neighbouring kings, and the chiefeſt *Brahmans* to a great feaſt; and cauſed a long poll to be erected, with a ſtrong bow underneath, and a fiſh on the top, in the ſame manner as we have mentioned before in the ſtory of *Ram*.

Kiſna appearing here among the reſt, yet would not attempt the bow, having promiſed his aſſiſtance (upon this account) to a certain *Brahman*, named *Aerſſing*; he managed the bow with that dexterity, that he ſhot down the fiſh, and received a fine necklace of pearl from the hands of his bride.

Aerſſing gains Droepeti by ſhooting.

One time *Droepeti* ſeeing a cow paſs through the fields with five bulls following her, ſhe ſtood amazed at the novelty of the thing, as ſhe thought; this coming to the ears of *Camdoga*, the *cow of plenty*, ſhe was ſo offended thereat, that ſhe told her, She would make her to be thus purſued by five men. The king entertained his gueſts with a ſplendid feaſt; but the the bridegroom having made a vow, not to enjoy his bride till after his return home, they came no ſooner to his own houſe-door, but being met by his mother, he told her, That he had brought ſomething along with him. Then, replied the mother, Your two brothers muſt have each his ſhare. That cannot be, returned *Aerſſing*, for it is a woman. That ſignifies nothing, anſwered the mother; what I have once ſaid is impoſſible to be recalled. *Aerſſing* full of grief, told his brothers what had happened; who abominating the matter, communicated the ſame to *Droepeti*.

Camdoga's curſe.

It happened afterwards, that *Kiſna* having invited the *Panſpendaons* with her mother, and *Droepeti*, to dine with him at *Davarca*, as they were walking after dinner in the fields, *Kiſna* had a mind to cut ſome ſugar-reeds; but cutting his finger, all the ſtanders-by called for ſome linnen-rags, to tie it up: but *Droepeti*, immediately tearing a piece of her golden brocado'd gown, ſhe tied it about

Kiſna's finger tied up with a piece of golden ſtuff.

Baldæus. about his finger. *Kiſna* (according to his omniſciency) knowing how many threads there were in the piece ſhe had torn off, *viz.* nine hundred ninety nine, he told her that ſhe ſhould have as many garments of cloth of gold as there were threads in it. They then took their leave; and though *Kiſna* knew well, that *Droepeti* was ſtill a virgin, yet he took no notice of it.

After their return home, one *Senhem*, brother-in-law to *Droepeti*, began to be much out of humour, alledging, That *Suſſuſter* was not the rightful heir of the throne; for, ſaid he, Though *Deuteraes*, by reaſon of his blindneſs might be incapable of the government, and therefore *Pandouw* was put in his ſtead, yet after his deceaſe *Suſſuſter*, his ſon could not ſucceed him, the right of inheritance of the crown belonging to the eldeſt of the hundred ſons of *Deuteraes*, and conſequently to *Derſiende* his eldeſt ſon. This gave occaſion to pitch upon ſome way to reſtore *Derſiende* to his right; and knowing that *Suſſuſter* was much addicted to play at dice, they looked upon this as the beſt means to encompaſs their deſign. *Suſſuſter* having been for ſome time a favourite of *Kiſna*, grew ſo ambitious as to deſpiſe him at laſt. *Kiſna* remembring this affront, whilſt he was playing with *Derſiende*, ſo ordered the matter, that *Suſſuſter* loſt all his ready money; whereby being egged on more and more to recover his loſs, he at laſt threw at all, and loſt his eſtate and kingdom.

Suſſuſter and Derſiende play for the crown.

It had happened ſome time before, that *Derſiende* being in *Suſſuſter*'s palace looked into *Droepeti*'s apartment, which being paved with glaſs, (a thing he never had ſeen before,) he took it for water, and would not venture to go in. *Droepeti* perceiving his error, told him, *How, are the ſons like the father? Is the whole family blind?* which put *Derſiende* into ſuch a rage, that he ſwore he would revenge it with the firſt opportunity.

Derſiende remembring his oath, whilſt they were at play, propoſed to ſet as much money againſt *Droepeti* as he would deſire; which being agreed to, *Derſiende* won that ſtake likewiſe. Things being come to this paſs, he propoſed to *Suſſuſter*, that he would lay all he had got of him at one ſtake, provided he would engage, that in caſe he did win it, he would chooſe a voluntary exile for twelve years. *Suſſuſter* in hopes of better fortune, conſenting to the propoſition, they threw the dice; but fortune frowning again upon *Suſſuſter*, *Derſiende* remained in poſſeſſion of all.

By this time *Derſiende* remembring the affront *Droepeti* put upon him in her apartment, ordered her to be ſtripped ſtark naked, and to expoſe her to the view of her ſervants. The diſtreſſed *Droepeti* reduced to this extremity, implored *Kiſna*'s aſſiſtance, to relieve her from the ſhame ſhe was likely to undergo, putting him in mind of his bounty, after ſhe had torn her garments for his ſake. In the mean time the ſervants being employed in undreſſing *Droepeti*, they had no ſooner pulled off one of her garments, but another ſucceeded in an inſtant; which continuing thus nine hundred ninety nine times, they were ſeized with ſuch an aſtoniſhment, that they entreated *Derſiende* to deſiſt, leſt *Kiſna* ſhould give him ſome ſevere proofs of his anger; which had ſuch an influence upon *Derſiende*, that he diſmiſſed her without any further harm.

Droepeti ordered to be ſtripped.

Is delivered by Kiſna.

The time of the appointed exile now approaching, the five brothers, with their mother *Sendary* and *Droepeti*, left their native country; but beginning to want proviſion upon the road, *Droepeti* paid her devotions to the ſun, to ſupply their wants. The ſun commiſerating their condition, filled them every morning a veſſel with victuals, ſufficient to feed one thouſand men. At laſt coming to a certain village called *Widoenougan*, they lodged in the houſe of one *Widoenougarre*, where ſhe left her mother, who was grown ſo decrepit, that ſhe was not able to follow them.

They go into exile.

Thence wandering through vaſt deſerts without meeting either with man or beaſt, they at laſt came to a pleaſant river, where whilſt they were repoſing themſelves, they ſaw a certain famous and learned *Brahman*, named *Derwaſa*, walking along the bank of it, at the head of one thouſand *Brahmans* his followers; who being not ignorant (by his skill) who they were, after the uſual ſalute, immediately addreſſed himſelf to *Suſſuſter*, telling him, That he and his company had a mind to take a dinner with him, which *Suſſuſter* approving, (truſting to the bounty of the ſun, and the *Brahman*'s piety,) he deſired them to come, which they promiſed to do as ſoon as they had waſhed themſelves in the river.

Droepeti underſtanding what had happened, had recourſe to the veſſel; but finding it empty, knew not what to do, but adviſed them to have recourſe to *Kiſna*'s bounty. Accordingly they ſent forth their joint and fervent prayers to *Kiſna*; but finding no relief, and the time of the *Brahman*'s coming being near at hand, they reſolved rather than to be expoſed

to

Baldæus. to ſuch ſhame and confuſion as this, to make a large wood fire, and therein to put a period to their miſerable life. They went to work immediately; and having gathered a ſufficient quantity of wood, *Droepeti* was ſhewing the reſt the way, and theſe following to tread in her foot-ſteps.

Kiſna then ſeeing their conſtancy, ſtopped them; and asking what was their grievance, *Suſſiſter* replied, O *Kiſna!* who knoweſt every thing, thou canſt not be ignorant of what has happened to us this day! *Kiſna* anſwered, Let me ſee the veſſel that was preſented you by the ſun; which being produced, *Kiſna* viewed it on all ſides, and finding a grain of rice on the brim, he eat it; and by its multiplying power, gave it ſuch a virtue, that it not only ſatisfied him, but alſo the *Brahman* and his thouſand followers; who thanked *Naccod*, the youngeſt brother of *Suſſiſter*, (who was ſent to bring them to dinner,) that though they had not the leaſt appetite to eat ſince they had been waſhing in the river, yet they thanked his brother for his good intentions.

They leave the deſarts. This unfortunate company having thus wandered for nine years through the deſarts, at laſt reſolved to try their fortune at the court of king *Weraart*, of the tribe of the *Ketteriis*, in the country of *Meſſedees*. *Suſſiſter* being the firſt that went to king *Weraart*, being demanded who he was, he asked the king, whether he had not heard of the five brothers *Panſpendaons*: The king replying, he had; he told the king, that he had ſerved them as their hiſtorian; and that if the king would receive him in the ſame ſtation, he would relate to him the adventures of that king, how he had loſt his kingdom at dice, *&c.* The king pleaſed with his propoſition, ordered him to ſtay at court. The ſecond brother encouraged by his ſucceſs, addreſſed himſelf likewiſe to the king, telling him, that he had ſerved *Suſſiſter* in the quality of a cook; who ordering him to dreſs a diſh of meat, he did it accordingly, and pleaſed the king ſo well, that he made him his head-cook.

The third, who was an excellent bowman, thought fit to lay his bow and arrows aſide; and appearing in the preſence of the king without any weapon, told him, That he had ſerved *Suſſiſter* in his proſperity, in the quality of a *Brahman*; but being now forced to bear his ſhare in the misfortunes of his maſter, he came to ſhelter himſelf under his royal protection. The king being taken with his diſcourſe, received him into his ſervice. The fourth, after having paid reverence to the king, told him, That *Baldæus.* he had been gentleman of the horſe to *Suſſiſter*, in which ſtation he was received by the king. The fifth brother not knowing what to ſay in his own behalf, told the king, That he had been ſhepherd to him: in which ſtation he was likewiſe received by king *Weraart*.

Droepeti being now alone, made likewiſe her applications to the king, alledging, That having ſerved in the quality of a maid of honour in the court of *Suſſiſter*, ſhe hoped to be received among the ladies of the court; which was willingly granted her. Having thus continued two years in their reſpective ſtations, they began to revive their hopes of ſeeing their native country again, there being but one year more to the end of their exile.

But *Derſiende* finding the time of their exile near expiring, ſent out certain famous wreſtlers to try their skill with them. Theſe paſſing through ſeveral countries, had vanquiſhed many of the *Rajas*, and in ſcorn, carried their pictures tied to their knees. Coming at laſt to king *Weraart's* court, they challenged, and killed the king's brother-in-law; and were for doing the ſame to the king; who rather than hazard his perſon, offered them his picture, to be carried in triumph upon their knees. But *Suſſiſter* being informed of the matter, told him, That ſuch a piece of cowardice being unworthy of the name of the *Ketteriis*, he adviſed him to match him with his head-cook whom, as he ſaid, he had often ſeen wreſtle ſtoutly at the court of *Suſſiſter*. The king extremely pleaſed at this propoſition, asked the cook, whether he durſt engage with one of theſe famous wreſtlers; who having anſwered, Yes; and the appointed time being come, they went to it bravely, and held it for a conſiderable time with equal advantage; till at laſt the cook found means to twiſt his arms back, and ſetting his foot againſt his rump, threw him backwards, and killed him upon the ſpot.

Derſiende had no ſooner heard this unwelcome news, but he ſent his uncle with two hundred thouſand horſe into king *Weraart's* country, to drive away all the cattle; which being done accordingly, and notice thereof given to king *Weraart*, he put himſelf at the head of ſix hundred thouſand horſe, and overtaking the enemy in a great plain, a bloody battle enſued; but his forces being routed, he was taken priſoner by the enemy.

The prince overwhelmed with tears, engaged the cook who had ſo lately obtained the victory, to go in purſuit of the

Baldæus. the enemy; who coming in ſight of them, cryed aloud, Halt you robbers, releaſe the king, or this day ſhall be your laſt. They laughed at this madneſs, till ſeeing him lay about him with his weapons amongſt the hindermoſt, they turned their arms againſt him; but the cook aſſiſted by *Kiſna*'s ſtrength, ſlew the the whole army, except one, whom he ſent to *Derſiende*, to carry him the news of this defeat.

He had no ſooner received theſe diſmal tidings, but he told them, Certainly theſe are the *Panſpendaons*; go and put thy ſelf at the head of ſix thouſand choſen horſe to revenge our quarrel. Accordingly, he entered king *Weraart*'s territories, making great havock among men and beaſts, without the leaſt oppoſition, *Weraart* not daring to oppoſe his forces (that conſiſted only of two hundred horſe) to ſo powerful an enemy. *Suſſiſter* vexed at his cowardice, told him, That if he did not think fit to hazard his perſon, he ſhould give leave to the prince and his governor the *Brahman*, to go along with what forces he had, in queſt of the enemy: which the king not refuſing, the prince and the *Brahman* went after the enemy in their chariot; and finding them in battle array ready to receive them, the prince was ſo frightened thereat, that the *Brahman* was forced to tie him in the chariot, and cover him with a cloth. Then the *Brahman* attacked the enemy with ſuch fury, that notwithſtanding the inequality of their number, he ſlew them all (after a bloody engagement) upon the ſpot, except their general, who being made a priſoner, the *Brahman* gave him three or four ſound boxes on the ear, telling him, That he ſhould go to his king to carry him the good news, but have a care how he ever came there again. The *Brahman* was ſo humble, as to beſtow both all the honour of the victory, and the booty upon the prince; who willing enough to accept of the ſame, made his entry in a triumphant manner into the city.

Not long after king *Weraart* playing at tables with one of his nobles, made his boaſt of the late victory obtained by his ſon, which *Suſtuſter* not able to brook, told the king, *That what he boaſted of did not belong to his ſon, but to the* Brahman. The king hearing him ſay theſe words, threw the dice with ſuch violence into the tables, that one of them flew into *Suſſiſter*'s face, and drew ſome blood from him: *Suſſiſter* highly exaſperated at this affront, conſulted with his brothers and ſiſter to leave the court ſecretly, and return into their native country, the time of their baniſhment being near expired; which they did accordingly. *Baldæus.*

The prince no ſooner underſtood their departure, but he went immediately to the king, telling him, he was ſorry the king had taken ſo ill what *Suſſiſter* had told him, it being nothing but the bare truth: for, ſaid he, it was not I, but the *Brahman* that obtained the victory; and it were they who have twice delivered our country and your ſelf from deſtruction. I adviſe you to take care what you do; for I aſſure you, they are the *Panſpendaons* themſelves.

The king ſtood amazed at theſe words; And, is it poſſible, ſaid he, that I who am but a petty king, ſhould be ſerved by them? And ſo ordering all his elephants, horſes, and chariots, to be got ready, he followed them with all poſſible ſpeed; and having overtaken them at laſt, he proſtrated himſelf before *Suſſiſter*, ſaying, *Moſt potent king! whom I am unworthy to ſerve, pardon me for having received ſervices from you contrary to my knowledge; pray return along with me, that we may not take our leave without a merry cup. I will afterwards provide you with camels, elephants, horſes, chariots, and what elſe ſhall be requiſite for your journey.* *Suſſiſter* being prevailed upon to return with the king to the city, they took their mutual leaves at a moſt ſolemn feaſt, with mutual demonſtrations of friendſhip; and being provided with all neceſſaries for their journey, returned towards their native country.

But whilſt they were upon the road, *Suſſiſter* repenting of his former pride, frequently ſent his prayers to *Kiſna*, acknowledging his crime, for which he owned he had been deſervedly puniſhed by him: but the time of his twelve years baniſhment being now expired, he promiſed to ſerve him with all humility, if by his aſſiſtance he and his brothers might be reſtored to their native country. *Kiſna* well ſatisfied with this acknowledgment, appeared to them, asking what was their requeſt. *Suſſiſter* anſwered, That *Derſiende* may be put out of the throne, and I be placed there in his ſtead. *Kiſna* having promiſed him his aſſiſtance, ſaid, That they had beſt ſend a certain poet (who ſtood hard by) to demand the kingdom of him. The poet went accordingly, demanding the kingdom to be reſtored to the true owners, the term of the twelve years baniſhment being now expired. But *Derſiende* anſwered, That he did not know the *Panſpendaons*, and was reſolved to keep his crown in ſpite of them; and ſo bid the

Suſſiſter *prays to* Kiſna.

Is heard by him.

Derſiende *refuſes to reſtore the kingdom.*

Baldæus. the poet to go out of his preſence. *Kiſna* underſtanding this anſwer, told them, Perhaps he has taken it amiſs, that we have not ſent to him a perſon of a higher rank. The *Panſpendaons* replied, That they were ready to throw themſelves at his feet, if he thought he would grant their requeſt; which being approved of, *Kiſna* promiſed to go along with them in perſon. *Baldæus.*

CHAP. X.

Kiſna *lodges with a* Brahman: *Goes to the Court of* Derſiende, *who engages in a bloody Battle with* Suſſuſter, *and is routed.* Droepeti *is enjoyed by five Brothers.* Kiſna *viſits divers wicked Kings. The Concluſion of his Reign.*

AT *Eſtenapour* lived a *Brahman*, named *Widder*, who fed upon alms, his wife was called *Prediwette*, both perſons very zealous in their devotions to *Kiſna*; who being not ignorant of their zeal, reſolved to bleſs them with a viſit. Accordingly he came to the cottage of the poor *Brahman*; who, after having proſtrated themſelves at his feet, brought ſome rock-water (according to the cuſtom of the country) to waſh his feet. *Kiſna* told them, I intend to dine with you; and ſo laying himſelf down, pretended to ſleep, with an intention to obſerve all that paſſed in the cottage. *Kiſna viſits a poor Brahman.*

Ragia Derſiende hearing of the coming of *Kiſna* to this poor cottage before he had viſited his court, forbid all the inhabitants, under pain of death, to furniſh the poor *Brahman* that day either with money or proviſions. The *Brahman* being in a great neceſſity, would fain have pawned his braſs kettle and frying-pan; but no body daring to lend him any money, or give the leaſt proviſions, he returned in a very melancholy poſture. His wife bid him not deſpair; telling him, that *Kiſna* knowing their poverty, would accept of the will for the the deed; and ſo ordering him to go into the garden to gather ſuch herbs as were there, and allowed them to eat, (for the *Brahmans* dare not eat all ſorts of herbs or roots, as, for inſtance, the beets, becauſe they are red, and reſemble blood;) which being done, ſhe dreſſed them, and having awakened *Kiſna*, offered it to him upon a *Pyſang* leaf: *Kiſna* asked them, Have you nothing elſe? I ſuppoſed you would have made ſome cakes. The woman anſwered, That their poverty being ſuch as not to permit them to do it; *Kiſna* bid her look backwards, where ſeeing in a corner a fine basket of fruits and ſweet-meats, ſhe proſtrated herſelf at his feet.

Thus feaſting together, *Kiſna* asked them after dinner, what they requeſted of him? The *Brahman* replied, *Nothing, but that I may ſerve and love thee with a ſincere heart; that I may never ceaſe to pray to thee; and that when my ſoul and body muſt be parted, my zeal for thee may nevertheleſs continue with me.* *Kiſna* replied, All this ſhall be granted thee; and becauſe thou haſt preferred piety before riches, you ſhall likewiſe have your full ſhare of them. He had no ſooner ſpoken theſe words, but the *Brahman*'s cottage was in an inſtant changed into a magnificent ſtructure; and *Kiſna* preſented them with as much gold as was ſufficient to maintain them in great plenty all their life-time. *Bleſſes him with riches.*

Kiſna, after having once more imparted his bleſſing to his hoſt, departed, taking his way toward the caſtle of *Derſiende*, it being then juſt three hours before ſun-ſet, the uſual time for the kings in the eaſtern countries to give audience to their ſubjects. *Kiſna* was received with a great deal of reverence by ſome of the court; but the king looking upon him with an indifferent eye, asked him, when he came into the city, and why he would not pay him a viſit before the poor *Brahman*? *Kiſna* replied, Riches are of no value to me; the meaneſt cottage of a believer I prefer before the moſt ſumptuous palace of a king. And why then, ſaid the king, would you come to court? I did come, replied *Kiſna*, in the name of the *Panſpendaons*, to demand thy kingdom, the twelve years exile being now expired. The king anſwered, I know them not, neither will I deliver the kingdom. *Kiſna* told him, That if he would not, he ſhould at leaſt allot a village for their maintenance. I will not give them the breadth of a foot, anſwered *Derſiende*. Then prepare your ſelf, ſaid *Kiſna*; you muſt fight for it. *Kiſna goes to the court of* Derſiende.

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Baldæus. The *Panſpendaons* hearing this anſwer, prepared for a vigorous war; and having engaged king *Weraart*, and the potent *Razia Droepet* (*Droepeti*'s father) in their quarrel, with four other kings, they attacked *Derſiende*, who having drawn up his horſe in a great plain, a fierce battle enſued, which laſted eighteen days, *Kiſna* fighting in a chariot drawn by oxen.

A battle fought for eighteen days.

In *Derſiende*'s army was a famous warrior, named *Caran*, who having (by his conſtant prayers) obtained a prodigious ſtrength from *Kiſna*, did perform wonders in his chariot: *Kiſna* eſpying him at ſome diſtance, ordered *Erſiende*, (who ſat with him in the ſame chariot,) to break the wheel of *Caran*'s chariot, which being done accordingly by a ſtrong arrow, *Caran* came down out of his chariot, but whilſt he was buſy in mending the wheel, was by the ſame *Erſiende* ſhot with an arrow into the breaſt: He drawing the arrow out of the wound, cryed out to *Kiſna*, And is this the reward thou giveſt me for ſo many offerings. *Kiſna* anſwered, Have patience; my will is to deliver thee out of this troubleſome world, and to allow thee a place in heaven, whither I am going to meet all the believers; (my time upon earth being almoſt expired,) after I have purged the world of the wicked. *Caran* was no ſooner ſlain, but the victory declared againſt *Derſiende*, whoſe forces were all ſlain upon the ſpot; (as were king *Weraart* and king *Droepet* of the other ſide,) and among them *Derſiende* himſelf, with his ninety nine brothers. Thus the *Panſpendaons* being reſtored to the kingdom, they payed their conſtant devotions to *Kiſna*, who from thence returned to *Davarca*.

The giant Caran killed.

All this while *Droepeti* had lived without the knowledge of any man; but peace and quietneſs being now reſtored in the kingdom, the five brothers were concerting all poſſible means how to enjoy *Droepeti*, without inceſt. At laſt a certain *Brahman*, named *Wiſſumna*, propoſed the following expedient. The year, ſaid he, has three hundred ſixty days, which divided into five equal parts, each amounts to two months and twelve days. And it being your mother's will that the five brothers ſhould have an equal ſhare in *Droepeti*, *Suſſiſter* muſt cohabit with her the firſt two months and twelve days, and the other four brothers ſucceſſively each his two months and twelve days: But to wipe off the ſtain of inceſt, *Droepeti* muſt after the expiration of each reſpective term of two months and twelve days, purify herſelf three times by the fire; whence it is evident, that the pagans aſcribed to the fire a purifying quality; from whom the *Jews* queſtionleſs took that doctrine, and the *roman* catholicks their purgatory. This being approved of by the joint-conſent of the five brothers, it was further agreed, That he who ſhould tranſgreſs his limited time, ſhould be baniſhed for twelve years. But *Suſſiſter* willing to appeaſe the gods by ſacrifices, in conſideration of the great effuſion of blood, occaſioned by his reſtauration, conſulted the *Geogys*, (a certain order of the *Brahmans*;) who adviſed him to inſtitute a ſolemn feaſt, offer ſacrifices, be liberal to the poor, and to maintain a certain number of learned *Brahmans*, to read and explain their holy writings. *Suſſiſter* obeyed, and performed every thing with all imaginable exactneſs, ordering a hole to be digged, which he filled with ſugar, butter, ſandal-wood, milk, rice, and betel, and offered roſes, flowers, ſpices, and other rich incenſe.

Baldæus.

Suſſiſter's ſacrifice.

This done, he invited *Kiſna* to a ſumptuous feaſt; and asking him, what acknowledgment he was able to pay him, for the many favours he had received at his hands, *Kiſna* anſwered, Take a white horſe with black ears and a yellow tail, and faſten a paper on his head with the following lines written in gold characters. *Whoever meets me, and lets me paſs unmoleſted, ſhall worſhip me and* Kiſna, *who will reward their piety; but whoever ſtops me, let him prepare to fight.* He further told him, That he ſhould give him his brother *Erſiende* for his companion, his intention being to purge the world of the wicked, during that ſhort time he had to ſtay as yet upon earth. The king obeyed, and having preſented his brother with a chariot, and put him at the head of a good body of horſe, he took his leave of *Kiſna*, who went his way, the horſe leading the van without a guide.

Kiſna viſits the world, to purge it from the wicked.

This horſe paſſed through many kingdoms, where every one that did read the inſcription, payed reverence to *Kiſna*. But coming into the territories of *Sindera*, who having received ſeveral ſignal obligations from *Kiſna*, ſeized upon the horſe, by that means to engage *Kiſna* to come to court. Accordingly *Kiſna* (who knew his intention) viſited him in his court, where being reverenced and preſented by the king, he gave him his bleſſing, and ſo ſet forward again to the king of *Sudannewa*.

He bleſſes Sindera.

This king ſtopping the horſe, worſhipped *Kiſna*, alledging, That he did not do it to engage with *Kiſna*, but to try

Baldæus.

try his ſtrength againſt *Erſiende*. *Kiſna* accepted his excuſe, *Erſiende* drew his bow, and ſhot an arrow into his breaſt. The king lifting up his eyes unto heaven, and tearing the arrow out of his wound, cryed, O *Kiſna!* doſt thou thus reward thy adorers. My ſoul muſt now tranſmigrate into another body. No, anſwered *Kiſna*, thy ſoul ſhall aſcend to heaven in an inſtant, and enjoy eternal bliſs.

Comes to Sudanewa, who is killed by Erſiende.

Comes to, and routs ſeveral kings.

Hence he travelled to the impious king *Auſſalauw*, who ſtopping the horſe, and bringing his forces to fight againſt him, were all ſlain upon the ſpot. Next coming to king *Sallauw*, he followed the footſteps of *Auſſalauw*, and had the ſame fate. Afterwards they came to *Mottera*, the reſidence of the famous giant *Ragia Jerafingh*, who had been formerly defeated, no leſs than eighteen times by *Kiſna*. This giant having fortified *Mottera* with high and ſtrong walls, drew out his forces into the field, himſelf being covered with a cuiraſs, or armour, that was both ſword and ſhot-proof. Both armies engaged one another with ſuch fury, that the like had never been ſeen before, with ſuch various ſucceſs, that it remained dubious, who was likely to be the vanquiſher, the night putting an end to the battel for that time.

Kiſna being ſenſible that it would be a hard taſk to kill this giant, as long as he made uſe of this armour, got with *Erſiende* over the city walls, having tranſformed both himſelf and *Erſiende* into the ſhape of two old and tall *Brahmans*. In this poſture they ſeated themſelves near the *Pagode*, where the giant uſed to waſh himſelf, who coming thither, asked them, *What is it you two devout men deſire? ask and you ſhall have it, be it what it will.* *Kiſna* replied, That kings were apt to promiſe much more than they intended to perform. The giant anſwered, That was never his cuſtom, deſiring them to ask what they pleaſed, it ſhould be granted. The diſguiſed *Kiſna* then asked the king to give him his hand, as a token of his ſincerity, which the king having done accordingly, *All that we ask of thee*, ſaid he, *is, that whenever thou engageſt again againſt* Kiſna, *thou ſhalt not put on thy ſhot-free armour.* The king, (though ſuſpecting the matter) anſwered, Well, ſince I have given my word it ſhall be done, provided that he who engages in a ſingle combat with me, ſhall bring no bow and arrow; but if he fight with a *Gors* *, or try his skill with me in wreſtling, I am ready to anſwer him.

He leaps over the walls of Mottera.

* *A kind of Indian weapon.*

Kiſna and *Erſiende* diſappeared without anſwering one word, and *Erſiende*'s skill lying chiefly in his bow, he engaged *Erſiende*'s brother, (a famous wreſtler) in his ſtead. The combat was ſo equal, that the night parting them, they referred the whole deciſion of the quarrel till next day; being both equally tired with wreſtling, they fought with the *Gors* the next day; they engaged moſt furiouſly all the day, giving one another moſt terrible blows, but with equal advantage; ſo that night approaching, they were forced to defer the final deciſion till the third day. Then it was that the giant exerting all his force, gave ſuch frequent and terrible blows to *Rhim*, *Erſiende*'s brother, that being ready to faint, he was knocked down ſeveral times. But imploring *Kiſna*'s aſſiſtance, he was endowed with new vigour; ſo that recovering his ſtrength, he attacked the giant *Jerafingh* afreſh, and at laſt laying hold on his legs, tore him aſunder, with his entrails hanging down upon the ground. *Kiſna*'s forces ſeeing this ſpectacle, attacked his army, and ſlew them all upon the ſpot.

Baldæus.

The giant Jerafingh killed.

Kiſna in his return being met by *Suſſuſter*, was entertained by him in a garden without the city, *Erſiende* at the ſame time preſenting him with a garland of flowers. *Kiſna* being highly ſatisfied with him, ſaid, *Deſire what you think fit.* But *Erſiende* excuſing himſelf, *Kiſna* told him, *That his time upon earth being near expired, he intended to grant him whatever requeſt he could make.* Then, replyed *Erſiende*, beſtow one of your wives upon me. *Kiſna* anſwered, Take my chariot, and go to *Davarca*, viſit all the chambers of my *Seraglio*, and which of the ladies thou findeſt without me, take her for thy own. *Erſiende* went inſtantly to the *Seraglio* at *Devarca*, and entring the firſt chamber found *Kiſna* talking with the lady; then going to the ſecond, he found him there likewiſe; and ſo in the third, fourth, and all the reſt. Being ſtruck with amazement, he returned to the garden, where he had left *Kiſna*, and proſtrating himſelf, ſaid, *O* Kiſna, *thou beeſt the true god, and preſent every where, pardon my errors.' Kiſna* giving him his bleſſing, told him, He ſhould perſevere in his prayers, and ſo returned to *Davarca*.

Kiſna afterwards ſeeing the cowherds multiply to fifty ſix *Karool*, (each *Karool* making one hundred *Lak*, each whereof is one hundred thouſand,) or five hundred and ſixty millions living ſouls, and that they had increaſed as well in iniquity as in number, he was highly incenſed againſt them, declaring that he would root them out, not by his or other mens hands, but their own.

Vaſt increaſe of the cowherds.

It

Baldæus. It happened that a great number of them being invited to a feaſt where *Kiſna* was alſo preſent, they were ſo full of wantonneſs, as to ſtamp upon the precious flowers called *Maſſieu* and *Caſſomba* (affording a moſt delicious tincture for dying) with their feet. Not contented thus, it being a moon-ſhiny night, they contrived to ridicule the famous prophet *Ruchi*, whom they ſaw ſitting very thoughtfully under a tree. For this purpoſe they put a basket under a certain man's clothes, dreſſed like a woman; and carrying her to *Ruchi*, asked her, Whether this woman was to bring forth a male or female child? He not minding them the firſt time, they pulled him by the arm, and asked him the ſame queſtion in a very rude manner a ſecond time; when being, as it were, awakened out of his penſiveneſs, he told them, He ſhould bring forth an iron bar, which ſhould break all their skulls. He had no ſooner ſaid theſe words, but the diſguiſed man was ſeized with moſt intolerable pains, which did not ceaſe, till he had brought forth an iron bar. Being amazed at ſo odd an accident, they had recourſe to *Kiſna*, who ordered them to go to the village of *Perwatſpatang*, ſeated upon the river, where they ſhould find a ſtone, wherewith they muſt rub the iron bar till it was reduced to powder, and then throw it into the river. They did as they were ordered: but no ſooner had they thrown the powder of the iron into the water, but the whole river was filled with reeds, or ſmall canes, as if it had been a foreſt. They gave an account of it to *Kiſna*; who told them, It was well.

It happened upon another feſtival, that the young tribe being merry together, one of the company took up one of theſe reeds from the ground, and ſtriking another over the head in jeſt, he ſaw him drop down dead before his feet. The friends of the deceaſed taking up another ſuch reed, ſtruck the other young fellow over the head, who likewiſe falling down dead, his friends did the ſame to them, and ſo one to another, till they were all killed; according to the prediction of *Ruchi* the *Brahman.* *Baldæus.*

Kiſna having now fulfilled his office in rooting out wickedneſs among men, ſent for the *Panſpendaons* and *Droepati*, and their mother, to *Davarca*, where he told them, That having ſelected them as well as his wives from the reſt, he would have them go to the mount *Hemaatſiel Perwet*, whence they ſhould be taken up into heaven. Accordingly they went with *Kiſna*'s ſixteen thouſand wives to the ſaid mount, the peak whereof nobody could reach but *Suſſiſter*; however, they were all together drawn up inſenſibly through the air into heaven.

Kiſna knowing that his time was come to leave the earth, he took a handful of duſt, and throwing it over the city, their golden ſtreets and houſes were in an inſtant tranſmuted into ſtraw, dirt, wood, and ſtones; which done, he aſcended ſtrait to heaven. The pagans are unanimouſly of opinion, that in caſe the whole ſea was filled with ink, and the earth made of paper, and all the inhabitants of the terreſtrial globe were only imployed in writing, they would not be ſufficient to give an exact account of all the miracles wrought by *Kiſna* in one hundred years time, in the third period of the world called *Duaperſinge*, containing eight hundred ſixty four thouſand years. *Kiſna aſcends to heaven.* *The ſame is ſaid of Chriſt.* Joh. 21. 25.

CHAP. XI.

The ninth Appearance of Viſtnum *in the ſhape of* Boudha, *or* Bodhe. *His tenth Transformation into a flying Horſe, called* Kallenkyn. *The Origin and Actions of* Bramma.

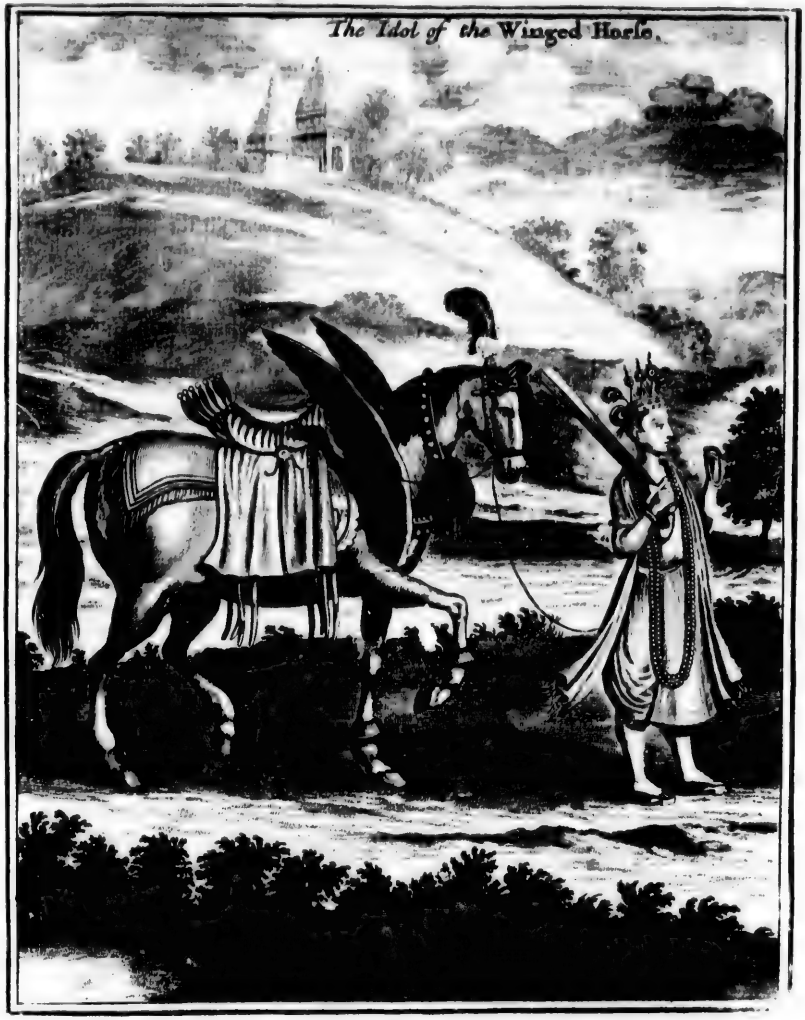
The ninth appearance.

THE *Benjans* tell us of *Bodhe*, that he has neither father nor mother; that he is inviſible; but whenever he appears, it is with four arms. He ſpends his whole time in praying with a dejected countenance to the great god, (called *Mahadeuw* by the *Benjans*;) and that after having continued twenty ſix thouſand four hundred and thirty years, without performing any miracles, his time is expired upon earth, being the time we now live in, according to the computation of the pagans. For purſuant to the computation of the *Benjans* at *Suratte*, there were in the year of Chriſt 1649 paſſed four thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty years, and conſequently twenty one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty years to come.

What is ſaid of this idol concerning his being born without father and mother, and his inviſibility, ſeems to have ſome relation to what they may perhaps have heard of Chriſt, as his four arms intimate

Baldæus. timate his power, a thing frequently attributed to the pagan gods; juſt as the antient poets made their giants with a hundred hands. The jeſuit *Kircher* attributes likewiſe four heads (but erroneouſly) to this *Bodhe*, (called *Bhavani* by others,) and ſays, That by his four arms they would repreſent the four elements. What the ſaid jeſuit relates of *Ramtzander*, the ſon of *Bal*, who came from heaven to deliver his people from the oppreſſion of the giants and tyrants, ſeems to be a confirmation of what we ſaid before, concerning ſome obſcure remnants of knowledge among theſe pagans of Chriſt. *Baldæus.*

The *Benjans* tell us, That *Kallenkyn* is a white winged horſe, ſtanding upon three feet only in heaven, holding one of the foremoſt legs up without intermiſſion. They ſay, That at the beginning of this transformation the *Benjans* ſhall live piouſly and happily; but by degrees *The tenth transformation.*



Baldæus. grees turn to all manner of impiety and wickedneſs for forty thouſand five hundred and ſeventy years. Then, ſay they, this horſe is to trample upon the earth with his right fore-leg with ſuch a force, that the ſerpent *Signagie* being no longer able to bear the world, the *Tortoiſe* finding the whole burden laid on her back, will run to the ſea and drown the world; which is to be the concluſion of the laſt period of the world: after which, the firſt is to begin again. For it is obſervable, that all the eaſtern pagans believe the eternity of the world, allowing only ſome changes from one time to another. *Baldæus.*

The whiteneſs of this horſe intimates the cleanneſs, its wings the activity and agility, and the horſe itſelf the ſtrength of the god *Viſtnum.* It being certain, that

Baldæus. that though moſt of the *India* pagans, and eſpecially the *Malabars*, are black themſelves, yet they have a peculiar eſteem for the white colour; as may be ſeen in the white cow of plenty, called *Camdoga*, and the famous white elephant of the king of *Siam*, mentioned in the firſt book. Thus *Virgil* deſcribes *Turnus*'s horſe to be white.* And of the ſtrength, activity, and excellency of a horſe, there are many paſſages to be found both in ſacred and prophane hiſtory. The wings attributed to this horſe, ſeem to be done in imitation of the *Pegaſus* of the ancient pagans, which was placed by them likewiſe among the ſtars. What they ſay of the world's being caſt into the ſea by the tortoiſe, appears to have ſome relation to *Noah*'s flood. And it is obſervable, that according to the doctrine of the *Malabars*, before the laſt metamorphoſis of things, there ſhall be ſuch diſorders in the world, that the whole race of families and tribes ſhall be confounded. They ſay there ſhall but two pious kings be remaining upon earth at that time, *viz.* The kings of *Vappi* and of *Aſuri*.

L. 9. Æn.

Thus much of the god *Ixora* and *Viſtnum*: we muſt alſo ſay ſomething of the third, *viz.* *Bramma*, who owes his origin to *Quivelinga*. *Rogerius* deduces his origin from a flower-pot; but the commentator upon *Rogerius* had ſufficiently ſhewn, that *Tamara* is quite another thing. Though this opinion ſeems to agree in ſome reſpect with what father *Kircher* ſays in the ninth transformation of *Viſtnum*, *viz.* That he was transformed into *Lotum*, being a certain product of the ſea, and the opinion of the *Egyptians*, of *Thales* and the *Stoicks*, who acknowledged the water either the principal or the nouriſher of every thing.

Origin of Bramma.

The chief things attributed to *Bramma* by theſe pagans, are, That he has not only created the world, but alſo determines the duration and times of all created matters: and as they alſo acknowledge him the ſon of God, and the ſupreme governor of angels, nay, even aſcribe to him a human nature, ſo it is evident that theſe attributes muſt have their origin from what they have heard (though perhaps confuſedly) of Jeſus Chriſt the Son of God.

The Creator of the world.

They repreſent it with four heads, but ſay he loſt one by *Ixora*'s means, to puniſh his pride. Hence it is, that the *Brahmans* now-a-days have no more than three books of the *Vedam*, the fourth, which treated of God, being loſt.

For the firſt of theſe books treated of God, and of the origin and beginning of the univerſe. The ſecond of thoſe who have the government and management thereof. The third, of morality and true virtue. The fourth of the ceremonials in their temples, and ſacrifices. Theſe four books of the *Vedam* are by them called *Roggo Vedam*, *Jadura Vedam*, *Sama Vedam*, and *Tarawana Vedam*; and by the *Malabars*, *Iccu*, *Icciyxa*, *Saman*, and *Adaravan*. The loſs of this firſt part is highly lamented by the *Brahmans*. They alſo attribute to him the preſervation of all created things; whence the modern *Brahmans* aſcribe all the good or bad fortune which befals mortals here upon earth, to the direction of *Bramma*, who, they ſay, has alſo prefixed every living creature his time of life and death. *Baldæus.*

They further ſay, That not only the ſeveral worlds, but alſo the different families and tribes have their origin from *Bramma*. The *ſuper-aereal* world, they ſay, came out of his brains or face; for theſe pagans acknowledge certain *celeſtial orbs*, with *Ariſtotle*. The ſecond world, they ſay, did come out of his eyes; the third out of his mouth, the fourth out of his left-ear, the fifth out of his tongue and gums, the ſixth out of his heart, the ſeventh out of his belly, the eighth out of his privy-parts, the ninth out of his left thigh, the tenth out of his knees, the eleventh out of his heels, the twelfth out of the toes of his right-foot, the thirteenth out of the ball of his left-foot, and the fourteenth out of the air that ſurrounded him.

The origin of the fourteen worlds.

The *Brahmans* ſay they are the product of his brains, and the *Nairos* or ſoldiers, of his feet; as the *Exaſtri* (a ſort of kings) are out of his arm; which is the reaſon that they never make the ſame low bows before their kings, as their other ſubjects, but have the privilege of ſitting down in their preſence. Unto theſe fourteen worlds as many divers ſorts of people attribute their origin. 1. Such as are endowed with wiſdom. 2. Thoſe that are provident in their actions. 3. Thoſe that are eloquent. 4. Such as are cunning and deſigning. 5. Drunkards and gluttons. 6. The generous and brave. 7. The idle and lazy. 8. Whore-maſters and voluptuous perſons. 9. Labourers, artiſans, and handicrafts-men. 10. Peaſants and gardiners. 11. The *Parreas*, and other ſorts of naſty people, who, they ſay, came out of the heels of *Bramma*. 12. Thieves, murderers, and robbers. 13. Thoſe that oppreſs the poor. 14. Thoſe endowed with peculiar qualities, and an active ſpirit. They further ſay, they can judge by the phyſiognomy of a perſon, what part

Fourteen ſorts of people.

W

Baldæus. part of *Bramma* he was come from. Of the worlds and the ſeven ſeas we ſhall ſay more preſently.

The *Malabars* ſay, *Bramma* has two wives, *Sareſſody* and *Quiatry*, who are both barren. The firſt being his own daughter, has given occaſion to a proverb among the *Malabars*, *You muſt not do like* Bramma. The equipage, or rather carriage of *Bramma* is a certain bird called *Annam* by the *Malabars*; for theſe pagans attribute to every one of their gods a certain horſe, or carriage, called *Wahanam*, which carries them from place to place. They further ſay, That this bird *Annam*, if milk mixed with water be ſet before him, he will drink the milk, without touching the water; an emblem of ſuch as know how to diſtinguiſh good from evil. *Baldæus.*

They relate many other fabulous things; as for inſtance, That *Bramma* after a period of many ages, is to die, and be revived; that he has certain deputies or aſſiſtants, the chief of whom is *Dewendra*, the head of all the governors of the ſeven worlds which are beyond our world, met below the heavens, or *Bramma*'s reſidence. In theſe worlds (ſay they) the believers live after their death. They allow that ſome things of leſſer moment, ſuch as herbs, cucumbers, *&c.* have been created by others; but that all things of moment owe their origin to *Bramma*, who loſt one of his four heads, becauſe he had told a lie to *Ixora*; and ſeveral ſuch abſurdities more.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Creation, Quality, and Diviſion of the World, according to the Opinion of the Learned Heathens.

THE *Benjans* and *Malabars* conſtitute God the creator of the Univerſe; for they frequently give God the title of *Creator of Heaven and Earth.* We told you in the preceding chapter, that they attribute the creation of the world to *Bramma*; whereunto we will now add, that they ſay the power of creating the world was communicated to him by *Viſtnum.* They believe, with *Epicurus* and *Metrodorus*, more than one world, of which before; beſides which, *Seven Seas.* they make ſeven great ſeas. 1. The *Water-Sea.* 2. The *Milk-Sea.* 3. The *Cream-Sea.* 4. The *Butter-Sea.* 5. The *Salt-Sea.* 6. The *Sugar-Sea.* 7. The *Wine-Sea.* The paradiſe they place in the *Water-Sea*; the prieſts and *Gogyes* belong to the *Milk-Sea*; the voluptuous in the *Cream-Sea*; the fortunate and bleſſed in the *Butter-Sea*; the merciful in the *Salt-Sea*; thoſe who are liberal in giving alms in the *Sugar-Sea*; and thoſe that live in great plenty in the *Wine-Sea.*

Notwithſtanding this general opinion, the *Brahmans* maintain that the world was produced from an egg; of which opinion, it ſeems, were alſo the ancient *Egyptians*, the *Thebeans*, *Orpheus*, *Plato*, and the *Perſians.*

The *Malabars* look for the origin of all things in the privy-member of their god; which being too large, he could not enjoy his Wife *Chatti*; wherefore he was forced to cut it into eighteen pieces, which turned into divers ſorts of arms; but the blood which iſſued thence, produced the ſun, moon, and ſtars; and ſome few drops falling upon the ground, the roſes, and other ſorts of flowers: but all living creatures, both rational and irrational, were brought forth by *Ixora*'s cohabiting with *Chatti.*

Ridiculous opinion of the Brahmans concerning the figure of the world.

The *Brahmans* further are infected with a ridiculous opinion, That the world is not round, but flat; and that conſequently the terreſtrial globe is not enclоſed in, or ſurrounded by the air, but limit its extent by the horizon that is obvious to our ſight: for they maintain, that the heavens are the uppermoſt half, and the earth the lowermoſt of the egg-ſhell; whence it is, that they conſider the heavens as immovable, and the motion of the ſun, moon, and ſtars (unto whom they attribute peculiar ſouls) to be like the fiſhes at ſea in the day, from eaſt to weſt, and in the night from the weſt (not below, but along the edge of the horizon) to the north, and ſo again to the eaſt. If you object, that, according to their ſuppoſition, the ſun muſt never ceaſe to ſhine, they anſwer, That to the north there is a vaſt ridge of mountains called *Mahameru*, or *Merouma*, behind which the ſun, moon, and ſtars, withdraw from our ſight. They add, That the world reſts upon an ox who, when he has a mind to eaſe himſelf, he throws the world from one of his horns to the other, which occaſions what we call earthquakes.

Baldæus. They are alſo groſly miſtaken in the computation of the extent of the earth, which, the *Brahmans* ſay, is from north to ſouth a hundred thouſand *Joxena's*; whereas it is beyond all doubt, that the whole circumference of the globe amounts to no more than five thouſand four hundred *German* miles, reckoning fifteen of theſe miles to a degree, of which there are three hundred and ſixty. They alſo conſtitute no leſs than five elements, adding the heavens to the reſt; in which point, they follow the foot-ſteps of *Ariſtotle*, who calls the heavens the firſt element. Theſe five elements, both the *Brahmans* and *Benjans* reverence like gods; becauſe, ſay they, they enter into the compoſition of every thing upon earth; whence they allot every one of them his peculiar *Wahanam*, or horſe. They have alſo invented no leſs than ſeven *Padallas*, as they call them, or ſubterranean places, (not unlike the purgatory and *Limbus Patrum* of our modern *Roman* catholicks;) which inferior worlds are known among them by theſe following names, *Adela*, *Bidela*, *Sudela*, *Taladelam*, *Sadelam*, *Mahadelam*, and *Padelam*; and are inhabited by men, who receive no other light but what certain ſerpents, carrying very bright ſtones on their heads, afford them.

As alſo concerning its magnitude.

Baldæus.

CHAP. XIII.

The Opinion of theſe Pagans concerning the Soul, and its Tranſmigration. The Form, Structure, Splendor, and Revenues of their Pagodes, *or Temples. Of the Ceremony of waſhing of theſe Pagans.*

THE modern *Brahmans*, in imitation of the ancient *Egyptians*, *Thracians*, *Druids*, and *Germans*, believe that the ſouls were not ſuch from eternity, but created by God, and kept as part of his eſſence, till after the creation of the earth they were infuſed either into men or beaſts. Concerning the *Pythagorean* doctrine of the tranſmigration of ſouls, (ſo generally received among the modern pagans,) we have had occaſion to ſpeak before in the deſcription of *Ceylon*; we will only add in this place, what the *Malabars* ſay on this head, they are of opinion that this tranſmigration of the ſouls from one body to another, is inſtituted by God as a puniſhment for our ſins, which continues till they are either conveyed into heaven or hell. They ſay there is a certain judge, named *Chitra Putta*, who judges of the actions of mankind when they lie upon their death-bed, and determines according to their paſt actions, whether the ſoul of the deceas'd ſhall tranſmigrate into a dog, cat, crow, cow, king, *Brahman*, ſerpent, *&c.* So that in caſe a perſon in his life-time has done a notorious injuſtice to another, his ſoul ſhall be tranſplanted into the body of a ſlave of the offended party. The reaſon why they abſtain with ſo much ſtrictneſs from all ſorts of meat, is no other, than that they are afraid, as *Tertullian* expreſſes it, that in feeding upon a piece of beef, they may eat a piece of their father or grandfather.

The Pythagorean tranſmigration of the ſouls.

Theſe pagans have their *Pagodes*, or temples, erected to the honour of their idols. In the choice of the places, and manner of the building, they follow rather their inſtinct, or pretended inſpiration, than any general rule or method. Theſe *Pagodes* are, on the coaſt of *Malabar*, moſt commonly built of marble; and on the coaſt of *Coromandel*, of very large ſquare ſtone: ſuch is the moſt celebrated *Pagode* at *Rammanakojel*, a vaſt ſtructure, and endowed with vaſt revenues, by the great conflux of pilgrims that continually reſort thither; of which I have been an eye-witneſs my ſelf.

The building of their Pagodes.

The *Pagodes* of the *Malabars* are generally covered with copper, adorned with balls gilt on the top; within and without ſtand their idols with many heads and arms, ſurrounded on all ſides with ſerpents. The *Pagode* is encloſed by a brick-wall, for the reception of the people, who do not enter the *Pagode*, but perform their worſhip in the court, as the *Jews* did in the hall of *Solomon*. Hence it is, that the gates are well guarded, being commonly either of marble, or covered with braſs, with the figures of elephants, tygers, bears, and lions upon them; and on the frontiſpiece many dreadful heads of lions, with hogs tuſks, repreſenting the idol *Patagali*, *Ixora*'s daughter.

Theſe *Pagodes* are not only maintained by the preſents that are conſtantly made, but have alſo a conſtant revenue from the cuſtoms of all commodities bought

Their revenues.

or

Baldæus. or fold, an exact account whereof may be seen in *Rogerius*, *l.* 2. *c.* 10. These pagans have also a great reverence for their *Pagodes*; whence it is, that they will not enter a *Pagode* with their *Seripons*, or slippers: and they always have their cisterns at the entrance of the *Pagodes*, to cleanse themselves before they enter; just as the same is practised among the modern *Mahometans* in their *Mosques*, and as the *Jews* had the *Brass Sea* belonging to the temple, for the *Levites* to wash themselves in. *Linscoten* mentions, that the *Pagan* priests in *Calecut* besprinkle those that are entering the *Pagode* with *holy water*, like our *roman catholicks*. The pagans in *Coromandel* have abundance of small *Pagodes* on these places, where they burn their dead, whereof I took particular notice at *Negapatan*; and in *Bantam*, the richer sort maintain frequently small chapels for their private use. Of the *Pagodes* in *Pegu*, see *Casp. Balbi*; of those of *Japan*, *Caron* and *Almeyda*; and of those *of China*, *Ferdinand Pintho*.

Reverence for their Pagodes.

Their washing.

Their custom of washing themselves daily, seems not only to be introduced for the cleansing and cooling of their bodies, but chiefly for the purifying of them from their sins; for as these pagans make a distinction betwixt *venial* and *mortal* sins, they regulate their washing accordingly. The first they are cleansed of by dipping the head under water; whereas to purify themselves of the others, *viz.* (such as include the loss of life or family, and fall under the cognizance of the civil magistrates,) they dive the whole body under water. Their constitutions (being to them the same as our ten commandments) are,

1. That those of an inferiour rank must not touch those of a superior quality, and the greater the difference the more is the distance; whence the inferiour people cry out in the streets *Tintelas*, i. e. *do not make your self unclean*, and those of superior rank *Popo, give way*; for if any of the common sort happen to touch a person of a high rank, he becomes unclean, and must wash himself with water.

2. Those that touch a dead carcass, nay, even any of the deceased kindred, within fifteen days after, become unclean.

3. Those that touch a woman in childbed, or the child.

4. Or a woman that has her monthly times, till the fourth day.

5. All such as are become unclean, if they touch another, he becomes so likewise.

6. If one that is unclean eats rice before he has cleansed himself, he loses the advantage of his family, and commits a mortal sin. *Baldæus.*

7. Persons of quality commit a mortal sin, if they eat rice boiled by one of an inferior rank.

8. The same it is, if he lies with a woman of a low extraction.

9. The *Brahmans*, though all of the same tribe, yet are not permitted to eat with one another: thus if any one touches with his right hand (wherewith he eats) his neighbour, it is a venial sin, because that hand is unclean by touching the rice; the same it is, if the fig-leaf (which they use instead of a twine thread) touches his that sits next to him: but if but one single grain of rice should happen to fall upon the fig-leaf of the others, he must not eat it, without committing a mortal sin.

10. Immediately after dinner, or supper, they take away the fig-leaves, and the least grain of rice that perhaps may be fallen upon the ground, which is laid up together in a certain place, because all the remnants are unclean. The place where they have eaten, they purify with cow-dung; and if the least grain of rice should be left behind, he that touches it, becomes unclean immediately on that part of his body which touched it, which must be purified by water. Thus if any body puts his finger into the mouth, nay, if two persons of a different rank meet at a cistern, if but one drop of water that has touched the body of him that is of an inferior degree, happens to fall upon him of a superior rank, he becomes unclean, and is guilty of a venial sin.

Cow-dung used for purifying.

Their ceremonies observed in washing are, first of all, they fancy that the stone on the edge of the cistern is *Bramma*, the place where they wash is *Vistnum*, and the cistern itself *Ixora*. They enter the cistern quite naked, (their privities being covered only with a leaf,) and write with their fingers the syllable *om* in the water, and then with three fingers cast up a little water into the air, intimating, that *Ixora*, *Vistnum*, *Bramma*, have bathed themselves there; at the same time pronouncing these words, *Totan quenca bitten pava*, i. e. *By the touching of this water, I have cast away my sin.* Then parting the water with both their hands, they dip their hands in it, and thereby believe themselves cleansed from all their sins committed by touching. Afterwards they cast some water with both hands towards the eight parts of the world, as a sacrifice to the eight guardians

Their ceremonies in washing.

Baldæus. guardians thereof, say the *Siri Pagode*, wash their faces three times successively, saying, *Purify me.* This done, they throw likewise some water towards heaven, as a sacrifice to the sun; and having washed their hands and feet, take a small quantity of the ashes of cow-dung in the left hand, which being mixed with a little water, they say *Sudamaga*, i. e. *be clean.* Furthermore, as they suppose the left hand to be the earth, and the right the heavens, and the inside of the hand the place of propagation, they lay the right hand close upon the left, saying, *Let this be the end of the world*; and as they believe that at the end of the world, *Ixoretta* is to be transformed into an egg, they imagine that the concavity betwixt their two hands represents the said egg; whence (after having paused a while) they take away the right hand, saying, *Heaven and earth are separated*; and then write with the forefinger of the right hand in the ashes contained in the left the two syllables *ja ra*, intimating the contest betwixt the fire and air in the egg, in carrying the heavens to the top, and the earth underneath. This done, they lay their hands below the navel, on the upper orifice of the stomach, upon the breast, front, head, and crown of the head, and afterwards upon the inferior parts of the body; they likewise touch the eyes, ears, feet, and heels with their fingers, extending now and then their hands, as if they were going to give something: they likewise shew their empty hands to the eight *guardians of the world*; and afterwards besmearing themselves with ashes, with three fingers of the right hand (in honour of *Bramma*, *Vistnum*, and *Ixora*) on the breast, front, and shoulders, they then reckon themselves clear and purified of all their sins. If you ask them what makes them use all these ceremonies, they give for answer, That they have two different laws, *viz.* the *Carma* and *Nhana*, one whereof contains instructions for the inward service of god, the other for the exteriour or ceremonial part. They add, that *Parexi Rama*, when he made the sea recede from the coast of *Malabar*, did recommend, in a most peculiar manner, the observance of the *Carma* to the *Malabars*, whence *Malabar* to this day retains the name of *Carma puni*, i. e. *the country of Carma.* *Baldæus.*

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Holy Ashes used in anointing themselves, and of their Festivals.

THE ashes of cow-dung are a thing in such request among the *Indian* pagans, that they with it besmear every morning their front, breast, and shoulders; every king maintains in his court a certain person, who every day, early in the morning, exposes a good quantity of these ashes upon a fig-leaf in the market-place, when every one that pleases comes and takes some part thereof for his use: of these ashes they also offer daily sacrifices to their gods. The *Gogyes* attend constantly near the *Pagodes*, with a whole bag full of these ashes, which they distribute to the people; who in return give them some alms. They always appear besmeared with these ashes, in which consists a great part of their holiness, their god *Ixora* being also bedaubed with these ashes; the reason whereof, as they relate it, is this.

Opinion of the Malabars of the cow-dung

Why the ashes of cow-dung is sacred with them.

We told you before, that *Ixora*, or *Quiven*, having undertaken to keep *Quivelinga*, the ashes which settled within the shell rendered *Ixora* immortal. *Vistnum* being desirous to enjoy the same prerogative, seized upon a cow, and carrying her to *Calaja*, *Ixora*'s residence, he snatched away some of these ashes; which *Ixora* perceiving, he struck out several of her teeth by a blow he gave her; which falling upon the earth, produced a kind of large water melons, called *Abobacus* by the *Portuguese*. However, *Vistnum* keeping close behind his cow, he gathered the next dung, and burnt it to ashes; whence it is, that to this day, these pagans have so great a veneration for the cow-dung, that they believe it purifies every thing upon earth. The said cow brought forth a bull-calf; unto which *Ixora* gave the name of *Irixipaten*, and used him instead of a horse. The *Malabar* women, though otherwise pretty cleanly, yet are so intoxicated to this superstition, that they cleanse their chambers and their cisterns with cow-dung.

How the king of Calecut purifies himself.

The *Samoryn* or king of *Calecut*, washes himself every day before dinner; and when he goes to the *Pagode*, the way from the cistern to the *Pagode* is covered with cow-dung, upon which they strow roses and other flowers; besides that two women, each with a pot of cow-dung mixed with water, walk just before him; and

Baldæus. and the place where he dines is afterwards constantly cleansed with cow-dung. They relate farther of the cow, that *Quenavady* and *Superbennia* did sit betwixt her horns, the sun and moon in her eyes, *Bramma*'s two wives in her ears, *Ixora* in her nose, *Vistnum* in her tongue, in her thighs the *Rixii*, the four books of the *Vedam* in her four legs; that her milk is the true *Ambrosia*, or *Amortam*, and her piss the *Tirtam*, or the water fit to purify themselves from their sins: whence it is, that when they see a cow ready to piss, they catch it with their hands, drink a little of it, and with the rest wash their faces. As these pagan kings claim the patronage of cows, so the *Samoryn* of *Calecut* is attended every morning early by six boys, all over besmeared with fresh cow-dung, with garlands of flowers on their heads: as soon as the *Samoryn* rises, they pay him reverence; who orders them immediately to give the flowers to the cows, which they do.

They have not the same regard for the bulls and oxen, though they make a bull the father or author of the royal family of the *Exastri*, from whence the kings of *Cochin*, *Cranganor*, *Cananor*, and others are descended: they relate that all the males of this family being extinct, a woman of the same tribe being begot with child by a bull, revived the said family.

Opinion of the Malabars of the cow-dung

The *Malabars* alledge the following reason for the ashes of the cow-dung; They say that the *Lingam*, (i. e. *membrum virile*) of *Ixora*, before it was cut in pieces, being so long that it reached up to his forehead, let fly some few drops of seed, which happening to light into his fiery eye in the front, was burnt to ashes immediately. Hence it is that in *Canara*, betwixt *Cananor* and *Mangalor*, there are to be found a certain order of pretended holy religious men, living constantly in the *Pagodes*. These appear in the streets quite naked, and making a noise by the ringing of a bell they carry along with them, the women (without distinction of age or quality, even to the queens) come running out to touch their privy members.

That the *Egyptians*, and after them the *Jews*, had a peculiar veneration for cows and calves, is sufficiently evident from many passages in the scripture; and *the ashes of the red cow* are mentioned, *Heb.* ix. 13. and *Numb.* xix.

How the king of Calecut purifies himself.

Besides this purification, these pagans have also their meritorious acts of piety; some of the *Gogys* carry iron collars about their necks, walk constantly with iron fetters and chains, and have iron nails with the points inwards in their wooden slippers, or sandals. Some have been known to tie themselves with ropes to a tree, till they expired in great torments. *Baldæus.*

I saw 1657 one of these *Gogys* at *Columbo*, whose arms were grown together over his head, a posture he had chosen out of devotion. Others of this order never sleep, but pray incessantly; of this kind are also to be found in *Japan* and *China*.

Another meritorious act of the pagans, is the visiting their celebrated *Pagodes*, and other holy places, (like the pilgrimages of the romanists,) as the famous *Pagode Rammanakojel*, the *Adams* mountain in *Ceylon*, and divers other places at *Suratte*, *Davarca*, *Mottera*, *Cassi*, *Bengale*, and *Ayotia*, twelve leagues from *Cassi*; for which reason it is, that the rich erect *Pagodes*, *Jans*, (called *Ammalams*,) and cisterns, for the conveniency of the travelling men and beasts.

The *Malabars* have a peculiar way to merit the forgiving of their sins; There grows a certain stone, called *Talagramma*, on one side of the mount *Mahameru*, near a river-side, (which the *Gogys* always carry about them,) some whereof contain gold, and are then called *Jerenia Querpam*; one of these carried in a vessel, and in another the five following things belonging to the cow, *viz.* the *cream*, *milk*, *butter*, *piss*, and *dung*, mixed together, called by them *Panchaviam* wine, and afterwards put into the other vessel, wherein lies the *Talagramma*, and given to any person whilst he recites the *Vedamantiram*, (a prayer of five words,) purchases pardon for all sins, destroys his enemies, reconciles him to his friends, and procures riches. This prayer is in high veneration among the *Brahmans*, which they use constantly when they are sitting down to eat; but no body dares to say it in the streets. The five words are *Panesua*, *Apanesua*, *Vinesua*, *Udanesua*, and *Sumanesua*; the first signifies the *soul* or *spirit*; the second the posteriors, where the excrements are discharged; the third the *hearing*; the fourth *seeing*; the fifth the *smelling*.

Their festivals.

They have also their festivals: One of the most remarkable festivals of these pagans, is celebrated in honour of *Vistnum* or *Ixora*; though the *Malabars* solemnize certain festivals, as that in honour of *Ixora*'s spouses, which are not regarded by other *Brahmans*, which beginning the 8*th* of *Jan.* continues for nine days, the ceremonies may be seen in *Rogerius*, *l.* 2. *c.* 12. The feasts celebrated in

Baldæus. honour of *Ixora* and *Viſtnum*, are called *Trenaca* and *Panduga*. The *Gentives*, *Malabars*, and inhabitants of *Coromandel*, alſo ſolemnize a feaſt to the memory of the nativity of *Viſtnum*, and his tranſformation into *Kiſna* in *Auguſt*, when they adorn their houſes with all ſorts of greens, which ſeems to have ſome reſemblance to our chriſtmaſs. They alſo uſe another feaſt to the honour of *Viſtnum*, in remembrance of the ſixteen thouſand virgins; it begins the eighth day after the full moon in *October*. They have alſo a feaſt in honour of *Viſtnum's* ſpouſe, called *Laſceni* by thoſe of *Coromandel*: this is celebrated by the *Brahmans* wives in *September* for nine days, when they pray for the long life of their husbands, and to obtain riches. They have alſo two other feaſts in *July* and *November*. They obſerve beſides this certain days, as ſacred and fortunate; as the firſt day of every month, the day of the *Solſtice*, when the ſun turns from the north to the ſouth.

They pay every morning their reverence to the ſun, and having waſhed themſelves three times, they throw the water with their hands upwards, to prevent (as they ſay) the evil ſpirits from keeping the ſun betwixt the mountains. The new year they begin with the new moon in *April*, as the modern *Jews* in the month *Abib*. They call the new years feaſt *Samwatſaradi Panduga*, *Panduga* ſignifying as much as a feaſt, and *Samwatſaram* a year, as *Adi* is the firſt day of the month; for they have twelve months in the year, *viz.* April called *Theſtram*, May *Weiwiacau*, June *Jeſtam*, July *Ajadam*, Auguſt *Spawanam*, September *Badrapadam*, October *Aſwyam*, November *Carticam*, December *Margiſaram*, January *Ponjam*, February *Magam*, March *Paelgonwan*. And becauſe theſe twelve months are not equivalent to the months of the ſun, they have every third year a leap-year, conſiſting of thirteen months, which we have only once every four years. *Baldæus.*

Beſides the names of every month, and of every day in the week, the *Malabars* have a peculiar name for each day in every month. They have alſo peculiar names for each year, as far as ſixty years, unto which they add the word *Samwatſaram*, ſignifying a year, which however is often left out for brevities ſake; then they ſay, *Prabawa* the *firſt*, *Pinawa* the *ſecond*, &c. *Tſaja* the ſixtieth, meaning the *Samwatſaram*, or year. They compute by ſixty years, juſt as the *greeks* do by their *Olympiads*; they alſo name the days of every week (like the antient pagans) after the planets: thus *Suria* ſignifies to them the ſun, and *Jendra* the moon, whence they call *Suria Waram* the ſunday, and the monday *Jendra Waram*.

They divide each day into thirty hours, juſt as the *gentives* divide their day and night into ſixty hours, ſome whereof they account fortunate, and ſome unfortunate. Of the pagan feaſts you may conſult *Carolinus*, chap. 22.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Faſt-Days of the Pagans; and their Origin. Their Marriages and ſolemn Oaths; Ceremonies uſed with their Sick and Dead.

AS the pagans pray conſtantly thrice a day, *viz.* in the morning, about noon, (when they repoſe themſelves,) and in the evening, ſo they have their ſolemn faſt-days: one of theſe is called *Egadexi*, which word (in their learned language, called *Samoſcrad*, or *Hanſcret*, as *Kircker* ſtiles it, which is in the ſame eſteem among the *Malabars*, as the *latin* in *Europe*) ſignifies as much as *eleven*, or *the eleventh*, becauſe it is kept the eleventh day after the full moon, and again the eleventh day after the new moon; ſo that they have two of theſe faſts every month, *viz.* one every fifteen days, when they abſtain from eating all the day long, or at leaſt till four or five a-clock in the afternoon, when they muſt not feed upon fleſh, or fiſh, or rice; but only upon fruits, peaſe, beans, milk, and ſuch like, and not drink the leaſt ſtrong liquor. *The ſecond faſt.*

The origin of this faſt-day is ridiculous enough. They tell you, That a young fellow, much addicted to venery, going one night very late to viſit his miſtreſs, could not light on a boat to ferry him over the river; however, being reſolved not to depart, he ſtay'd there all night, and did fall aſleep, without having eaten any thing all that day. Next morning early paſſing the river, as he was going to his miſtreſs's houſe, he met with a camel juſt at ſun-riſing, at which throwing a ſtone, it hit accidentally upon ſome flowers, and caſt them from *Origin of the firſt faſt-day of theſe pagans.* *Its origin.*

Baldæus. from the ſtalks upon the ground, and ſo he came to his miſtreſs.

After ſome years happening to die, and being carried before *Chitraputren*, he could not produce any good works he had performed in his life-time to intitle himſelf to the paradiſe, except this his accidental faſting, and the throwing down of the flowers at ſun-riſing, which he interpreted as a ſacrifice intended for the ſun. *Chitraputren*, after a long hearing condemned him to the infernal regions; yet in conſideration of his faſting on the 11th day after the full-moon, having the favour granted him of abiding for ſome days in the paradiſe, he was asked what paradiſe he would chuſe; he anſwered, *The Woman's-Paradiſe.* Being conveyed thither accordingly, as he was in bed the next night with one of the ladies, he broke out into moſt dreadful ejaculations; and being asked by his bed-fellow the reaſon, he replied, *Becauſe I have ſo ſhort a time to ſtay in this paradiſe.* The woman, who had taken a liking to him, told him, That he ſhould riſe early in the morning, waſh himſelf all over, and at the gate watch the coming of the ſervants of *Ixora*, who were then going into the *wood of roſes*, to gather flowers for their maſter; ſhe bad him to crowd in among them, and having gathered the moſt odoriferous flowers he could find, offer them as a preſent to *Ixora.* He followed the woman's advice; and having gathered the moſt ſweet-ſcented flowers he could, offered them to *Ixora*; who extremely pleaſed with this preſent, asked *Chitraputren*, who this young man was; he told him, he was a perſon condemned to the infernal puniſhments. But *Ixora* ordered him to remain in paradiſe with the ſame woman, and to gather flowers for him. Now, becauſe this young man got into paradiſe by his faſting, the pagans faſt upon the before-mentioned eleventh day.

The ſecond faſt. They have another faſt, called *Quiveraſiri*, which deduces its origin from *Quiven*, (the ſame as *Ixora*,) and *Raſiri*, *i. e.* the night, ſignifying as much as a *night-faſt*, or *Quiven's* night. It falls out in *February*; and being one of their eſtabliſhed faſts, is kept with a great deal of ſtrictneſs, they being forbid either to eat or drink, or to ſleep all that night, which they ſpend in rehearſing the fictions of their gods, and walking round the *Pagodes* till day-break, when they ſacrifice to the idol, and give alms to the poor; which done the faſt is ended.

Its origin. The origin of this faſt they aſcribe to one *Beri*, a famous hunter; who going one evening abroad to ſhoot ſome birds, got upon a certain tree near a ciſtern, called *Cuola*, the leaves whereof ſmell as ſweet as flowers. Being very eager at the ſport, he tarried upon the tree all night; and to paſs away his time without ſleeping, he pulled off conſtantly the flowers of the tree; which he throwing one after another upon the ground, one of them did fall upon *Quivelinga*; who happened juſt to lie under the tree without *Beri's* knowledge, who returned to his own home the next morning. *Baldæus.*

Some years after the ſaid *Beri* happening to die, and being carried before *Chitraputren*, the judge of the dead, he found, upon examination, that having committed many crimes in his life-time, by killing the wild beaſts, he was condemned to the infernal regions. But as *Yeween*, or *Jamma*, the chieftain of the devils, and his company, were hurrying him along, they were met by *Ixora*; who being informed of his faſting all the night long upon the tree *Cuola*, and his offering of the flowers to *Quivelinga*, he delivered him immediately out of the devil's hands, and ſent him into paradiſe.

Some tell a different ſtory upon this head, *viz.* That *Beri* perceiving a tyger under the tree, was forced to remain upon the tree all night without eating any victuals. They alſo tell you the dialogue betwixt *Beri* and the tyger. *Beri*, it ſeems, told the tyger, That whereas he was not able to faſt above three days, he deſired him to let him go unmoleſted to his houſe, where he would take leave of his wife, and return again. The tyger replied, No; for, ſaid he, if I let thee come down ſafely, thou wilt certainly kill me with thy bow and arrow, which thou didſt leave under the tree whilſt thou waſt climbing up to fetch a pigeon thou hadſt ſhot before. But *Beri* taking an oath by *Ixora*, that he would return, the tyger let him paſs. *Beri* being returned home, told his wife what had happened, and that he muſt return to the tree, where the tyger ſtaid for his coming. The woman offered to go in his ſtead; and ſo did his children, to be devoured by the tyger, alledging, That without him, they ſhould be deprived of all ſubſiſtence. But *Beri* not approving their choice, they went all together to the tyger; unto whom *Beri* ſaid, purſuant to his oath, he was come to be devoured by him. But the woman entreating the tyger to devour her in his ſtead, as not being able to ſubſiſt without him, and the children making the ſame petition

Baldæus. tition to him, the tyger was put to ſuch a nonplus, that he did not know what to chuſe; but whilſt he was ruminating upon the matter, *Ixora* threw a net over them, and ſo drew them all into paradiſe.

The third faſt. The third faſt, called *Tirinadira*, is kept only by the women, having got its name from the 27th day of the 9th month; on which day *Canteven*, the *god of love*, being killed by *Ixora*, the women were ſo grieved thereat, that they would not touch the leaſt eatables all that day; and ever ſince kept a faſt on the 27th of *December*, in memory of this diſaſter, being much about the ſame time we celebrate the feaſt of our Saviour's nativity. They ſay, the reaſon why *Ixora* killed this *Canteven*, or *Cupid*, was becauſe the laſt was fallen in love with *Parameſceri*, *Ixora*'s ſpouſe; for which reaſon he burnt him to aſhes with his fiery eye on the forehead. But the *Brahmans* ſay that *Ixora* being for a conſiderable time employed in holy matters, and thereby become forgetful of *Parameſceri*, ſhe addreſſed herſelf to *Canteven*, to infuſe into her husband freſh ſentiments of love; but ſhe afterwards no ſooner underſtood his death, than ſhe died for grief. Being however brought to life at the foot of the mount *Timana*, (where ſhe ſtaid for ſome time after to do penance, and thence got the name of the daughter of the mount *Timana*,) *Ixora* appeared to her, promiſing to continue his conjugal love hereafter. *Parameſceri* took this opportunity to deſire *Ixora* to revive *Cupid* from the dead, with this addition, That he ſhould remain immortal for ever after: whence they ſay, that *Cupid* reigns all over the world by the ſtrength of imagination in both ſexes. By which they ſeem to intimate, that as the inclination to love ceaſes in old perſons, it is conſtantly revived in the young ones; and ſo will continue as long as the world ſtands.

Its origin.

Why the god of love was killed by Ixora.

The fourth faſt. They have another famous faſt, called *Maſaupaſa*, from the word *Maſa*, (which in the high *Malabar* tongue ſignifies a mouth,) and *Upada*, a faſt, being the moſt ſacred of all their faſts, beginning with the laſt day of *October*.

Such as keep this faſt, having firſt waſhed and dreſſed themſelves very clean, repair to the *Pagods* of *Viſtnum*; and the next day being the 19th of *November*, after having changed their clothes, go round the ſaid temple early in the morning one hundred and one times, and the moſt devoted one thouſand and one times. The ſame they repeat every day during the whole *November* and *December*, muttering all the while by themſelves the words *Naraina* and *Aquanama*, ſirnames belonging to *Viſtnum*. All this while they muſt eat nothing but milk and figs, neither look upon a woman, and think or ſpeak of nothing but what relates unto *Viſtnum*. The next following year they take the ſame courſe, beginning with the 1ſt day of *December*, and continuing till the 10th of *January*, in all, forty days. The third year they begin with the 1ſt of *January*, and continue the ſame devotions till the 10th of *February*; and thus the ſame ſucceſſively for nine years longer, till the number of twelve years being compleated, they obtain a general pardon for all their treſpaſſes. *Baldæus.*

Concerning their marriages, *Peligamy*, and ſome other matters relating to this purpoſe, we have had occaſion to ſay ſomething already in the deſcription of *Ceylon*: we will now give an account of ſuch things as were not mentioned, or at leaſt, not circumſtantially in that place. The firſt is, That the *Brahmans* are not only at liberty to marry as many wives as they think fit, (a privilege they always enjoyed, as may be ſeen out of their ancient records, called *Poranes*,) but alſo may chuſe their wives out of four different tribes, juſt as the *Levites* enjoyed the privilege of marrying in what tribe they thought fit among the *Jews*. *Their marriages.*

As to their marriage ceremonies, ſome precede the marriage it ſelf, ſome are concomitant to it, and the reſt follow it.

The firſt thing they obſerve, is to conſult an aſtrologer about the poſition of the planets, and the time or hour when it is fortunate for the bride to be married; for which reaſon they alſo conſult on what day of the month, and under what conjunction the bridgroom is born. Next they apply themſelves to a *Brahman*, or prieſt, who for four days ſucceſſively before the wedding, burns a little rice and butter mixed with eggs, for a ſacrifice. The time of the ſolemn promiſe or engagement approaching, they light a large wax-candle, and put ſome rice upon the table of *Quenavady*, the huge devouring elephant before mentioned. This done, the bridegroom throws a necklace, or *Taly*, with ſome gold faſtened to it, about the bride's neck, as a token, that the engagement is now made; whence the *Malabars* call marriage *Quitha*, i. e. an *obligation*. The wife, after the death of her husband, always breaks this necklace, as a token, that the *obligation* is diſſolved; after which the bride faſts fifteen days. *Marriage ceremonies.*

After

Baldæus. After the copulation is performed, they entertain their friends at a feast; but the young couple are not bedded till about eight or ten days after: for before they can actually cohabit, they must attend a fortunate conjunction of the planets; and before they enter the bed-chamber, perform their prayers at the door, in the company of a priest, who gives them his blessing. The next following day the new-married couple take a piece of cloth cut at one end, wherewith they go a fishing in a river. The first fish they take, they touch on the head with a great deal of reverence, and according as they take more or less fishes, they shall have few or more children; if they catch nothing, the woman is to prove barren.

Their marriages.

As the chief reason why they marry so young among the *Brahmans*, is their fondness of a maidenhea[1], so, on the other hand, nothing is more despicable among them than a maiden come to a full age: which has introduced the custom of begging portions for maidens that they may be married in time.

The *Indian* kings that are not *Brahmans*, never marry, but only keep certain mistresses, whose children do not inherit, nay, cannot as much as challenge the least prerogative in respect of their nobility: so that here obtains the axiom, *Fructus sequitur ventrem.* The kings sisters are generally married to some other sovereign princes; who must fast fifteen days before marriage. The *Nairos* have likewise no settled marriages; whence their wives are are stiled *Parasceri*, i. e. *women for many.* The *Brahmans* take as much care to couple a bull and a cow together, as other people do in marrying their children.

Marriage ceremonies.

Their manner of taking an oath.

These pagans perform their solemn oaths near a *Pagode*; and the *Brahmans* of *Coromandel*, in the presence of a priest, near a holy fire, just as the *Romans* use to do in the presence of their priests, the *Athenians* before the altar, and the *Arcadians* during the sacrifice. These pagans being ready to take an oath near the *Pagode*, they put three fingers of the right hand, *viz.* the *thumb*, the *next*, and the *middle-finger*, into an earthen vessel filled with melted butter; this done, they put a leaf into the same butter, which they tie close round their three fingers: after three days the said leaf is taken off in the presence of the king or prince of the country; if his fingers are not burnt, his adversary suffers punishment; but if he proves hurt, he is sure to be punished.

They have another way of taking an oath, no less dangerous than the former: he that takes the oath is obliged to swim cross the river, betwixt *Cochin* and *Cranganor*, which is full of crocodiles; and if he that has taken the oath escapes without hurt, he is supposed to have taken a just oath. *Baldæus.*

In *Canara* they have another way: for they put some adders and a lemon into an earthen vessel; and if he that takes the oath, takes the citron out of the vessel without receiving any harm, he has truly sworn. The inhabitants of *Formosa*, when they take an oath, break only a straw to pieces.

What ceremonies they use with their dead and sick.

Whenever any body falls sick, the patient need not fear to be disturbed with much physick, bleeding, clysters, and such like, their chief remedy consisting in fasting, sometimes more than is convenient. They also send forth continual prayers, to obtain a happy transmigration of the soul, and exhort the patient to rehearse continually the name of god; and when his strength fails, his friends repeat the same in his presence; because the *Brahmans* are of opinion, that he who dies with the name of god in his mouth, goes directly to the paradise: for the same reason they also distribute alms to the poor. If they give the patient any medicines, they are generally laxatives of fresh herbs, a little milk, *Cansic*, (or rice and water boiled together,) a little saffron, ginger, or leeks.

When the patient is near expiring, they reiterate their prayers, besprinkling them with holy water of the river *Ganges*; for they say, that the infernal judge sends his servants to torment them at that time, and that they send forth their prayers to *Vistnum*, to send one of his servants to deliver the dying person out of their clutches.

After their decease they wash the corps, afterwards shave his beard, stop his mouth with betel and lime, wrap him in a shrowd, and last of all close his eyes. Of the burning of their dead, we have spoken before, in the description of the funeral ceremony of the prince of *Ceylon*, and *Rogerius* * has given a more ample account of the whole matter. Some of these pagans bury their dead near their habitations, and without the cities, (like the *Athenians* and *Romans*,) and cover them with stones, for fear the *jackalls* and other wild beasts, should dig them up and devour them. * l. 1. c. 10.

They fast and shave their heads for their deceased friends; and if they be of royal extraction, all the subjects are obliged

Baldæus. ged to have their heads ſhaved. In *Malabar*, the next relations do not ſtir out of doors for fifteen days, ſleep only on mats upon the ground, and do not aſſiſt at the uſual ſacrifices. When I mention faſting, I mean, that they only eat a little rice at noon. After ſeven days, they ſend for the barber; who having cleanſed the houſe with milk and cow-piſs, and the perſons belonging to it, they gather up the aſhes of the deceaſed perſon, after the expiration of the fifteen days; and having put the ſame into an urn, they throw it with great lamentations into the river, the ſea or any other water. This done, they purify the place where the corps was burnt, and plant there a fig-tree. Afterwards changing their clothes, and being cleanſed by repeated waſhings, they put an end to the mourning, except the next heir, who continues in mourning a whole year, during which he abſtains from fleſh, fiſh, eggs, wine, nay, even from their beloved *Betel*. No perſon muſt touch his head, neither muſt he cohabit with his wife: beſides which, he is obliged to perform daily the following ceremony: he takes a ſmall quantity of boiled rice, made up in form of a little ball; this he lays upon a fig-leaf ſpread upon the ground without the houſe-door, and taking part of another fig-leaf, he bends it together, fancying all the while, that the deceaſed is there preſent to eat the rice-ball; then taking a little rice mixed with butter in both his hands, he turns his face about, as if he were looking to put it into the mouth of the deceaſed perſon. This done, the ſtanders-by clap their hands together, a ſignal to the crows (of which there are vaſt numbers in *Malabar*) to come to take the ball of rice prepared for the deceaſed perſon; which if the crows do, the heir is at liberty to go to his dinner; but if they do not, it is looked upon as an ill omen, and the whole ceremony conſidered as fruitleſs. *Baldæus.*

At the concluſion of the mourning, the relations of the deceaſed are invited to a ſplendid feaſt, where however they muſt not eat either fleſh, fiſh, or eggs; and none but the richer ſort are invited to partake of it. This they repeat once a year, on the ſame day the deceaſed died, to the memory of their friend. I will not enlarge myſelf in this place upon that moſt barbarous cuſtom of ſome of theſe pagans, for the wives to burn themſelves alive with the dead carcaſes of their husbands, a thing ſtill practiſed in the moſt populous city of *Pandi*; for when the funeral ceremony of *Vinepi Naigne*, the prince of the country, was ſolemnized with great pomp, three hundred of his wives did precipitate themſelves alive (under the ſound of drums and trumpets,) into the ſame hole filled with burning oil, butter, and other combuſtible matter, which burned both his and their bodies to aſhes. We conclude with a hearty wiſh, that theſe poor wretches, quite entangled in the darkneſs of paganiſm, may through his mercy, and with the aſſiſtance of ſuch magiſtrates as ought to keep a watchful eye over their actions, be in time brought to the true knowledge of the goſpel.

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